This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

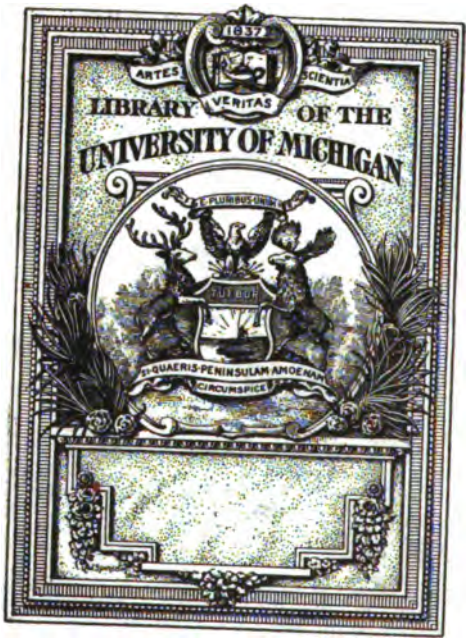
+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

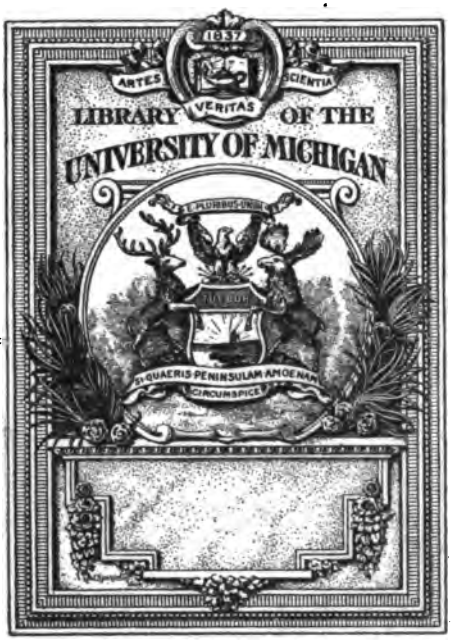
About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

A 695,960


1837
ARTES
SCIENTIA
VERITAS
LIBRARY OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
SI QUAERIS PENINSULAM AMOENAM
CIRCUMSPICE

LONDON:
SPOTTISWOODE and SHAW,
New-street-Square.


1837
ARTES
VERITAS
SCIENTIA
LIBRARY OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
SI QUAERIS PENINSULAM AMOENAM
CIRCUMSPICE

THE

EDINBURGH REVIEW

OR

CRITICAL JOURNAL:

FOR

JULY, 1848 . . . . OCTOBER, 1848.

TO BE CONTINUED QUARTERLY.

JUDEX DAMNATUR CUM NOCENS ABSOLVITUR.
PUBLIUS SYRUS.

VOL. LXXXVIII.

LONGMAN, BROWN, GREEN, AND LONGMANS, LONDON;
AND ADAM AND CHARLES BLACK,
EDINBURGH.

1848.

LONDON:
SPOTTISWOODE and SHAW,
New-street-Square.

CONTENTS OF No. CLXXVII.

Page

ART. I.—1. Histoire de la Poésie Provençale. Cours fait à la Faculté des Lettres de Paris. Par M. Fauriel. Paris: 1846. 3 vols.

2. Essais Historiques sur les Bardes, les Jougleurs et les Trouvères Normands et Anglo-Normands. Par M. l'Abbé De La Rue. Caen: 1834. 3 vols.

3. Les Trouvères Cambresiens. Par M. Arthur Dinaux. Paris: 1837. 1 vol.

4. Observations sur la Littérature Provençale: Essais Littéraires et Historiques. Par A. W. Von Schlegel. Bonn: 1842. 1 vol.

5. Leben und Werke der Troubadours. Ein Beytrag zur näherer Kenntnisse des Mittelalters. Von Frederick Diez. Zwickau: 1829. 1 vol., . . 1

II.—The History of Egypt from the Earliest Times till the Conquest by the Arabs, A.D. 640. By Samuel Sharpe. London, 1846, ... 32

III.—1. Narrative of Events in Borneo and Celebes, down to the Occupation of Labuan; from the Journals of James Brooke, Esq., Rajah of Sarāwak and Governor of Labuan. Together with a Narrative of the Operations of H. M. S. Iris. By Captain Rodney Mundy, R. N. London: Murray, 1848.

2. Narrative of the Voyage of H. M. S. Samarang, during the Years 1843–6, employed surveying the Islands of the Eastern Archipelago; accompanied by a brief Vocabulary of the Principal Languages. Published under the Authority of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty. By Captain Sir Edward Belcher, R. N., C. B., F. R. A. S., F. G. S., Commander of the Expedition. With Notes on the Natural History of the Islands. By Arthur Adams, Assistant Surgeon. London: Reeve, Benham, and Reeve, 1848, ... 63

IV.—Der Romantiker auf dem Throne der Cäsaren, oder Julian der Abtrünnige. Ein Vortrag von David Friedrich Strauss. Mannheim: 1847, . . 94

V.—Results of Astronomical Observations made during the Years 1834, 1835, 1836, 1837, and 1838, at the

Page

Cape of Good Hope, being the Completion of the Survey of the whole Surface of the Heavens, commenced in 1825. By Sir John F. W. Herschel, Bart., K. H., &c. &c. 104

ART. VI.—1. I Lutti di Lombardia. Di Massimo d'Azeglio. 12mo. Firenze: 1848.

2. Austrian Assassinations in Lombardy. By Massimo d'Azeglio. Edited by Fortunato Prandi. Translated from the Italian. 8vo. London: Newby, 1848.

3. Il ventidue Marzo, primo Giorno dell' Indipendenza Lombarda (a daily newspaper). Fol. Milano: 1848.

4. Lombardy, the Pope, and Austria. By George Bowyer, Esq., D. C. L., &c. London: Ridgways, 1848, ... 143

VII.—1. Oxford University Statutes. Translated by G. R. M. Ward. Vol. I. 8vo. (With a Preface on University Reform.) Pickering: London.

2. The Constitutional History of the University of Dublin. By D. C. Heron, Trinity College, Dublin. Dublin: 1847, ... 163

VIII.—The Life and Adventures of Oliver Goldsmith. A Biography, in Four Books. By John Forster, of the Inner Temple, Author of the 'Lives of Statesmen of the Commonwealth.' Bradbury & Evans, 193

IX.—Le Moniteur Universel. Journal Officiel de la République Française. March—July, 1848, . . 225

*X.—1. Statistik öfver Sverrige. [Statistics of Sweden.] By Forsell. Stockholm: 1844.

2. Smärre Skrifter. Af E. G. Geijer. [E. G. Geijer's Minor Writings.] Stockholm: 1842.

3. Lund Upsala og Stockholm med et Tillæg om 'den 'Skandinaviske Eenhed.' Af C. Molbech. [Lund, Upsala, and Stockholm, with an Appendix on 'the 'Scandinavian Union.' By C. Molbech.] Copenhagen: 1844.

4. Finnlands Gegenwart und Zukunft. [The present and future State of Finnland.] Stockholm: 1844.

5. Das Herzogthum Schleswig in seinen geschichtlichen Verhältnissen zum Königreiche Dänemark und zu Holstein. Von C. Molbech. [The Duchy of Schleswig, in its historical Relations to the King-

Page

dom of Denmark and to Holstein. By C. Molbech.] Copenhagen: 1846.

6. De la Succession dans la Monarchie Danoise considérée, principalement sous le Point de Vue du droit Public. Paris: 1847.

7. Preussiche Zustände dargestellt von einem Preussen. [The Condition of Prussia depicted by a Prussian.] Leipzig: 1840.

8. Germany Unmasked; or, Facts and Coincidences explanatory of her real Views in seeking to wrest Schleswig from Denmark. With an Appendix containing Remarks on the Chevalier Bunsen's Memoir. London: 1848.

9. Die wahrhaftige Geschichte von Deutschen Michel und seinen Schwestern. [The veritable History of the German Michael (German John Bull) and his Sisters.] Zürich: 1843.

10. Die Religion der Zukunft. Von Friedrich Feuerbach. [The Religion of the Future. By Frederick Feuerbach.] Zürich: 1843.

11. Anekdota zur neuesten Deutschen Philosophie und Publicistik. Herausgegeben von Arnold Ruge. [Unpublished Treatises respecting the latest German Philosophy and Journalism. Edited by Arnold Ruge.] Zürich: 1843.

12. Annehmen oder Ablehnen? Die Verfassung vom 3ten Februar 1847. Von Heinrich Simon. [Accept or refute? The Constitution of February 3d, 1847. By Henry Simon.] Leipzig: 1847.

13. Ein Ehrengerichtlicher Prozess. Von F. Anneke. [The Proceedings in a Court of Honour. By F. Anneke.] Leipzig: 1846.

14. Die Europäische Pentarchie. [The European Pentarchy.] Leipzig: 1839.

15. Die Europäische Triarchie. [The European Triarchy.] Leipzig: 1841.

16. Slawen, Russen, und Germanen. Ihre gegenseitigen Verhältnisse in der Gegenwart und Zukunft. [Sclavonians, Russians, and Germans. Their respective Relations for the Present and the Future.] Leipzig: 1843.

17. Oestreichs Zukunft. 2te auflage. [Austria's Future. 2d edition.] Leipzig: 1847, . . 237

CONTENTS OF No. CLXXVIII.

Page

ART. I.—1. Essays on some unsettled Questions of Political Economy. By John Stuart Mill. London: 1844.

2. Principles of Political Economy, with some of their Applications to Social Philosophy. By John Stuart Mill. 2 vols. London: 1848, . . . 293

II.—Letters addressed to the Countess of Ossory, from the year 1769 to 1797. By Horace Walpole, Lord Orford. Now first printed from original MSS. Edited, with Notes, by the Right Hon. R. Vernon Smith, M.P. In two volumes. London: 1848, . . 339

III.—1. An Appeal to the Middle Classes on the urgent Necessity of numerous Radical Reforms, Financial and Organic. By Francis W. Newman, Professor of Latin in University College, London, and formerly Fellow of Baliol College, Oxford. London: 1848. Pp. 28.

2. English Life, Social and Domestic, in the Middle of the Nineteenth Century, considered in reference to our Position as a Community of Professing Christians. By the Author of 'Reverses.' London: Fellowes, 1847. Pp. 219, . . . 360

IV.—Wanderings in China. By Robert Fortune. 1 vol. 8vo. London: 1847, ... 403

V.—1. Researches into the Physical History of Mankind. By James Cowles Prichard, M.D., F.R.S., M.R.I.A., Corresponding Member of the National Institute of France, &c. &c. 3rd edition. London: 1836—47. Five volumes, 8vo. pp. 2547.

2. The Natural History of Man; comprising Inquiries into the Modifying Influence of Physical and Moral Agencies on the different Tribes of the Human Family. By James Cowles Prichard, M.D., F.R.S., &c. &c. London: 1843. 8vo. pp. 556.

3. Report of the Seventeenth Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, held at Oxford, in June, 1847. London: 1848. 8vo. pp. 523, ... 429

Page

ART. VI.—Memoirs of the Reign of George the Second, from his Accession to the Death of Queen Caroline. By John, Lord Hervey. Edited, from the original Manuscript at Ickworth, by the Right Hon. John Wilson Croker, LL.D., F.R.S. In 2 vols. London: 1848. Murray, ... 48

VII.—1. L'Europe depuis l'Avènement du Roi Louis Philippe. Par M. Capefigue. 10 vols. Paris: 1846.

2. Le Congrès de Vienne dans ses Rapports avec la Circonscription actuelle de l'Europe. Par M. Capefigue. Paris: Jan. 1847.

3. European Remodellings, a Plan with a Variation. London: 1848.

4. Sketches of the Progress of Civilization and Public Liberty, with a View of the Political Condition of Europe and America in 1848. By John Macgregor, M.P. London: 1848, ... 51

ERRATUM IN VOL. LXXXVII.

Page 192., lines 18 and 19., "Why do the diurnal rotations of Mercury, the Earth and Mars, agree to a minute?"

For "a minute" read "an hour."

THE

EDINBURGH REVIEW,

JULY, 1848.

No. CLXXVII.

ART. I. — 1. *Histoire de la Poésie Provençale. Cours fait à la Faculté des Lettres de Paris.* Par M. FAURIEL. Paris: 1846. 3 vols.

2. *Essais Historiques sur les Bardes, les Jougleurs et les Trouvères Normands et Anglo-Normands.* Par M. l'Abbé DE LA RUE. Caen: 1834. 3 vols.

3. *Les Trouvères Cambresiens.* Par M. ARTHUR DINAUX. Paris: 1837. 1 vol.

4. *Observations sur la Littérature Provençale: Essais Littéraires et Historiques.* Par A. W. VON SCHLEGEL. Bonn: 1842. 1 vol.

5. *Leben und Werke der Troubadours. Ein Beytrag zur näherer Kenntnisse des Mittelalters.* Von FREDERICK DIEZ. Zwickau: 1829. 1 vol.

THE priority in the literary history of Europe of the compositions of the Celtic and Teutonic bards, scalds, minstrels, minne-sängers, and meister-sängers, or of those of the Provençal and French troubadours, and trouvères, is a subject of controversy of old standing, which has been lately renewed on the Continent. And the question is of no mean importance. It embraces the revival of letters after the subversion of the Roman empire in the fifth century; together with the origin of a poetical character, taste, and spirit, which are plainly distinct from those of the purely classical models of Greece and Rome, and which, under the name of the Romantic school, are now

exercising almost sovereign rule and masterdom over the imaginative literature of our times. We shall endeavour to explain, without presuming to decide the points at issue. They have engaged the attention of some of the most distinguished scholars and critics of the age; and the works cited above are rather the representations of different classes of opinions among eminent men, than the exposition of judgments in criticism in which the literary world unanimously acquiesces.

In the eleventh century, the river Loire was the boundary between two distinct dialects, the *langue d'oc* and the *langue d'oil;* both derived from a common parent, the Latin, but each filled with words and idioms from different sources, and different from those of the sister tongue. South of the Loire the langue d'oc prevailed, the language in which the troubadours composed their lays; and north of that river the langue d'oil was used, the language of the trouvères, which has expanded into the modern French. These dialects received their names of *langue d'oc* and *langue d'oi* or *d'oil,* from *oc* and *oui,* the affirmatives peculiar to each; and although the latter has now entirely displaced the former as the language of literature and refinement, in the eleventh century the *langue d'oc,* or Provençal, was more used as the language of poetry and sentiment, than the *langue d'oil.*

The posthumous work of M. Fauriel is the labour of a life devoted to the study of the poetry of the langue d'oc, or Provençal, and of the lives and lays of its troubadours. It is given to the public from notes of a course of lectures delivered by M. Fauriel, on his appointment to a chair of Provençal poetry in the University of Paris. The learned author died before he could repeat his course or revise his opinions: But he claims for his troubadours the priority and pre-eminence, not only over the trouvères, the poets of the cognate tongue, but over the minstrels, meister-sängers, and minne-sängers of the Teutonic people, over the bards of Armorica and Wales, and over the scalds of the Scandinavians. According to M. Fauriel, it was in the country south of the Loire, that the spark, buried in the ashes of a preceding Greek and Roman civilisation, was rekindled, and from its light and heat have been derived the whole poetic fire and imaginative fertility of all European nations north of the Loire, the Celtic, Teutonic, Icelandic, Norman, Saxon, Belgic, and French of the langue d'oil. The bards, scalds, minstrels, meister-sängers, minne-sängers, and trouvères, were, in short, but translators, copyists, or imitators of the Provençal troubadours.

M. de la Rue takes a more reasonable view of the subject.

The friend of Sir Walter Scott, of Mr. Ellis, and Mr. Douce, he passed ten years in this country in the study of the manuscripts of Norman and Anglo-Norman poetry, which enrich many of our public and private libraries, and to which his distinguished literary friends obtained him ready access. In his own country he pursued the same line of study as M. Fauriel, with equal zeal and advantages, and with more sobriety of judgment. His work contains much information on the early poetry of the middle ages, without any of M. Fauriel's unfortunate ambition for establishing a peremptory theory, and making good a party opinion. The work of M. Arthur Dinaux vindicates successfully the claims of the trouvères of Flanders, especially of Cambray, to originality, and to a taste and spirit more natural and truly poetical than the conventional style and affected sentiment of the Provençal troubadours. M. Diez gives curious details of the lives and writings of the class of professional poets in the middle ages. August W. Von Schlegel published his observations originally in the Journal des Debats, in 1833–34, and republished them in 1842, at Bonn, in the work above cited. He appears to have been waiting for matter and opinion—in other words, for the appearance of M. Fauriel's work on the subject; the staple of his essay being what M. Raynouard has done, and what M. Fauriel was to do in illustrating the Provençal language and literature.

No province of the Roman empire was so completely Romanised as Gaul, before the invasion of the barbarians in the fifth century. All the upper classes were, or affected to be, of Roman descent; so that Latin was the official language, and the language of literature and refinement, as well as of law, religion, and social intercourse among the cultivated. But Gibbon and Villemain probably go too far in supposing that Latin was also the language of the whole population; while Schlegel exaggerates their supposition, when he says that 'Latin, and 'nothing but Latin, was spoken at that period in Gaul, to 'the borders of the Rhine.' The language of a people may be altered, improved, or adulterated by the admixture of other languages, but can scarcely be wholly eradicated except by the extinction of the race. Cæsar tells us of three indigenous languages in Gaul at the period of his invasion, and we find traces of the three even at the present day in the same localities: the Celtic still existing on the west coast of Gaul, the Aquitanic represented by the Basque tongue, and the Belgic remaining in the Flemish on the lower Rhine, as a distinct dialect of the Teutonic. These three languages therefore still linger in the original seats of the Celti, Aquitani, and Belgi; and there is no

ground for supposing that these indigenous languages were or could be totally extinguished by the Roman conquest. In the south of France, however, another language had been previously superinduced on the original tongue of the natives, for a period as long as the Latin had been introduced into the rest of Gaul before the invasion of the barbarians, and over an extent of territory more considerable than has been generally understood.

The citizens of Phocea, one of the seven cities which contended for the honour of being the birthplace of Homer, flying, we are told by Herodotus, from the arms of Cyrus, established a colony at Marseilles. This independent Greek state, founded in Gaul 600 years before our era, was an important ally of the Romans in the second Punic war, and was rewarded by great additions to its territory. Marseilles became the mistress of twenty-four cities, and of a dominion extending from the Cape of Monaco in Italy to the mouth of the Segura on the east coast of Spain, or about five degrees of latitude. The language and civilisation of this commercial Greek state in the south of Gaul must have exercised considerable influence in the course of so many years, and have spread among the barbarous tribes in the interior, with whom it traded. Commerce implies mutual wants, social intercourse, and something of a common language between the people dealing with each other. Cæsar, indeed, tells us that the Helvetii, the nearest neighbours of the state of Marseilles, kept the muster-roll of their army in Greek, or in Greek characters, and that the Druids used the Greek letters, and were not unacquainted with Greek philosophy. We learn from Livy, from Cicero, in his oration for Flaccus, and from Tacitus, in his life of Agricola, that the Phocean colony of Marseilles retained in great purity, not only the Greek language, but the learning, arts, and genius of Greece. It lost its independence as a state by taking part with the senate of Rome against Julius Cæsar, but retained its reputation; and sometimes was preferred even to Athens as a school for Greek literature and refinement. Tacitus observes that Agricola was educated there, on account of the superior purity of its language and manners. That the Greek language had taken root, and spread in the south of Gaul, seems proved by a funeral oration to the people of Arles, upon the death of a brother of the Emperor Constantine the Great. The youth was assassinated in passing the Alps, in the year 311, and his funeral oration is in Greek. It is surely, therefore, not a reasonable supposition, that three indigenous languages, and one foreign, but which in the fifth century was of more than

a thousand years' standing in the country, should have been entirely extirpated and replaced by Latin in the course of the Roman occupation of Gaul, by armies of which, for more than half of the five hundred years from Cæsar's conquest to the Gothic invasion, the greater part were not Romans, but enlisted barbarians, as ignorant of the Latin tongue as the Gauls themselves. Schlegel's statement that 'Latin, and nothing but Latin, 'was spoken in Gaul up to the borders of the Rhine,' at the downfall of the Roman empire in the fifth century, must therefore mean merely that the clergy, the civil functionaries, the military of the higher rank, the proprietors, lawyers, officers of government, and generally all of the upper and educated classes, used the Latin language. The course of events proves, no less than public documents, that, to this extent, the use of Latin prevailed in Gaul. But, on the other hand, the rapid conquest by the barbarians and the slight resistance of the inhabitants seem to afford proof that the upper and lower classes, the governing and governed, in the country, were without common interests to defend, and a common language to inspire all with a common spirit and union for defence.

About the year 415 new elements entered into the languages of Gaul, whatever they may have been before. The Visigoths, under Ataulph, the successor of Alaric, established themselves between the Rhone and the Pyrenees, and extended their dominion to the Loire. The Burgundians seized on the east of Gaul. Some provinces in the north were still under Roman governors, and nominally part of the Roman empire; but the Franks, under Clovis, coming from the north-east of Germany, defeated the Gallo-Roman forces, and, settling in the more Romanised interior, occupied all the country up to the frontiers of the Visigoths and Burgundians. After a struggle between these barbarous tribes of cognate race and speech, which continued about thirty years, the last comers, the Franks, obtained the superiority, and with it the dominion over the whole of Gaul.

These successive swarms of barbarians, however, did not come to destroy what the Romans had created in the provinces of the empire, but to enjoy it, and to put themselves in the place of the Romans, as the upper and proprietary class. From the first they appear to have left to the indigenous population their religion, law, municipal governments, social institutions, arts, and language; and ended by adopting most of these as their own. The religion of the church of Rome would bring along with it its language and literature — if it had not found them there — and all its social influence on public and private life.

From the sixth century, when the Visigoths were driven into

Spain, and the Burgundians ceased to be a distinct people with kings of their own, the Franks became predominant: And, though it took two centuries to assure the triumph of the Austrasian or German branch over the Neustrian or Roman, in the persons of Pepin and Charlemagne, yet all along cultivated Latin would be going out more and more with the classes who had used it. Sidonius Apollinaris, who lived about the end of the fifth century and was a native of Gaul, is the last of the ancient writers who is reckoned in the series of classics. Gregory of Tours, born in 539, and consecrated bishop of Tours in 573, was only about sixty years later than Sidonius Apollinaris; both were born in the same part of Gaul, in Auvergne, and both were of the same rank and social station — senators, and bishops. 'But the difference of their 'style and sentiments,' says Gibbon, in his History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, 'may express the decay of Gaul, 'and clearly ascertain how much, in so short a space, the human 'mind had lost of its energy and refinement.' Gregory of Tours, in his *Historia Ecclesiastica Frankorum*, makes an apology, and not without reason, for his defective Latinity; and says he undertook to write the history of the church from 395 to 591, although imperfectly acquainted with the rules of the Latin language, because the memory of past events was in danger of perishing altogether from the want of any one to record them in prose or verse. The chronicle of Fredegaire, of the seventh century, that of Eginhard, secretary, son-in-law, and biographer of Charlemagne, in the eighth, and the poem of the priest Abbon, on the siege of Paris by the Northmen, in the ninth century, — an event with which he was contemporary, and an eye-witness, — show the progressive decline of the Latin language in Gaul from age to age. In England the same decline was not so early; being probably arrested by the talent or the instruction of learned individuals; but it was more rapid. Bede wrote his *Historia Ecclesiastica Anglorum* about 150 years after the time of Gregory of Tours, and the Latinity of his style requires no apology. About 150 years after Bede's death, a friend of king Alfred, and of Charlemagne, Alcuin, of Anglo-Saxon birth and education, wrote in much less barbarous Latin than his contemporary, Eginhart, the secretary of Charlemagne. But such individuals were the exceptions. The general decline of the Latin language and literature, and the low state they had fallen into in the ninth century, appear, from the well-known complaint of Alfred the Great, in his letter to Wulfsig, bishop of Worcester, that at his accession to the crown in 871, few persons north of the Humber understood the prayers of the church, or could translate a

sentence of Latin into Anglo-Saxon, and not one, south of the Thames, could do so.

From the general decay of the Latin language in Europe after the fifth century, and from the barbarism of the style of what was written in it, historians infer, as Gibbon does in the passage above quoted on comparing Sidonius Apollinaris and Gregory of Tours, that the human mind itself was in a retrograde state in those ages, and 'had lost much of its energy and refine-'ment.' The just conclusion, we think, is nearer the reverse of the historian's. The Latin language, indeed, was breaking up and falling into disuse; but that may be, in reality, a proof that the human mind was otherwise advancing; that people were acquiring new objects, new arts, new wants and gratifications in their material life; new interests, new rights, new relations between man and man in their civil life; and with these, new ideas and new combinations of ideas in their intellectual life; which the Latin language, in its classical purity, had no words and constructions adequately to express. They only were stationary who took their stand upon a fixed state of language and civilisation, and supposed that all movement from this state must necessarily be retrograde. The Latin language, after the fifth century, became more and more barbarous; that is, more and more mixed with words, phrases, constructions, altogether unknown in pure Latin, just in proportion as society became less barbarous; that is, as the great body of the people became possessed of more material objects, more civil rights, and more social and individual interests to give names to and speak of, than they could find good Latin words for; and began to have more complicated relations with each other than its constructions could convey without ambiguity. Latin was first rendered barbarous, as the scholar would term it — or enriched, as the philosopher ought to consider it — with new, although in sound and derivation barbarous words or names for new objects and ideas; then its construction was re-cast, and mingled with new and unharmonious, but much more distinct, modes of expressing the relations of things to each other, than by terminal syllables of the radical word; and at last it gradually split into the modern languages, the French, Spanish, and Italian. The Latin element, out of which this transformation was effected, may have principally descended during the process from the more learned classes to the unlearned; but, unless a basis of Latin of some sort had more or less pre-existed in the body of the people, such a change could never have been accomplished at the period and under the circumstances in which it actually took place.

M. Fauriel and M. Von Schlegel call those languages syn-

thetical which express the modifications of meaning in the relations of words to each other by varied terminations of the radical word; and those which use distinct words to express these relations, analytical. The terms concrete languages and decomposed languages would, perhaps, express more distinctly the difference between the two classes of languages; the terms synthetical and analytical being already appropriated to the modes of reasoning or of obtaining results, rather than to the results obtained.

The two dialects which grew up in France during those ages, the *langue d'oc* and the *langue d'oil*, were both analytical. The troubadours of the *langue d'oc*, and the trouvères of the *langue d'oil*, derive their names from the words *trobar* and *trouver*, signifying 'to find' in those dialects; and the word 'poet' has, in Greek, a similar derivation — as also the old English word 'maker.' With their attendant joculatores and musicians, wandering from castle to castle — every castle the seat of the little court of the baronial lord of the domain — and entertaining the knights, and ladies, and men-at-arms, with their lays, or tales, and jests, they are supposed, by M. Fauriel, to be the legitimate successors of the actors, singers, mimes, and saltatores of the Greek games and festivals in honour of Diana and Flora; and not a class derived from the bards or scalds of the Celtic or Gothic inhabitants of Gaul. These games and festivals continued to be celebrated in the seat of the ancient Greek colony long after it was Christianised; and they were, in fact, amalgamated with the festivals of the Christian church. In pagan times the Floral games were proverbially scandalous. Naked courtezans contended in the race for prizes awarded out of the municipal funds; and at Arles and Beaucaira this usage continued down to the sixteenth century. Songs and dances, profane and even obscene, were usual in churches in the sixth century: they were prohibited by a council held at Toledo in 589, and again by a council at Rome in 826 — when it was said 'women went to 'church at the Nativity and other church festivals, not from 'suitable motives, but to dance and sing indecent songs in 'choral bands;' and so late as 1551, dances, games, and representations in churches were denounced by a council at Narbonne.

It is consistent with the state of manners, and the tenacity with which a rude people adhere to ancient customs, that a taste for song, dance, and representation, and a class of troubadours and joculatores administering to that taste, should have lingered from the classical times among the descendants of the Greek colonists. They may very possibly have existed, as

M. Fauriel supposes, altogether independently of the similar or equivalent class of bards among the indigenous Celtic population of Gaul, or of scalds, sängers, or minstrels among the successive conquerors of Gothic race. But the co-existence, or prior existence of troubadours in the south of France — even if it were matter of proof, not of supposition — would not establish M. Fauriel's deduction from it. Assuming that the troubadours can be traced to an earlier origin chronologically than the equivalent class among the Celts and Goths, it by no means follows that they are necessarily the original model, of which the latter class and their compositions are but imitations or copies. The chronological succession of events, and especially of their social and intellectual development in a comparison of nations, is not always, or even most commonly, a succession of cause and effect, or of model and imitation. All human societies, in the same stages of development, have institutions the same with or equivalent to each other, without borrowing, or imitating, or imposing. They will have chiefs, nobles, priests, judges, without copying them from Jews, Greeks, or Romans, though these should make out a case of chronological precedence. Every rude society, while unacquainted with writing, must have had a class of men who committed to memory and were able to recite its ancient laws, customs, practices in matters of public interest or private right, genealogies, family relationships, boundaries and ownership of property. These oral recorders are then a necessary element. It was not an intellectual taste, but a primary social want, which gave existence to such a class equally among Jews, Greeks, Romans, Celts, and Goths, at a certain stage in their history: and it is owing to this common primary want that all nations will be found to have had this class among them under some name or other, — poets, bards, scalds, troubadours, or meister-sängers.

The Scandinavian branch of the Teutonic race only received Christianity, and with it the use of written language, in the 11th century; and among them the class of oral recorders of events was not entirely superseded by the establishment of a body of churchmen, with means of writing, until the thirteenth century. The last of the professional scalds appears to have been Sturle Thordson, in the time of king Haco Haconson, who died in 1274. The other branches of the Teutonic race — the Burgundes, Ostrogoths, Visigoths, Longobardi, Franks, Anglo-Saxons — had conquered and settled in countries more civilised than their own, and had acquired Christianity, and the use of written language, together with a numerous body of clergy more or less instructed, in the course of the fifth century, or between the

fifth and the eighth. They were at that period in the state of religious and social development, which the Scandinavian branch only attained 500 years later. Bards or scalds had no doubt existed among those other Teutonic tribes in their pagan state; for which, besides the evident social necessity of such a class, we have the direct testimony of Cæsar and Tacitus. But they and their works, and the oral tradition to which they had been consigned, disappeared before a more perfect mode for transmitting the memory of events, real or imaginary, and of laws, customs, and interests — that is, before the written record in Latin — and before a better machinery than wandering bards or scalds, that is, before the settled independent order of priests fixed in every locality in the midst of the population. Not one song, story, saga, or traditionary history, composed in the pagan times of any of the Teutonic tribes who conquered and settled in the Roman provinces of Gaul and Britain, not one specimen of their previous pagan mind, manners, and social state, is now extant. Of the northern, or Scandinavian branch, a considerable body of traditionary literature of their pagan state has been preserved. The reason of this difference is obvious. The Scandinavian tribe remained pagan five centuries after all the rest of Europe had been Christianised. Swein, who conquered England, and his son, Canute the Great, were born pagans, and it was not until the beginning of the eleventh century that Christianity was introduced among the northmen. In the rest of Europe, learning and the art of writing were beginning to be generally cultivated in the eleventh century: so that, while the conversion of the northern Teutonic branch was going on, individuals, whose fathers were born, bred, and even still living in paganism, were themselves not only Christians, but priests and scholars, who had studied at Erfurt and Paris! Such men were Sæmund and Are: they collected in writing the traditional literature of the scalds, at a time that the living scalds and their traditions were yet before them; and had, besides, the taste to write in their native tongue what they collected in it.

Of the many cognate tribes of the Teutonic race, the Scandinavian alone was in a situation to preserve and transmit its ancient traditions. As a tribe or nation, the Scandinavians had never abandoned their native seat. Their original language, laws, manners, religion, and the very dwellings, farms, families, localities, and names connected with their traditions, existed around them. The other Teutonic tribes, who in the fifth century settled in the Roman provinces of Gaul and Britain, and even in Germany itself upon the Rhine, were emigrants congregated from various distant localities and homes, and driven west-

ward from their native seats by the pressure of populations urging them on behind. They had no historical memorials around them in their new abodes; and almost before the events connected with their new country could become old traditions, they had adopted a new religion, new institutions, and a new language for the purposes of record. They had no objects or circumstances, physical or moral, in their adopted homes, to keep alive and perpetuate the memory of their ancient history, religion, and social condition in pagan times; while the altered circumstances in which they were living necessarily produced changes in the language itself, as well as in its objects. Next to the translation of the Gospel into Mœso-Gothic, by Ulphilus, in the fifth century, the oaths of mutual fidelity between Louis and Charles, sons of Louis le Débonnaire, and grandsons of Charlemagne, at Strasburg, in 842, are considered the earliest specimens of the dialects used by the Gothic invaders of the Roman empire in Gaul and Germany. The writers of the next century call Austrasia *Francia teutonica*, and Neustria *Francia romana*: the German language prevailed, they say, in one; the Roman in the other.* Of these two oaths, that of Louis runs thus: 'Pro deo amor, et pro Christian poblo et nostro commun salvament, dist di in avant in quant Deus savir et podir me dunat si salvari eo cist mon fradre Karle et in adjudha,' &c. The same oath by Charles, is as follows: 'In Goddes minna, end um tes Christianes folches end unser bedher gealtnissa for thesemu daga framondes so fram so mir Got giwizsie indi madh furgibited so hald ih lesan minan bruodher,' &c. The oaths of their respective subjects on this occasion, observe the same distinction. Each people is recorded to have sworn *propriâ linguâ*. The Frank subjects of Charles, in the Roman; the subjects of Louis the German, in German. The Neo-Latin dialect, which was now forming, according to this specimen of it, bears a much nearer resemblance to the rustic Roman of the *langue d'oc* than to that of the *langue d'oil* — that is, to the language of the troubadours than to that of the trouvères, to the Provençal, which was to die out almost in the bud, than to the French, which

* Guizot observes, in his essay 'On the Causes of the Fall of the Two First Races,' that many traces of this geographical distribution are still visible. The Councils of Rheims and Tours, which represented the entire church of the Frank empire, had ordered, as early as the year 813, that certain homilies should be translated *in rusticam romanam linguam aut theotiscam*, that they might be understood by the people. The decree was renewed by the Councils of Mayence and of Arles, in A. D. 847 and 851.

was to aspire at becoming what Latin once had been, the medium of communication for civilised Europe. But, in neither of these tongues has any literary composition reached our times which can be placed earlier than the eleventh century.

Meanwhile Latin continued to be the language of chronicles and legends, of theology, law, and politics. The chronicler Nithard, himself a grandson of Charlemagne, and who died about ten years afterwards, gives us the above oaths as they had been sworn at Strasburg, in the original dialects: but he wrote his chronicle in Latin. Language is the machinery of thinking; and much of the apparent ignorance and intellectual torpor of Europe, from the fifth to the tenth or twelfth century, may be ascribed to the imperfection in every country of this machinery. Latin, although every where used as the language of mind, was now nowhere a living language. It had been formed upon, and adapted to, a different state of society from that which arose after the fall of the Roman Empire; and a long study of different habits, ideas, and modes of living, was required to use or understand it classically. When attained, we have seen that it must have wanted words and constructions to signify clearly what people had to express in a condition of things so opposite to the Roman. Of this deficiency there can be no instance or consequence more striking, than the origin of what is called law-Latin; to the credit of which Blackstone obliges English lawyers to admit the rest of Europe. All other professions had to submit, more or less, to the same necessity.

Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that Latin had fallen into such disuse, that men, even of the rank and station of Gregory, bishop of Tours, were not familiar with its rules: while yet the vernacular Gothic dialects were not sufficiently developed to be used by them in writing. It was not until the sixteenth century, that Luther, by his noble translation of the Bible, gave Germany a literature as well as a religion. Notwithstanding the popular poetry of the minne-sängers and meister-sängers, so uncouth and rude was the German language before Luther, that the date of the fabliaux (the Schwänke) of his contemporary, Hans Sachs, who lived in the sixteenth century, has been mistaken by some of our English critics, writing on the scalds, by some centuries. If literature were dead, if in a thousand years scarcely a work can be named of value, except as a dry record of historical events, or an unintended picture of ignorance, credulity, and mental stupor, it was not, however, that the human mind was retrograde, or even stationary, but that its means for working, or showing the work it did, were defective. In Latin, and on the subjects to which that lan-

guage is applicable, the *Historia Ecclesiastica* of Bede, his homilies and commentaries; and in Anglo-Saxon, the metrical paraphrase of parts of Scripture by Caedmon, and the homilies in course of publication by the Ælfric Society—show that mind was not dormant in the Anglo-Saxon church. But these works, whether composed originally in Latin or in Anglo-Saxon, belong to the church, not to the Anglo-Saxon people. As long as theology is understood, from its very nature, to be unprogressive, unchangeable, unimprovable, a few monks of the seventh century, secluded from the active business of life, and studying the Scriptures, the early fathers, and the doctrines of the church of Rome, recording also occasionally the secular events which came to their knowledge from the wild sea of barbarism without their cloister walls, might be in a position nearly as favourable for studying and expounding the immutable science, as our divines of the nineteenth century in the cloisters of Oxford. If its truths are fixed, they may be as ably expounded in the homilies of Bede, or Ælfric, as in the sermons of a modern divine. But such literature is of no age or country. It is not Anglo-Saxon. It belongs to a nation of churchmen scattered over Europe with a common language, education, spirit, and intellectual development.

German antiquaries claim a high antiquity, and an incontestable originality, for the noble epic, the Niebelungens Not. If the subject be historical, and not merely a fable adopted by the meister-sänger and adapted to history, it is of the fifth century, and refers to a slaughter of the Burgundians or Niebelungen, by Etzel, or Attila. There are some difficulties in recognising these claims. The Niebelungens Not is a continuous poem of about 10,000 verses. We can understand and admit that ballads, lays, and snatches of verse, interspersed in long prose stories of events or personages, and serving as catchwords to the memory, may be orally transmitted from bard to bard for generations; and that the substance of the tradition, and even the original way and words in which it was received, may be faithfully delivered. This is the utmost that can be reasonably claimed for the Icelandic scalds and their saga, under circumstances the most favourable for oral tradition. But that a continuous poem of 10,000 verses should be transmitted from father to son for 800 years by oral tradition, viz. from the fifth to the thirteenth century—the date to which the earliest manuscript of the poem is ascribed—passes the limits of credulity, as well as of memory. A few circumstances in the poem itself appear to strengthen the improbability of its very high antiquity. Russians, Hungarians, and Poles, are among the nations named

in it. But the two former were unknown before the year 900, and the latter before the eleventh century, under those names. Vienna is mentioned five times at least in the poem: but Vienna was not built until 1162. Pilgerin, Bishop of Passau, is represented as entertaining the Niebelungens on their journey to the court of Attila: but Pilgerin, Bishop of Passau, died in 991, and many generations must have passed away from the time of his death, before a poet could represent him as a contemporary of Attila, and blend the tenth century with the fifth. The Niebelungen, in its present Teutonic form, is more probably a poem of pen and ink times, than a relic of oral tradition from the fifth or sixth century. The thirteenth century, to which Pischon, in his *Denkmaler der Deutschen Sprache von der fruhesten Zeiten*, ascribes the language and writing of the earliest manuscript of the poem, may be reasonably taken for the date also of its composition. Since the discovery of a fragment of it in Flemish by M. Serrure, the Flemings are disposed to claim it, and to make it a century older. Detached lays and stories, each a whole in itself, relative to the same personages and exploits, had no doubt been circulating in oral tradition. These 'disjecta membra' have been strung together by the meistersänger, whatever date we assign to his work, and out of them he has formed the epic of the Niebelungens Not, with alterations to suit the spirit of his times. The personages are Christianised. They go to mass. They are knights and dames of the age of chivalry. But the story, the characters, the motives, and the actions, are consistent only with paganism and its spirit, and are clearly of pagan origin. In the group of lays or saga in the ancient Scandinavian tongue, relative to Sigurd Fafnirsbane and his race, the Volsunga saga, Norna Gests saga, Wilkina saga, and in detached lays or saga given in the Edda, itself a compilation of older saga of the pagan times, we have single stories of the same individuals and exploits as those given in the Niebelungen.* It is evident that these pagan fragments are the foundation, or rather are the whole of the poem of the Niebelungens Not, only in a different form and dialect of the Teutonic. Some writers suppose that these have existed in the Teutonic as well as in the Scandinavian tongue, and that the

* Weber has given a detailed analysis of the Niebelungen in his Illustrations of Northern Antiquities. He disposes of the singular question, whether the Teutonic cyclus of romance owed its origin to the Teutonic Goths or to their northern brethren, by stating that the internal evidence is with the Scandinavians, the external with the Germans: but he inclines, on the whole, in favour of the latter.

saga in the latter have been taken from the former. But the existence of these saga from pagan times, in the Icelandic or Scandinavian tongue, is a reality: their existence at all in the Teutonic, except in the Christianised form of the Niebelungens Not of the thirteenth century, is but a supposition. It is quite as reasonable to suppose that the German meister-singer of that century got his materials direct from Scandinavia, or Iceland, through the Germans of the Hans Towns' comptoir settled in those countries, and who returned frequently to their constituents at Lubec, Bremen, Nurenburg, and all the towns connected with the Hanseatic League, as that these materials were transmitted to him by oral tradition for 800 years, and then ceased to be transmitted when he had done with them, and are now totally lost. But the pagan origin of the story, and the relative claims of the Teutonic and Scandinavian literature to it, will be best seen by giving a brief sketch of the subject.

The country of Niederland, or Frankenland, on the right bank of the lower Rhine, was governed by a King Sigmund, whose son, Sigurd (Siegfried in the German story), was destined to become the most celebrated of his race. The Scandinavian saga give his descent from Odin, and several distinct stories of his forefathers. Sigurd, in his youth, slew the serpent Fafnir, hence his name, in all the Scandinavian saga, of Sigurd Fafnirsbane. It is idiomatic, in the old Scandinavian tongue, to add the word *bane*, which has the same meaning—destruction, as in English, to the name of the victim destroyed, and form a surname of the compound to distinguish the victor. Fafnir was a dwarf, who had the power of changing his form, was in enmity with Odin and Loke, and, having killed his own father, watched over an immense treasure, in the shape of a serpent. Sigurd slew the serpent, and by Odin's advice ate the heart, and became acquainted with the language of birds, and other secrets of nature. The German version of the story makes him invulnerable, except in one spot between the shoulders, by having bathed in the dragon's blood. The more rude Scandinavian version makes him wise by eating the heart, and says nothing of the inferior gift of being invulnerable. Sigurd becomes master of Fafnir's treasures, of his sword, Rotter, and of other magical implements, in the powers of which the two versions differ, and loads his horse, Gran, with the booty, and comes to the Rhine to a kingdom, to which different names are given in the poems. The German version calls it the kingdom of the Burgundians, and thus gives a kind of historical appearance to the tale. The King Gibeah had three sons, Gunther, Hagen, and Guthorm, or Giselthor, and one daughter, Chrimhild, in the

German, and Gudrun, in the Scandinavian story. Her beauty was so celebrated that Sigurd determined to see her. On his way he came to a lofty mountain, on the summit of which he found a beautiful young woman, in complete armour, fast asleep. This was Brunhild, who, according to the Scandinavian story, is a Valkyria, or one of the female divinities of the Odin mythology who assist at battles, and convey the souls of slaughtered warriors to Valhalla. Brunhild had slain a king to whom Odin had promised victory; and, as a punishment, Odin had plunged her into a deep sleep to continue until the bravest of mortal men should rouse her, — when she was condemned to take a husband and abandon the warlike life of a Valkyria. To elude Odin's doom, Brunhild had sworn to espouse only a man who knew no fear, and should overcome her in every trial she put him to. The character and position of this Valkyria are consonant to the Odin mythology, and consistent with it, but are quite unintelligible in the German story; neither her position, acts, or feelings being in accordance with anything but paganism. Sigurd and Brunhild are charmed with each other, and vow eternal love. Sigurd, however, in a few days proceeds on his journey, sees the princess Gudrun,— on which, in consequence of an enchanted potion administered to him by her mother, he loses all recollection of Brunhild, and falls in love with and marries her. Meantime her brother, Gunther, or Gonnor, hearing of the beauty of Brunhild, resolves to woo her, and knowing the trials to be endured, applies to his brother-in-law, Sigurd, for assistance. The German and Scandinavian versions differ in the details of this part of the story. Gunther cannot overcome the obstacles: Sigurd, therefore, by virtue of the magical implements which he took from Fafnir, assumes the form of Gunther, surmounts them all, and receives the hand of Brunhild. The Valkyria, the first night, suspends her bridegroom, the real Gunther, by his girdle to a hook in the wall. Gunther is obliged to apply again for assistance to his brother-in-law. Sigurd swears to Gunther that he will not take advantage of the right his prowess may give him to the favours of Brunhild, assumes again the form of Gunther, succeeds in the nuptial bed in unfastening the zone of the Valkyria, and, mindful of his promise, places a sword as sharp as fire between him and Brunhild. Sigurd and Gunther return in triumph with Brunhild as Gunther's bride, won by his own prowess. Gudrun and Brunhild soon become envious of each other. Gudrun, to whom her husband Sigurd had related all his trials and achievements in the form of Gunther, by which the hand of Brunhild had been gained, taunts Brunhild with having been the wife of two

husbands, and with having been given by her husband Sigurd to Gunther. Brunhild still loves Sigurd, and is driven to despair and vengeance by the insults of Gudrun. She urges her husband to avenge her and cut off Sigurd, although still loving him. The circumstances, manner, and consequences of Sigurd's murder are given variously in the German and in the different Scandinavian versions. Brunhild appears no more in the German story; but in one of the older Scandinavian versions of it she dies on a funeral pile, on which she orders eight male and five female slaves to be offered as a sacrifice, to show her grief for Sigurd's death. The sorrow of Gudrun for her husband Sigurd, and her revenge on her brothers for his murder, are the foundations of the rest of the story. Etzel, or Attila, king of the Huns, demands her in marriage. Gudrun at first refuses, but eager to avenge the murder of her husband Sigurd on her brothers, she at last consents. Attila soon after invites her three brothers, the princes of the Niebelungens, to visit his court, where they, and a large body of their followers, are slain in successive combats by the Huns and the Amelungen.

It is always an unsatisfactory attempt to bring history out of fiction: the basis of truth being uncertain, if it be there at all, in the fictitious narrative. Attila, the Huns, the Amelungen or Visigoths, descendants of those who, under Amala, invaded the Roman empire in the fourth century, and his successor, Theodorick of Verona or Dietrich of Bern, are all historical names. Attila and Theodorick also were contemporaries; but it does not appear, in the obscure history of those times, that they were allies, and acting together in the destruction of the Burgundians,—if these are represented under the name of the Niebelungen. Theodorick commanded the army of Visigoths at the battle of Chalons, fought in 451, and defeated Attila and the Huns, but lost his life in the battle. The importance of this victory, by which the power of the Huns in Europe was broken, appears to have been very generally felt in every country; and to have given such celebrity to the name of Theodorick of Verona or Dietrich of Bern, that in all languages there are a variety of ballads and lays, exploits and adventures, placed by the poet in connexion with the court of Dietrich or Theodorick and his knights. They form, indeed, the greatest cycle of romance compositions next to those of King Arthur and the Round Table, and the Knights of the Holy Graal. Some German writers find in the poem an allegory showing the introduction of evil through the serpent Fafnir and his treasures, and by the influence of woman; and one imagines that the Guelphs and Gibbelins are shadowed forth by the Niebelungen and Amelungen! All, however, that can

be soberly said of the story of the poem is, that it relates evidently to pagan not Christian times; and that the Scandinavian version of it, given in the Volsunga saga, Nornagest saga, and Edda, is probably the original, from which the Nicbelungens Not has been formed in the thirteenth century. The dwarf Fafnir, his power of transformation into a serpent, his magical implements and treasures, the Valkyria Brunhild, her superhuman strength and endowments, her nature, half human half divine, her degradation by Odin from the condition of a Valkyria for not conducting the issue of a battle and the fate of a king according to his will, are clearly consistent with and peculiar to the Odin mythology. The duty of revenge also, not merely the thirst for and satisfaction in revenge common to all barbarous society, but the sacred duty of revenge — overcoming love in Brunhild and fraternal affection in Chrimhild or Gudrun, and which is the main spring and moving influence of the whole action of the story — belongs altogether to the spirit, character, and motives which inspire the paganism of Odin. The history, religion, and laws of the Scandinavian people show, down to their conversion to Christianity in the eleventh century, that the revenge of insult and injury or of the death of friends was the most sacred of duties, and determined and controlled all individual action. In the German story, in which the parties are Christian knights and ladies who go to mass, this the main spring of the whole action is out of place. Brunhild, as M. Fauriel observes, is a kind of Bellona in the Christianised German story, not in harmony with the ideas or system in which she and the other *dramatis personæ* live and act; what she is, how she comes to be endowed with supernatural powers, and why she acts as she does, cannot be made out in the German poem. In the Scandinavian saga these are all in character with the spirit of Odinism; and this Brunhild, half human half divine, with her Valkyria prowess and endowments, her female affections and feelings, is like a fallen angel of the Odin mythology, — the rude outline of a grand conception.

The legends concerning Sigurd Fafnirsbane and his race, had been early and widely diffused among the Scandinavian branches of the Teutonic people. In the register of the first settlers in Iceland, the Landnammabok, of which the extant manuscript is ascribed to the thirteenth century, the pedigree of some of the distinguished families who came to Iceland about the year 900, is deduced from Sigurd Fafnirsbane. Many ballads concerning this hero and his race, were circulating in oral tradition among the inhabitants of the Færo islands so late as 1822. These were collected and published in the Færoese

dialect, with a translation into Danish, by C. Lyngbye, and with a preface by the learned antiquary Bishop Muller. Provençal troubadours, (or German meister-sängers, could scarcely have conveyed their legends into this locality and dialect of the old Scandinavian tongue.

The Anglo-Saxon poem Beowulf is considered by some of our zealous antiquaries to be a poem of the pagan times of the Anglo-Saxons, composed before their arrival in our island, or when the traditionary legends of their native seats were not yet extinct. It was first discovered in one of our public libraries, about sixty years ago, by the Danish antiquary, Thorkelin*, and was published by him; and it has been recently edited with more care and learning by the eminent Anglo-Saxon scholar, Mr. Kemble. The pagan origin of this poem, which would place its date about the end of the sixth century, or first half of the seventh, if it be an Anglo-Saxon composition, is a conjecture for which the poem itself furnishes no grounds. It is not composed in the spirit of paganism; nor of such other legends or saga of the German or Scandinavian people, as, like the Niebelungen or the Volsunga saga, are admitted to have had their origin in pagan times, and which, although like the Niebelungen the story and personages are Christianised, show the pagan mind, manners, and social state. The poem of Beowulf bears strong internal evidence of being the production of a Christianised mind, imbued with Christian doctrine and Bible history, and with the taste of the age of the Crusades; when the achievements of knights encountering ogres, and vanquishing them in single combat, were the staple of poetical fiction. The allusions to Cain and Abel, to giants and ogres begotten by the sons of God on the daughters of men, indicate a Christian authorship. The ogre, or demon of the story, is called a descendant of Cain, and is named Grindal. No such name occurs in the Odin mythology; and even in the historical saga of pagan times all the persons are carefully connected by descent with Odin and the divinities of the Odin mythology. Beowulf himself is unknown to the German and Scandinavian saga; and, excepting an allusion to the race of the Skialdungen, none of the names

* An Englishman's sympathy with the Danes ought to be something more than that of an antiquarian. And it has both grieved and shamed us to read in Weber that, among the minor miseries of our bombardment of Copenhagen, was the destruction of the library of Professor Thorkelin, and of a manuscript of an Anglo-Saxon poem on the expedition of Regner Lodbrog, which he had prepared and translated for the press.

found in the early fictions or traditional history of the north appear in this poem. This is contrary to the spirit of the early scalds or poets, who always hook on their tales to real persons and places, and identify them often by fictitious genealogies with existing families, or well-known localities. Like Homer, they overload their legends with proper names, as a means of communicating to them an air of reality, and giving them individuality and truth. And from the nature of oral tradition they must have done so: or their stories could not have been kept in memory, and orally transmitted from generation to generation. The locality of the story of Beowulf, which assumes the existence of islands near the hall of a king on an adjoining continent, agrees better with the coast about the mouth of the Eyder, the original seat of the Anglo-Saxons, than with Kent or any situation in England; but no intimations are given by which any particular district can be recognised. The Christian sentiment of dying in the peace of the Lord, which is the wish of the hero Beowulf, belongs to no system or age of paganism. In the pagan religion of the north of Europe the future state was any thing but a state of peace. It was a state of daily renewed combat and battle, followed by feasting and drinking in Valhalla. In Roman paganism it was an eternity of sensual bliss in Elysium. The sentiment of 'dying 'in the peace of the Lord' belongs to an advanced state of Christianity and to a late age, and could scarcely have been adopted in a popular tale to be orally delivered, before oral delivery was itself becoming extinct.

The date, therefore, ascribed to the manuscript—the twelfth century—may be fairly taken to be the true date of the composition. It is a circumstance adverse even to the antiquity which this date supposes, that the poem should have escaped the research of Marie de France, a lady *trouvère*, who came to England in the first half of the thirteenth century, on the same errand on which so many of our Lady Marys have gone to France in the first half of the nineteenth—to find something to write a book about. She understood Latin, Anglo-Saxon, Welsh, and Armorican; and made it her business to translate into her own Norman French or *langue d'oil* the legends circulating in oral tradition in Wales and Brittany. Marie enjoys, unenvied, the posthumous honour of having translated at least 10,000 verses from the Celtic dialects of Wales and Brittany, chiefly legends of King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Temple, and of the Knights of the Holy Graal or vessel out of which our Saviour and the apostles partook of the last supper. We are told by Denis Pyramus, a contemporary Anglo-Norman poet, that the

poems of Marie were in great esteem at the courts of the Norman barons in England, especially among the ladies. The British Museum possesses twelve of her poems. Marie also translated, from Anglo-Saxon prose into Anglo-Norman rhyme, certain fables of Æsop, in number 103, which an English king, according to some manuscripts King Alfred, had translated, or caused to be translated, from Latin into Anglo-Saxon. Marie says,—

> 'Les translata puis, en Englies,
> Et j'eo l'ai rimé en Franceis.'

Marie de France appears to have been the first, and not the worst 'author by trade' of the female sex in England; and it is satisfactory to know, that although her name, origin, and life are involved in obscurity, as may happen to authors of more recent times, M. de la Rue, M. Fauchett, and M. Pasquier agree, that she must have enlightened the world about the first half of the thirteenth century, in the reign of Henry III. If Beowulf had been a poem in oral circulation among the Anglo-Saxon population in her days, she could scarcely have missed picking it up. But if it had only been composed about the date of the MS. — by some monk in his cloister, who was ignorant of the mythology, history, and fictions of the north, and who wrote the sentiments of religion and chivalry belonging to his own age — Marie may not have heard of this Anglo-Saxon poem; or may not have translated it because it was the work of a contemporary, and not at all equal in poetic merit to the tales of knights and ogres which she had found in the Welsh and Armoric.

It may be reasonably doubted whether the Anglo-Saxon population of England ever had any traditional history or fiction circulating orally among them. They were not in the social position, in which such saga could arise or be preserved. Emigrants of three distinct tribes, without a common home or common history in their native localities, and scarcely having a common dialect, divided among themselves in their new abodes, severed entirely from their old, overwhelmed by the Danes, and stupified by the monks, they could not well have retained traditions from their original country, nor have formed any in their new. At all events, the total change of religion and manners after they were Christianised, must have soon suppressed, as belonging to their pagan state, all story or lay from the days of their forefathers. It was expected, on the discovery of Beowulf — and some sanguine antiquaries still cling to the hope — that a great mass of Anglo-Saxon saga, historical and poetical, may yet be discovered, as this poem of Beowulf was, among the manuscripts of our great

libraries. But this *terra incognita* of Anglo-Saxon literature has never been seen. The labours of our eminent Anglo-Saxon scholars have discovered nothing that can be said to approach the German or Scandinavian saga literature in history and fiction.* A few homilies and scriptural paraphrases in Anglo-Saxon have been published by the Ælfric Society, and a few clergymen may have read them, with unbounded wonder that these compositions are almost as good as they could have produced themselves, they who were born in this nineteenth century. But piety and edification will not pass for poetry or intellectual power. In the meantime, Beowulf has been restored to life again, only to be swallowed by a demon more formidable than the one he encounters in the poem—the demon who feeds on authors—neglect.

A fundamental distinction, we conceive, between the poetry of the bards, scalds, or the early Germans, and that of the troubadours and trouvères, and one which goes far towards settling the question of their respective priority or originality, is, that the compositions of the former are altogether objective or epic, those of the latter subjective or lyric.† Action, exploits, events, doings and sayings of real, or supposed real persons, are the elements of the compositions of the bards, scalds, or early Germans. They do not describe; they relate what is done, or said. On the contrary, the elements of the poetry of the troubadours and trouvères, are the sentiments, feelings, reflections of the persons, or of the poet himself,—love, gallantry, devotion, passion, and the natural or conventional movements of mind. They describe, rather than relate. In their Chansons de Gestes even and Romans de Chevalrie, although the story and events are objective, the subjective element is always predominant. To illustrate some passion or affection, some sentiment of love, devotion, or chivalrous feeling, to exalt some heroic character by the description of his deeds and virtues, is at the bottom of every incident or action described. In the poetry of the other more rude, and

* A more favourable opinion of Beowulf and of Anglo-Saxon literature will be found in Ed. Rev., No. 166.

† Humboldt has noticed this tendency to objective contemplation, as belonging to the German nations, and characterising the earliest poetry of their middle ages. 'Many and varied as are its points of 'contact with the romanesque poetry of the Provençals, yet its true 'Germanic principle can never be mistaken.' — *Cosmos*, vol. ii. p. 32. Weber does not suppose the Teutonic romances to have followed in the track of the troubadours and trouvères, until the century and a half, which intervene from the year 1150 to the reign of Rodolph of Hapsburgh: whose accession was marked by a revolution in German poetry.

therefore probably more ancient class, as in the Niebelungen and the Scandinavian saga, there is nothing sub-understood: there is no statement, no reflection, no feeling, either in the hero or the poet. All is narrative. Men and their deeds, consistent or inconsistent, virtuous or vicious, great or mean, are presented in oral traditionary legends, in a narration of what is doing, not in a description of what has been done, and without any sentiment lurking under it, or any purpose of suggesting sentiment or reflection. Many cycles of compositions, those relative to Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table, to the Holy Graal, and to Charlemagne and his peers, are admitted to have been rude objective tales, and probably nowise connected with chivalry and Christianity, in their primitive traditional state: But they were taken up by the later and more refined troubadours and minne-sängers, and Christianised, civilised, and worked up into romances, illustrating the sentiments of love, devotion, and chivalry, which belong to the subjective poetry of a later and more advanced state. Traditional poetry, in short, that has to be delivered orally from generation to generation, must be objective. The deed, or word, is the fact to be remembered. The sentiment of the person, whether arising from or giving rise to the deed or word, is but a secondary, unimportant accessory to the main fact to be transmitted. In a state of society in which poetry or history should be preserved by oral tradition only, subjective poetry could scarcely exist. It seems to belong naturally to a later development of civilisation; and, accordingly, troubadours and trouvères, as a class, belong, we apprehend, to a later period than the class of bards and scalds.

None of the poetry of the Provençal troubadours can be ascribed, according to M. de La Rue, to an earlier period, although the subjects may relate to earlier events, than the eleventh century. M. Fauriel seems unwillingly driven to the same conclusion. A considerable portion of his first volume is occupied with an analysis of the Niebelungen, and of Walter of Aquitaine, a Latin poem, of which the localities, the court of Attila, and the forest of the Vosges, and the names of Gunther, Hagen, and Walter, connect it with the Niebelungen. M. Fauriel considers this poem of Walter to have been originally composed in the seventh century, in the barbarous Latin in which alone it exists in manuscript, and from hence concludes that the poem of the Niebelungen—having some points of its subject, localities, and personages, in common with this Latin poem—has also been originally composed in Latin, from which the ancient German Niebelungen is but a transla-

tion. Moreover, this barbarous Latin poem of Walter of Aquitaine contains a few words, about a dozen, of which two only are Teutonic, two are Celtic, while the others are of unknown origin and meaning, and must be derived from some of the original dialects of the south of Gaul. There is besides, according to M. Fauriel, a form of locution and phraseology belonging to the languages of the south of Europe in this Latin poem, which show the author to have been an Italian, Spaniard, or native of the land of the troubadours south of the Loire. Assuming the poem of the Niebelungen to have also been composed originally in the same barbarous Latin, M. Fauriel claims it, and all the poetic literature of the Teutonic and Scandinavian bards, scalds, and minne-sängers, for his Provençal troubadours. We cannot clearly see the stepping-stones on which M. Fauriel walks dry shod so triumphantly to this conclusion. It seems quite as possible that this Latin poem of Walter of Aquitaine may be a translation, and at any period of the Middle Ages, from the Gothic or Teutonic into Latin, as that the Niebelungen should be a translation from the Latin into the Teutonic. A further circumstance in favour of this possibility is the fact, that we actually have this story of Walter of Aquitaine in a Teutonic dialect of the thirteenth century, in the Icelandic Vilkina saga, but in a version somewhat different. Instead of Walter of Aquitaine it is Walter of Vaskastun, sister's son of King Ermanric, who is the hero. The Vilkina saga is considered to be a compilation made about 1250, by order of King Hacon Haconson, who employed Biorn to collect and translate into Norse or Icelandic, for his amusement, the tales or saga of other countries. Biorn, in his preface, declares that some part of the Vilkina saga is derived from popular lays in his own tongue, and the greater part from German authorities. The Vilkina saga gives the whole cycle of the Teutonic saga, as the Volsunga saga and Edda give the more rude and ancient northern saga, concerning the Niebelungen, — and they are the materials from which that poem has been constructed. Walter, the nephew of Ermanric, flies with Hildegund and her treasures from Attila's court, where Walter had been sent as an hostage, slays those who attack him in his flight, puts out the eye of Hagen; and this episode in the Vilkina saga agrees, in the main circumstances, with the story of the Latin poem. The same story of Walter eloping with Helgunda is found in Polish, in a chronicle of the thirteenth century. It would be necessary, therefore, to show, by some sort of appropriate or direct evidence, that this Latin poem is the original, and not a translation from a Gothic original, before building

upon it so lofty a theory as that all the Teutonic, Scandinavian, Anglo-Saxon, Frisian, Belgic, Celtic, Welsh, Armorican lays, saga, legends, or traditionary literature, were first produced in Latin by troubadours or their predecessors south of the Loire, and then copied, translated, or imitated into those languages in which alone they now exist.

It is but a parish dispute in the domain of literature, whether the troubadours or the trouvères were the most ancient. They were both the same class of contemporary poets, composing in the same spirit and strain of subjective or lyric poetry, and in cognate dialects; both claim William IX., Duke of Guienne and Count of Poitou, as the chief and earliest of their craft; and the same poets indeed often used the *langue d'oc* or *langue d'oil* indifferently; and were, in fact, both troubadours and trouvères. William IX. was born about 1071: he declined to join the first crusade of 1095; but was induced, apparently from public opinion requiring it of him as a point of honour, to assume the cross in the second crusade of 1101. He has left a poem, bidding adieu to his infant son and his dominions: if there be little poetical spirit and no religious enthusiasm in it, there is much good sense and good feeling in his foreseeing the evils that might befall his child and his people by his absence, and in deploring the loss of all his worldly comforts. He returned in 1114, and died in 1127. He was the grandfather of Eleanor, who was first married to Louis VII. of France, in 1137, and divorced by that monarch for infidelity to his bed in 1152; and who, in the same year, carried her mature charms, and the extensive heritages of Aquitaine and Poitou, into the arms of Henry Duke of Normandy and Count of Anjou, afterwards Henry II. of England. William of Malmsbury speaks of this William IX. as an infidel—probably from his aversion to the popular movement of the Crusades—and as believing neither in God nor Providence, but full of wit and jokes. According to Ordericus Vitalis he was brave, surpassed in buffoonery even professional buffoons, and was addicted to women and sensual pleasures. He was evidently not the first nor the best of troubadours, in any sense; but it happens that eight pieces of his, still extant, are our earliest specimens of troubadour poetry. One is the lament, already mentioned; the others are partly licentious, partly tender and sentimental. In these may be traced the germ of the sentimental love songs, and of that strain of exaggerated feeling of devotion to the chosen fair one of the imagination, which became the characteristic spirit of troubadour poetry, and indeed of almost all imaginative production in French or Italian literature, down to modern times.

The professional troubadours and trouvères were the literary class of their times. They were attended by an inferior class, called jougleurs, or joculatores; and in this class were comprehended mimes, and histrions, gleemen, musicians, buffoons, — also conteurs, diseurs, arpeurs, ministrels, dancers, showmen, fortune-tellers, and, as John of Salisbury (De nugis Curialium) sums up the list, 'malefici, et tota joculatorum scena.' This inferior class was distinct from that of the troubadours. The troubadour was the companion and guest of lords and ladies at the little courts of the nobles; was rewarded by gifts of armour, jewels, dresses, horses, offices, land, and even knighthood, and by the favour and love of noble dames. The joculator was paid in money for his entertainment. He was a necessary attendant on the troubadour, because voice is not always an attendant on poetic talent. The troubadour appears to have devoted the winter to the composition of new lays, and to have set out in summer, with his train of joculators and musicians, on a round of visits from one baronial castle to another; and while he entertained its lords and ladies with his new compositions, chiefly short lyrical pieces in praise of the lady to whom he was devoted, his jougleur entertained the hall, the retainers, officers of the household, and hired men-at-arms, with compositions of a less refined, and what was considered a more vulgar cast, such as chansons de gestes, romances, ballads, fabliaux: at the same time, the mime, buffoon, and musician were probably amusing the herd in the court-yard with tricks, practical jokes, and dances. In all stages of society this is the natural division of labour in the amusing arts: practically it is so now as well as in the 12th century, although the different classes do not work together in one company at present. The jougleur was indeed himself a poet, though, as we have said, of a more vulgar caste than the troubadour: not but that they often exchanged parts — the jougleur adopting the appropriate style and subjects of the troubadour, and the troubadour composing pieces in the jougleur strain. Ultimately the two classes became blended together; or rather the style, subjects, and compositions of the troubadours being conventional and turning upon exaggerated sentiments of devotion to the fair, became trite and wearisome as soon as the manners and ideas of chivalry passed away, and the more natural performances of the jougleurs took their place.

All poems of action and of real life were called *sirventes:* while the *chanzos* or Provençal *canzoni* breathed forth their homage to a *dame d'amour*, often an imaginary personage, and addressed under some fantastic name as the object of poetical adoration. These last appear to have been the compositions most esteemed

by the higher ranks. As long as this singular taste prevailed, no men of letters ever enjoyed more social distinction than the troubadours of the Middle Ages. Kings, nobles, and clergy held it an honour to be troubadours; or, if nature had denied to them the talents, to be reckoned the liberal patrons of the profession. William IX. duke of Guienne, Alphonso II. king of Aragon, and Richard I. of England, were troubadours. Foulques, bishop of Thoulouse, on whom history has conferred the unenviable reputation of having instigated the bloody crusade against the Albigenses, was first a priest, then a professional jougleur and troubadour,—and he returned afterwards to his first profession, without, as may be inferred from his speedy promotion to a see, having suffered any derogation in public opinion. Henry II. of England, and his queen, Eleanor of Guienne, who seems to have inherited a taste for poetry, as well as other tastes less commendable, from her grandfather William IX., the earliest troubadour, were great patrons of the professors of the gay science. The first experiments with the Northern French, as a poetic language, nearly coincide with their entertainment of Bernard de Ventadour and others in their court. There was no passion among ladies of the highest rank so prevalent in the twelfth century, as the ambition of being celebrated in the lays of some troubadour of wide-spread fame. It was the only road to notoriety in an age when ladies were neither less charming, nor less vain than now; and when operas, court balls, the Morning Post, the book of beauty, the sculptor's bust, and the portrait painter's canvas, as yet were not. The troubadour alone had to do what, in our days, all these means of obtaining its meed of fame for pre-eminence in beauty or in fashion can scarcely accomplish to the satisfaction of the parties. The troubadour, like the knight, dedicated his life to the service of his lady; and tortured his ingenuity for new and striking descriptions of the condition to which he was reduced by the idolatry of his blinding and devouring love. The false position of the poet naturally produced an artificial poetry. Over-strained sentiments, far-fetched thoughts, extravagance of feeling and expression, were woven into lyrical poems. Conceits, difficult versification, obscure, high-sounding phraseology, were necessarily resorted to where there was no natural feeling or poetical subject. This was the extravagant taste of the literature of his times, which Cervantes held up to ridicule in Don Quixote and his Dulcinea. It was not knight-errantry in real life—which had long been extinct and forgotten—but its influence in literature, which still was felt, that he attacked. This influence has been carried down almost to the present age. Among the heroes and heroines

of the novels written for our grandmothers, love was still the moving power of all human action: inflated sentiment, conventional feeling, and the exaggerated woes and joys of love remained the current coin of this domain of literature, and passed for more than they were worth. The popular meaning of the words—romantic and romancing—will remain an evidence, as long as the language lasts, of the length these compositions went in their abuse of public credulity and public taste.

The productions of the jougleurs, their ballads, and outward pictures of stirring life, which were intended for the unsophisticated taste of the lower orders, have proved more natural, and far more suitable to the permanent taste of all classes, than the sentimental and lyrical pieces of their supposed superiors. It may appear at first sight, that the jougleur is but the counterpart of the scald, and his ballads, romances, chansons de gestes, the equivalents of the saga, only adapted to a different and more advanced state of society; being objective poetry in contradistinction to the subjective poetry of the troubadour. But, on closer examination, we find this essential difference. Narrative, exploit, adventure, real or imaginary, persons and actions, are common to the compositions of both. But those of the scald are purely objective, and without reference to cause or result, to consistency or inconsistency of action or character, — without reflection, or sentiment, or moral from actor or author. Action only is related by him. While in those of the jougleur the objective is always subservient to the subjective. His story is a romance of love, or of piety, or of knightly gallantry and devotedness to the lady or saint, or to his own fame and honour. It is sentiment in boots and spurs.

The troubadours and trouvères appear to have been in their most flourishing state about the last half of the twelfth century. Attended by their jougleurs, they were then the favoured guests of kings and nobles. Besides the country on either side of the Loire, they frequented Piedmont, Tuscany, Lombardy, Catalonia, and Aragon. About 1152 they visited Normandy and England. In 1162 they received Frederick I. at Turin, who repaid them by his praises of *lo cantar Provensallès*. A little later, the marriage of king Emerick with Constance, daughter of Alphonso II., raised up a friendly court in Hungary. But in Germany the court language was different: and the public favour was pre-occupied by an equivalent class, the minnesängers, of a ruder taste but much more natural. Against these obstacles the elaborate refinements of the troubadour poetry could make but feeble way. Within their own provinces, however, the troubadours of this age reigned supreme. They had meetings and societies, like those of the knights at

tournaments, for determining their own merits, and questions in love and poesy; and the Arcadian academies still lingering in Italy, in which laurel crowns are awarded for poetical affectations, are derived from the similar institutions of the troubadours and trouvères at Thoulouse, Puy Sainte Marie, and Cambray. The compositions celebrated at those meetings were poems of chivalrous love and sentimental gallantry, pastorals, serenades, aubades, and such lyric effusions as suited, and indeed were only intelligible to, an artificial sensibility created by what it fed on. These alone were dignified with the character of verse. Epic compositions, although in metre, were called prose. Dante, in speaking of the shade of the troubadour, Arnaud Daniel, proclaims his superiority to all other troubadours in every kind of composition:—

> 'Versi d' amore e prose di romanzi,
> Soverchio tutti e lascia dir gli sciocchi,
> Che quel di Limosin credon che avanzi;'

and M. Fauriel informs us that the word prosa is still applied, in some parts of the south of France, to ballads, and poems of action really in verse. The Limousin poet, whom Dante says fools prefer to Arnaud Daniel, is Guiraud de Borneil. Dante, in another work, 'De Vulgari Eloquio,' calls the three troubadours, Arnaud Daniel, Guiraud de Borneil, and Bertran de Born, three most illustrious poets in three different ways — circa quæ sola (scilicet armorum probitatem, amoris ascensionem, et directionem voluntatis) si bene recolimus, illustres viros invenimus vulgariter poetasse, scilicet, Beltramum de Bornio arma, Arnaldum Danielum amorem, Giraldum de Bornello rectitudinem. This triumvirate of illustrious troubadours flourished between 1175 and 1220. Petrarch calls Arnauld Daniel, the great master of love — ranking Arnaud de Marveil, as *il men famoso Arnoldo.* According to Benvenuto d'Imola, he borrowed from him and not from Dante, one of his forms of versification — a quo, scilicet Arnaldo Danielo, Petrarcha fatebatur sponte se accepisse modum et stilum cantilenæ de quatuor rythmis, non a Dante. He was the inventor of sextines. The merit, however, of this first of troubadours consisted, according to M. Diez, in exaggerated expression of sentiment, far-fetched allusion, and difficult rhymes and forms of verse: what remains of him is so poor, that Sismondi thinks his best pieces must have been lost. There was something, however, in the mind of Petrarch congenial to such a school. We find the parallel to his love for Laura in the still more exaggerated passion of the troubadour, Jaufre Rudal, prince of Blaya, about 1170, for a countess of Tripolis, whom

he had never seen. He knew her only from the reports of pilgrims, who, on their return from Antioch, were full of the praises of her goodness and beauty. Nothing daunted, he assumed the cross from a desire to set eyes on the unseen object of his ardent love; embarked, and arrived at Tripolis — but only to see her, and expire in the extasy of his fantastic passion! Emotion, sentiment, and passion, it may however be observed, may be very real and intense, even when not natural. They are not less strong because they are nourished by imagination. If acquired tastes and habits obtain the greatest influence over our physical constitution, we may expect to find our intellectual constitution submitting to the same law. An acquired spirit, tone, or school of feeling and thinking, which all men of equal culture in all ages cannot enter into and sympathise with, can scarcely be considered natural. It may, nevertheless, be very powerful and enduring; though pretty sure to run itself out, lose itself in a waste, or end in the ridiculous. About the end of the twelfth century, the obscure, mystical, and excessive in sentiment and expression, had apparently reached this goal. Guiraud de Borneil, the one least praised above by Dante and who flourished about 1180, began in the obscure style; but he had afterwards the sense to renounce it, and defend the simple and intelligible. He ventured to assert 'that a lay has 'no merit if all the world cannot understand it, and that an 'easy, simple lay conceals more art than it displays.' He vindicated his reformed faith against his friend Ignaura, who maintained, in a tenzone, the superiority of the obscure.

Bertran de Born, the third in Dante's triumvirate of illustrious troubadours, was a warrior as well as a poet; and although his baronial chateau and territory were unimportant, he was, by force of individual character, an historical personage. Sismondi calls him the Tyrtæus of the Middle Ages: To him, and his influence over the young prince Henry, son of our Henry II., are ascribed the feuds and wars between the son and father, which began in 1172 and only ended when the prince died of a fever in 1183;—full of sorrow and remorse for his conduct to a father, to whom he was preparing to give battle when he fell ill. Bertran de Born is placed in hell by Dante, and is represented carrying his head in his hand by way of lantern, as a fit punishment for having divided the son and father by his pernicious counsels. He appears to have lived on an intimate footing with the sons of Henry II.; for, in his poems, the usual name he gives Prince Henry is 'Marinier,' the sailor. Godfrey of Brittany he calls 'Rassa,' a nickname of which the meaning is not known; and Richard, 'Oc e no,'

or 'Yes and no,'—the only meaning of which is scarcely reconcileable with his world-wide title of the Lion's Heart.* Bertran de Born wrote Sirventes or satires and invocations to war, as well as Canzoni or lays of love; while in his life he represented the bold, restless, unprincipled baron of the twelfth century. Holding his petty castle as proudly and stoutly as kings held their kingdoms, and caring little for their pleasure or displeasure, he was ready, by his sword and song, to incur either, with an indifference which a well-earned self-confidence and a disjointed state of society alone could give. It was the high and palmy state of the troubadours when Bertran de Born, Sire de Hautefort, wrote political satires against Alphonso II. of Aragon, and defended his chateau against Henry II. of England.

During the succeeding hundred years the social influence of the troubadours was on the wane. Guirant Riquier, who lived between 1250 and 1294, laments the decline of his order in public estimation: the troubadours were now confounded with jougleurs and buffoons; and in a poem of the year 1278 he complains —'so little is the noble art of poesy now esteemed, that it is 'scarcely desired, tolerated, or listened to.' But it was probably the advance not the decline of public taste and of society in Europe, which was gradually leaving behind it the troubadours and their poetry. From the breaking up of the estates of the nobles ruined by the expense of the Crusades, new classes had sprung up, and a greater diffusion of property. The magnificent order of barons with extensive territories, surrounded in their castles by a little court, and indulging in the forced tastes and ostentatious puerilities, in which power so often seeks a privilege or resource, was almost extinguished; while smaller proprietors, whose tastes were not formed in any exclusive school, began to fill the enlarging ranks. The jougleur, who always at least made himself understood, would now naturally become a favourite, rather than the dark, inflated, and lyrical troubadour. The trouvères of the north of the Loire and of Flanders appear in general to have preferred what was intelligible, to the mystical obscurity of the troubadours: they cultivated the *fabliaux* more than the *canzone:* perhaps the greater diffusion of wealth and property brought in by the early commerce of the low countries, and the different class of patrons

* Sismondi has published two copies of a *sirvente* by Richard I., A. D. 1193, in the second year of his captivity. One copy is in the *langue d'oc;* the other in the *langue d'oil.* Whether one or both are originals, or neither, nobody of course can say.

raised up by this diffusion, may account for the difference. M. Dinaux, speaking of the difference between the compositions of the trouvères of Flanders and the troubadours of Provence, says: —

'Ces derniers chantaient constamment le printemps, les fleurs, se lançaient dans les régions étherées à l'aide d'un style boursouflé, et ne sortaient guères d'un cercle d'idées: les trouvères, au contraire, plus naturels, meilleurs peintres de l'époque, chantaient, ou plutôt contaient bourgeoisement l'anecdote du jour, les mœurs du couvent, les aventures d'amour, enfin tous les plaisirs de la vie, et de la société: les troubadours étaient les *classiques* exaggérés du moyen âge; les trouvères en furent les romantiques raisonnables. Il résulte de là que les uns deviennent parfois noblement ennuyeux, tandis que l'allure franche et roturiere des autres plaît et amuse presque toujours.'

The trouvères, in short, had adopted more of the objective style than the troubadours. They would have been classed by the latter, in their most palmy state, with their jougleurs. The influence, by which the petty courts of the twelfth century created and supported an artificial taste in poetry, is very similar to the subsequent influence of the court of Louis XIV. on French literature. Both confined thinking and feeling in composition within a certain conventional circle, beyond which even genius must not venture. Within this conventional circle very gifted men, no doubt, thought—and felt—and wrote: but still they were hemmed in by arbitrary restraints; and in every form of poetry, especially in the drama, they were almost compelled to be *noblement ennuyeux.* The French mind is only now beginning to overstep this chalk circle. But the voice is gone forth; natural feeling and expression have been heard; and the conceits, exaggerated sentiments, far-fetched allusions, and mystical obscurity of the lyrics of Arnaud Daniel, Guiraud de Borneil, and Bertran de Born, though once admired by Dante and still recommended by M. Fauriel, will scarcely revive a taste for the poetry of the Provençal troubadours.

ART. II. — *The History of Egypt from the Earliest Times till the Conquest by the Arabs,* A.D. 640. By SAMUEL SHARPE. London: 1846.

HAD this been the work of a German professor, printed on dingy paper, and with the usual amount of references in close type, it would probably ere now have been translated, or adapted for the English market. As a home-production we are therefore disposed to give it friendly welcome. Its subject is

one of singular interest to the scholar, and not without its practical value for readers of all classes: and it supplies in some measure a void in our historical literature.

Mr. Sharpe is well known for his proficiency in some of the abstruser departments of philology, and for his contributions to the studies of hieroglyphics and numismatics. His acquaintance with these subjects has enabled him to rest his present work on solid foundations. To the higher qualities of the historian he makes no pretensions. His narrative presents no striking portraitures or brilliant scenes to delight the eye, no profound maxims or pregnant summaries to linger on the memory. He is content to tell his story with few comments, and he is clear from the anathema which the late Mr. Southey pronounced against philosophical historians. The 'History of 'Egypt' belongs to that numerous and useful class of manuals in which Germany is so rich, and England generally so barren, —something as much above compilation, as beneath the excellence of the highest art. It is, however, less to the execution than the contents of the work that we purpose drawing our readers' attention.

European powers have in all ages coveted, and sometimes contended for, the Valley of the Nile as a province or an ally. Within a few days' march from Asia, within a few days' sail from Europe, Egypt has shared in the political changes of both continents. Even when under fanatic soldans or turbulent mamelukes it had become insecure for the trader and the traveller from Frangistan, and after Di Gama's discovery had diverted from it the commerce of the East, Egypt was still regarded with desire by the merchant, and with anxiety by the statesman. And now that it is once more open to peaceful enterprise, and is become a high road to 'Ophir and to Inde,' the history of its past fortunes acquires new interest. Its associations with Palestine, the cradle of religion, and with Greece, the home of art, have in all ages rendered Egypt classical ground to the antiquarian; and the most distinguished scholars of the day, headed by Bunsen and Lepsius, have been zealous in paying their θρέπτρα to the land whence Herodotus and Plato imbibed knowledge. But, besides these claims on our notice, Egypt presents the rare and attractive spectacle of political regeneration. It has had two histories in the past: it may have a third in the future. Alexandria has risen from its ashes. The laws have resumed their authority; and the stranger may journey from Pelusium to Syêne with no more personal risk, and with very little more inconvenience than he encounters between Paris and Florence. The capital of Egypt has once again its wharves and arsenals,—

its barracks and ships of war, — its schools and manufactories, a motley population, and a semi-European character. Its ruler is once more a fortunate soldier, who cultivates the arts of peace as strenuously as he maintains the discipline of the camp. His envoys are seen among the *corps diplomatique* of European courts; his *levées* are attended by the representatives of European sovereigns: his Arab conscripts are drilled by European officers; and, like Sostrates of Myndus, his engineers bring the science of the West to strengthen and adorn an eastern capital. His arm, like that of the Ptolemies, has been stretched over Syria and Greece: and if Mehemet Ali should be the founder of a dynasty less durable and splendid than that of the Lagidæ, it is only because he encounters 'mightier opposites' in the thrones and civilisation of Europe. Thus, at remote intervals of time, Egypt displays corresponding phenomena, and it may not be uninstructive to consider how far the events narrated by Mr. Sharpe foreshadow the destinies of Egypt in the nineteenth century.

The Macedonian kingdoms, among which Egypt was the most powerful, have received too little attention from historians. Until the appearance of the volume before us, no work in our language had been devoted to the era of the Ptolemies. Dr. Gillies, in the latter volumes of his history of Greece, gives only a meagre outline of their reigns, and that outline is almost forgotten. The learned works of Matter and Droysen are little known in England; and we find no reference to either of them in Mr. Sharpe's pages. But the essay of M. Matter belongs to the history of literature and philosophy; and, although Droysen's learning is extensive, and his views original, his manner is cumbrous and unattractive.

Yet, except the history of Rome itself — 'in which, as rivers 'flow into the sea, the history of all the nations of antiquity 'around the Mediterranean terminates' — no records of the ancient world are more replete with instruction and interest than those of Egypt and Alexandria. No religion, short of the primitive worship of the Patriarchs, is so old — no philosophy, short of the scholastic, is so allied to modern systems, as the ritual and doctrines of the priests of Thebes and the professors of the Museum. The annals of Egypt are indeed the alpha and the omega of ancient civilisation. That they should have been hitherto overlooked, arises perhaps from the very limited range of our studies in ancient history. At schools, if taught at all, it is taught from some meagre abridgement: at the Universities it serves to elucidate a Greek play, or a book of Thucydides. No prizes reward proficiency: no professorships are salaried for

teaching it. Cambridge and Oxford, indeed, have chairs of civil law, and might by means of them furnish lectures on Roman history, such as students are at present driven to seek at Bonn or Göttingen. But, of all the courses nominally open in the lecture rooms of the Universities, that on the Digest has been for many years the stalest, flattest, and most unprofitable. Better times, we trust, are coming; when, with an annual increase in the number of aspirants for classical honours, the field of ancient history will no longer be suffered to lie altogether fallow in those 'seminaries of sound learning and religious edu-'cation.'

Recently, indeed, the works of the Bishop of St. David's, Dr. Arnold, and Mr. Grote have in some measure redeemed us from the reproach of producing no successor to Gibbon — himself the first, with the splendid exception of Raleigh, to demonstrate the capabilities of ancient history. But of these masterly works, Dr. Thirlwall's alone was in any respect the fruit of university studies; and it was originally put forth by a private adventurer, and not from the university press. Nearly twenty years ago the present learned Archdeacon of Lewes compared, in his preface to the Philological Museum, our liberal importations from Germany with the paucity of our home productions. The remark, with little qualification, might be repeated now. We have excellent machinery for the purpose — at least we are told so — but no corresponding results. It is not only on comparing our historical scholarship with that of Germany that the comparison is mortifying: the same is the case with France. Although France is not the soil on which classical literature has hitherto been most successfully cultivated, yet history has of late assumed there an almost scientific form; and, on the great questions of colonisation, finance and international traffic, the records of antiquity have been brought to bear directly on our own times. If the old almanack system and its 'Francis Moore,' the garrulous and entertaining Plutarch, are to be considered as put aside, intelligent guides to the laws of ancient phenomena and the ideas of ancient institutions must be found for us in his room. If Mr. Sharpe has not accomplished all that begins to be demanded in this department, he has at least supplied us with a good example, and with a useful manual of data for comparison and speculation.

The history of ancient Egypt resolves itself into three portions — the oriental period of castes, the Hellenic era of the Ptolemies, and the decline and decay of the country as a Roman province. The first of these periods, the native hierarchy and its priest-kings, is treated by Mr. Sharpe as intro-

ductory to his proper subject, the dynasty of the Lagidæ. The latter of them belongs rather to the history of opinions than to that of events. We shall follow our author's arrangement, and briefly glancing at the oriental groundwork of the Egyptian mind and polity — which never quite disappeared, and often resumed an active influence — we shall hasten to the time when Alexandria became the capital of the Hellenic race, and played a conspicuous part in the politics of Europe and Western Asia. It needs an effort of imagination, as well as memory, to embrace the wide arc of time comprised in Egyptian annals, and to pierce the recesses of its hoar antiquity. That the Greeks were always children was an old Coptic taunt; and, with reference to chronology and 'recorded time,' the youth of Egypt seems antediluvian: its institutions, its arts, and its modes of faith antedate antiquity itself. Greek history opens with the Trojan war. Jewish annals begin seven centuries earlier, with the migration of Abraham from Chaldea. But even when the father of the Hebrew nation led his herds to drink of the waters of the Nile, Egypt was a highly civilised country, peopled by an industrious and skilful race, well acquainted, as the grottoes of Beni-Hassan attest, with agriculture, and with the rudiments at least of chemistry and mechanics. For, during his sojourn at the court of Memphis, Abraham beheld not merely the rice-grounds and cornfields of Lower Egypt dotted with numerous villages, and crowned with stately towns, but he saw also, at Heliopolis in the Delta, the obelisk of Osirtesen I., upwards of sixty feet high, and carved and emblazoned on each of its four sides with the names and titles of that monarch. Mr. Sharpe remarks, that, in Canaan, Abraham was the equal of kings; but in the presence of 'Busiris and his Memphian chivalry,' he ranked no higher than a suppliant though noble exile. We have thus evidence, even in that early age, of an advanced state of society — property, gradation of ranks, wealth unequally distributed, arts which demand subdivision and combination of labour and imply peace and long settlement. Yet the Hebrew Shiekh saw only the skirts of the land. His sojourn was brief; he did not visit the upper country, where civilisation was still more ancient and mature. The 'Hundred-gated Thebes' of Homer was even then casting on the southern plains the shadows of its colonnades and propylæa. For the same Osirtesen who raised the obelisk in the Delta, built also the older temple of Thebes, now called the temple of Karnak. It was at once a temple and a fortress — at one while echoing the tramp of warriors, and at another the footsteps of stolèd priests on Osirian fasts and festivals. And that we may apprehend more clearly

this transcendent antiquity, let us glance for a moment at other nations reputed most ancient. The Mede and the Persian were still warring with the panther and the wolf in the valleys of the Caucasus. 'The oracles were dumb' at Delphi and Dodona. The marble slumbered in the quarry of Pentelicus. Not an oar had dipped in the haven of Carthage; and the Tiber was flowing through broad lagoons at the foot of solitary hills.

The configuration and physical attributes of Egypt were at the root of its early and rapid civilisation. These causes, surviving the works of man, will in all ages, under ordinary governments, retain their power: and they are, therefore, as important elements at present in our conjectures for the future as in our retrospect of the past. During the greater part of its history, Egypt has had the same boundaries as at present. It was not calculated for permanent conquests or distant dependencies. The hieroglyphics on the walls of the Memnonium at Thebes recounted the victories of Rameses II. over the Libyans and Æthiopians of Africa, the Medes, Persians, Bactrians, Scythians, Syrians, and Armenians of the east, and the Cappadocians, Bithynians, and Lycians of Asia Minor. But the wars of Rameses were inroads rather than conquests, and their Syrian provinces seldom remained long under the sceptre of the Ptolemies. From its river Egypt derived those means of internal communication which less favoured lands attain by the laborious process of roads, canals, and railways. The Nile was the longest inland navigation known to the ancients. While ships timidly coasted the shores of the Mediterranean, and while even to Zidonian mariners the issue of the voyage was often doubtful, the rush barges of Egypt sailed or floated securely from the bars of the Delta to the rapids at Syêne. The trade of Syria and Arabia was limited to a few caravans, and their pastoral population moved from upland to lowland in search of fresh pastures when Egypt already swarmed with tillers of the soil and busy artisans, who, at little cost of time or toil, transported to the various markets abutting on the river, the produce of the farm and the work-shop. 'Man's life' in Egypt was nearly 'as cheap 'as beast's.' But it was not the cheapness of poverty. In its warm climate shelter and clothing were easily supplied; for the same reason, but little animal food was needed. The Delta raised flax in abundance, and subsequently the cotton of upper Egypt formed an important article of trade. Timber, it is true, was exceedingly scarce, nor was the soil fitted for grazing sheep: but the stout reeds and the viscous slime of the river, and the large stone quarries that bordered the Arabian sea, afforded sufficient building materials, and nobody felt the

want of woollen clothes. The 'mud of Nilus' annually admitted of a double seed time and a double harvest. Labour was cheap, and the implements of husbandry were few and simple. The political economists of Thebes or Memphis do not appear to have been alive to the pressure of population. For every member of the household was a labourer; and every labourer was competent to one or other of the easy tasks of the soil or the hand-loom. In proportion to its area the population of Egypt was the most industrial of any age or any land.

'Among the causes of Egypt's wealth,' says Mr. Sharpe, 'we 'must mention the distinction of its industrious classes into 'castes, which, whether upheld for economical or religious 'reasons, was the adoption of that well-known principle the 'division of labour. This was little understood among the 'ancients; but Plato tells us that in Egypt, not only were the 'priests, the soldiers, and artisans, habitually separated, but that 'every particular trade and manufacture was carried on by its 'own craftsmen, and that none changed from one trade to 'another, or carried on several. This custom, of course, gave 'them a skill in manufactures and trade that was quite unknown 'to the neighbouring nations. The names which Egypt has 'given us for the native products of the soil, such as ammonia 'from the Oasis of Ammon, syênite from Syêne, natron and 'nitre from Mount Nitria, prove not so much the native rich-'ness of the country as that the people were the first who had 'skill enough to discover and make use of these products.'

To the restless European the institution of castes appears the device of a barbarous rather than a civilised people. The eastern man thinks differently: with him government, jurisprudence, science, and the arts, are subjected to laws asserted to be divine and believed to be immutable. Even labour takes a religious form; and the destiny of his birth which assigns to one man a sceptre and to another a spade, extends its influence over their posterity also. Without pausing to inquire whether castes have most forwarded or most impeded the progress of mankind—for the same cause at different epochs of society will produce very dissimilar effects—we may observe that stringent forms support and accelerate early civilisation. The necessity for movement and migration which may send forth a tribe or a horde, will not, without some corrective principle, mould them into a nation. The destroyers of the Roman empire were checked in their roving impulses by the institutions of the people whom they conquered. The early colonists of the land of Misraim had few temptations to wander. They were in the lap of plenty, and they were hemmed in by the desert and the sea. The esta-

blishment of castes was a barrier the more, and would for a time at least strengthen their dependence and cohesion.

Even national prejudices favoured the growth of Egyptian cities. The Copts, like the Persians, had a superstitious dread of the sea, and their religion inculcated aversion to foreigners. At once, to prevent the influx of strangers and the emigration of the more adventurous natives, they built dams across the mouths of the Nile. And thus not only was the tide of population restrained by the desert, but it was also driven back upon the country: the towns consequently swelled in bulk and multiplied in number. But the valley of the Nile is not generally adapted for habitations. During the yearly inundations the villages stand like so many islands in the ocean.* The rising grounds, therefore, alone were covered with buildings, and the people were crowded upon particular spots. Straggling villages became towns and cities; and these involve social distinctions, law and police, with minute divisions and a strict recognition of property. The scarcity of timber and the abundance of stone in Egypt might have led us to infer that the private dwellings of the people would be constructed more substantially than rapidly. But the houses of private citizens remained slight structures of spars, jungle-reed, and plaster, and were painted, like the old Flemish houses, with bright colours and quaint emblems. The warmth and dryness of the climate rendered such dwellings not merely sufficient but agreeable; so that a city started up in a few months, which afterwards, under Persian or Saracenic oppression, would vanish again in a few years. Substantial buildings were reserved for public uses. For their kings, for the dead, and their

* It is not so much from the facility of the long inland passage of the Nile, as from the necessity of keeping up communication between the towns during the inundations, that Gray attributes the invention of home-navigation to the Egyptians:—

> 'What wonder, in the sultry climes, that spread
> Where Nile redundant o'er his summer bed,
> From his broad bosom life and verdure flings,
> And broods o'er Egypt with his watery wings,
> If with adventurous oar and ready sail
> The dusky people drive before the gale;
> Or on frail floats to neighbouring cities ride,
> That rise and glitter o'er the ambient tide.'

We should owe even the 'Esprit des Loix' a grudge, could we believe in Gray's excuse:—that he had not proceeded with his poem on the alliance of education and government, because he found so many of his best thoughts anticipated by Montesquieu.

'gods bestial and human,' the piety of the Copts, in all ages, reared piles of everlasting granite. 'We often find,' says Mr. Sharpe, 'that what is a luxury in one nation is thought a 'necessary in another; and we cannot but admire a people who, 'while denying themselves all beyond the coarsest food and 'clothing, as luxuries, thought a noble massive temple for the 'worship of their gods one of the first necessaries of life.'

Of such a people the ethnography and the laws are alike interesting. But history is silent on both these points, or speaks with a brevity little more instructive than silence. Mr. Sharpe observes, that 'the skulls of the mummies agree with history 'in proving the Egyptians to have been a mixed people; and 'physiologists, when speaking more exactly, have divided them 'into three classes. These are, first, the Copts proper, whose 'skulls are shaped like the heads of the ancient Theban statues; 'secondly, a race of men more like the Hindoos or Indians; 'while the third is a mixed race, and in part approaches to the 'Berbir tribes of Nubia.'

The reigns of the native Egyptian kings belong to the study of hieroglyphics rather than to history. What is known of them beyond mere names and titles will be found in Mr. Sharpe's pages. Neither is it necessary to point out the epochs at which Egyptian annals touch or enter the general stream of European history in its three main channels, Hebrew, Greek, and Roman. The practical value of Egyptian records is to be sought in its connexion with Greece, from the establishment of the colony at Naucratis to the foundation of Alexandria.

About thirty miles from the sea, on the Canobic branch of the Nile, the city of Naucratis, more than five centuries before the Christian era, was the seat of a large and opulent colony of Greek merchants. During several reigns they had enjoyed peculiar privileges, and they at length obtained a monopoly of the Syrian and European trade. In the reign of Amasis the colony was strengthened by a garrison, elevated to a municipality, and allowed the free exercise of its national religion. Henceforward the Hellenic race was predominant in the Delta. Greeks formed the royal body-guard, collected the royal revenues, and were received with distinction at the court of Sais. Names, which the world still cherishes, grew familiar to Coptic tongues, and even the priesthood relaxed its jealousy in favour of Thales the Wise, of Solon the olive merchant, and of Herodotus, at once the Marco Polo and Froissart of antiquity. In following the course of the Greek settlers, from the camp at Pelusium to the colony at Naucratis, from the colony at Naucratis to the imperial Alexandria, we are unavoidably reminded

of Fort William in the middle of the last century, and of Calcutta at the present day.

The conquest of Egypt had therefore been long in preparation when Pelusium opened its gates to Alexander. 'The ancient 'spirit was dead' in the Coptic war-caste which had followed Rameses from the banks of the Nile to those of the Oxus. The hierarchy retained all its ceremonial and much of its wealth, but its political power was departed. Frequent rebellions against Persia, and frequent civil wars between rival usurpers, had drawn whole armies of Greek mercenaries to the Delta, and the Athenians and Spartans carried on their old quarrels on its coasts and plains, just as in the eighteenth century the French and English transferred their international feuds to Canada and the Carnatic.

The conquest of an unwarlike people, and the overthrow of a crumbling monarchy, add little to Alexander's renown as a warrior. But his fame rests upon more solid foundations. As the founder of a new era for the Hellenic race, and as the restorer of Egypt to the rank of a kingdom, he deserves to be placed among the benefactors of mankind. Greece, at the date of the foundation of Alexandria, was little less disorganised than Egypt itself. Corrupt oligarchies, or turbulent democracies oppressed its cities; religious and political ties were severed; war had passed into the hands of hirelings, and profligate exiles roved from province to province, the tools of venal orators and the satellites of despotism or anarchy. It was Alexander's aim — and it raises him from the herd of conquerors to the dignity of a statesman and a philosopher — to recombine the dislocated elements of society in revolutionary Hellas and in enslaved Asia. From the Hellespont to the Hyphasis we trace his march, not by the light of burning towns or through solitary fields, but by the building of cities, the more certain administration of justice, the revival of commerce, and the encouragement of learning. On his way to the shrine of Amun-Ra, in the most northerly oasis of the Libyan desert, Alexander landed at the small town of Racotis. At a glance — for he never revisited the place — he saw that nature had formed it to be a great harbour, and that art would render it the port of Egypt. Alexander, like Napoleon, pressed genius into his service wherever he met with it; and the architect Dinocrates was ordered by him to convert the market-town of Racotis into the capital of the Hellenic empire.

Eight years after his visit to Racotis, Alexander expired at Babylon. In that interval Racotis had disappeared, and its site was covered with the broad and solid basements of an im-

perial city. Alexandria was not completed, indeed, till the reign of Philadelphus; but it was sufficiently advanced, at its founder's death, to receive the port dues and the corn trade of Canopus. Alexander's dominions were too vast to be wielded by any hand but his own. Yet, although his project of an Hellenic empire was not carried out, his plans did not altogether fail. A *somatophylax*—in modern language, a colonel of his body-guard—had the discernment to choose, and the vigour to secure, Egypt for his share of the Macedonian conquests. Ptolemy, afterwards surnamed, like William of Nassau, the Deliverer (Soter), was the reputed son of Lagus, by Arsinoe, a relation of Philip of Macedon. He was, in all probability, a son of Philip himself. He had been one of the generals who, on Alexander's decease, had raised their voices against giving the whole of the conquered countries to one king. On his remonstrance being overruled, he prudently accepted the viceroyalty of Egypt under Philip Arridæus. Within four years after his return from Babylon, Ptolemy was without a rival—the popular leader of a numerous and well-appointed army—the lord of five millions of contented and industrious subjects. Without risk and without envy, for he was in no haste to assume the title of king, he now applied himself to the task of blending into one people the various and dissimilar races that obeyed his sceptre.

His task was not an easy one, although its outward impediments were few. Egypt was, under an active monarch, impervious to invasion; he was master of Phœnicia and Cœle-Syria, of Cyprus and Cyrene, of the best fleet and the most spacious harbours in the Levant. He was unfettered by municipal institutions, by an hereditary aristocracy, by ancient prejudices, and by vested interests. Ptolemy's embarrassments arose—as is so often the case—from the ethnical discrepancies of his subjects. He was the sovereign of the most fanatical and bigoted of the human race, the native Egyptians and their priesthood. He was the protector of the most scrupulous of ritualists, the Jews, and the commander of the best soldiers and the greatest ruffians in the world, the Grecian mercenaries. The most sane and hopeful portion of his subjects was, perhaps, the Macedonian veterans, hardened in a hundred fights, and bronzed by a hundred climates. This was 'worshipful society.' The Greeks held the sword, and were to be ruled by public opinion; for every one of them was entitled to bear arms, to speak in the assembly of the people, and to be tried by his peers. Like the Roman plebeian, he was both soldier and citizen; but, unlike the Roman, no patrician overawed him by ancestral prejudices or by acknowledged

rank. Whether a stupid Theban, or a chattering Athenian, or a grazier's son from Thessaly, or a porter from Corinth, he claimed the style and title of 'a man of Macedon.' It was one of Ptolemy's greatest difficulties, as it had been one of Alexander's, to prevent his Greek followers from treating their eastern fellow-subjects as slaves. Without, probably, having read Aristotle, they agreed with him in thinking the barbarians but one degree removed from oxen or mules.

The number of the Jews entitled them to a quarter of the city, and to an ethnarch and municipality of their own. But the Jews' Quarter in pagan Alexandria differed greatly from the 'Jewry' of the European cities of Christendom. Far from being a proscribed and persecuted race, they enjoyed extensive privileges, mixed readily with the native Copts, and infused into the Greeks no small portion of their ethics and theology. The Jews were, perhaps, the most manageable of Ptolemy's subjects. Less martial and mutinous than the Greeks, less irascible and fanatical than the Egyptians, they combined in some measure the characteristics of both races. They were worldly wise, and they were earnestly religious. If their temple-worship was respected, and their traffic tolerably unrestricted, they were indifferent to forms of government. Their gratitude for the toleration afforded them, was expressed in a sentence of the Mishna, declaring an Egyptian more nearly allied to a Jew than any other foreigner, and admissible to the priesthood itself, after his family had obeyed the law of Moses for three generations. More than twenty-three centuries have elapsed since the founding of Alexandria, and we are still found squabbling about the wisdom of admitting the Hebrew exile to the position he held under the just and politic sway of the house of Lagus.

The third element of the Alexandrian population, the native Copts, had been long inured to oppression. The priests had treated them as children, the kings as serfs, and the Persians as slaves. Freedom of thought they never had, the use of arms they had long foregone. In all things, except their religious prejudices, they were the servants of servants; but a dead cat flung on the causeway, or a stone thrown at an ibis, would at any time send the Coptic quarter of Alexandria to their clubs and fire-brands. For the feebleness of their hands they indemnified themselves, in some measure, by the licence of their tongues. 'Ad singulos motus excandescentes,' says Ammianus Marcellinus, 'controversi, et reposcones acerrimi.' We shall notice presently the characteristics of the Alexandrian populace: here it is sufficient to point out the very unpromising elements from which Ptolemy had to form his state and people.

Religious toleration, whether dictated by principle or policy, is an unquestionable duty and an unmixed good; yet, Alexandria appears to have been the first city which recognised the principle, and exhibited its results on a large scale. One of the few public acts which Alexander had leisure to perform in Egypt, was an act of homage to the ancient faith of the people. He went in state to the temple of Apis, as the native kings had gone at their coronations; while at the same time he gratified the Greek colonists by an exhibition of their national games. The wise and moderate plans of Alexander for the government of Egypt as a province, were persevered in by Ptolemy when it had become a kingdom. The religion of the people, and not that of their rulers, was made the established religion of the state. The Egyptian laws were administered by their own priests, who were upheld in all the rights of their order and in their freedom from land-tax. The temples of Pthah, of Amun Ra, and the other gods, were not only kept open, but repaired and built at the king's cost; the full citizenship of Alexandria was given to all of the Jewish race who settled there; the temple of Poseidon rivalled in amplitude and beauty the fanes of Elis and Athens, while that of Serapis afforded a point of union to the creeds of Asia and Europe. Where political equality was perhaps impossible, the members of the new community were attracted and attached to it by religious freedom; and if at a later period dogmatical factions disturbed the repose of Alexandria, it was because the precepts and the practice of the Lagidæ were forgotten.

In his theory of religious toleration, Ptolemy was far above his age. His plans for ensuring civil equality were less efficient.

'He did not attempt,' says Mr. Sharpe, 'the difficult task of uniting the two races, and of treating the conquered and the conquerors as entitled to the same privileges. From the time of Necho and Psammetichus, many of the Greeks who settled in Egypt intermarried with the natives, and in a generation or two their offspring became wholly Egyptian. By the Greek laws the children of these mixed marriages were declared to be barbarians, not Greeks but Egyptians, and were brought up accordingly. They left the worship of Jupiter and Juno for that of Osiris and Isis, and perhaps the more readily from the greater earnestness with which the Egyptian gods were worshipped. We now trace their descendants by the form of their skulls, even into the priestly families; and of one hundred mummies covered with hieroglyphics, taken up from the catacombs near Thebes, about twenty show a European origin, while of those from the tombs near Memphis, seventy out of every hundred have lost their Coptic peculiarities. It is easy to see that an important change would have

been wrought in the character of the people and in their political institutions, if the Greek laws had been humane and wise enough to grant to the children of mixed marriages the privileges, the education, and thereby the moral feelings of the more favoured parent. Greek civilisation, instead of struggling like a plant in foreign soil, would each generation have become more naturalised; and when we remember the fitness of the Greeks for founding colonies, and the ease with which the arts and customs of a conquering and more civilised people have spread and been received, it is not too much to suppose, if the Greek law of marriage had been altered by Ptolemy, that within three centuries above half the nation would have spoken the Greek language and boasted of its Greek origin.'

We are not informed whether Dinocrates the architect, like his employer Alexander, were a pupil of Aristotle; but Alexandria was built according to the rules laid down by the Stageirite for the construction of cities.* The capital of Egypt resembled, in its general outline, a Macedonian trooper's cloak completely extended. Two main streets, respectively three miles and one mile in length, crossed each other at right angles in the centre of the city. All the streets in Alexandria were wide enough for carriages; while their aspect, east and north, afforded to the inhabitants a free circulation of air, and a double access to the breezes from the river and the sea. Water was conveyed by pipes and reservoirs to private dwellings; the numerous squares were refreshed and enlivened by fountains; and the infrequency of epidemic diseases attests the goodness of the drainage, as well as the purity of the atmosphere. Such provisions for health and comfort are even more remarkable than the singular beauty and imposing aspect of the city. Neither Ptolemy nor Dinocrates had before him as a guide the evidence of a Health of Towns Committee, or, from Pella to Babylon, a precedent for their ground-plan. The new Rome, which arose from Nero's conflagration, was built upon similar principles, and was thought by the grumblers of the day to be less healthy than the narrow and winding city it replaced.† But even if the complaint were just, it will not apply to the city of Alexander, for the drainage of Rome was never remodelled, and the climate of Italy is much more obnoxious than that of Egypt to febrile disorders. That Alexandria owed its salubrity, in some measure, to its plan, is the more likely, because the neighbourhood was by no means exempt from the diseases produced by malaria.

If good spirits, and — their usual result — good temper, be in any degree dependent on climate, the Alexandrians had seldom

---

* Polit. vii. 11. † Tac. Ann. xv. 43.

an excuse for being out of humour. Dion Chrysostom, indeed, says, that in his time the city was full of paupers crying for food. This may have disturbed the equanimity of the rate-payers; especially if, as was now and then the case, the hungry resorted to stones as a means of extorting bread. From the multitude of physicians, it would seem, also, that the Alexandrians were not exempt from gout and the maladies incident to good company. But these drawbacks to hilarity were not imputable to foggy Novembers and ungenial Mays. The Alexandrians needed no Murphies for their calendars, and can hardly have opened conversation with meteorological remarks. We cannot imagine what was the substitute for them, unless — as in South America, they begin the day by the river side with asking after the mosquitos of the past night — it might be permitted to observe, during the periodical risings of the Nile, 'the river is 'high or low to-day.' The neighbouring coasts of Asia and Africa were often visited by fogs and rain; but scarcely a day in the year passed over Alexandria itself without its full allowance of sunshine. The dryness of the climate contributed to the beauty of the city. For more than four centuries the buildings retained their fresh surface and their sharp angles; and from the roof of the Serapeium Hadrian surveyed the work of Dinocrates and the improvements of Philadelphus, almost as they issued from the builder's hands. The *fair* Alexandria was a more appropriate epithet than '*la belle France*' or '*merry 'England*;' and an architectural archæologist would have had there as complete a sinecure as, until lately, the Professor of Casuistry enjoyed at Oxford.

'Vertex omnium civitatum,' says Ammianus of the capital of Egypt; when he visited it nearly six hundred years after its foundation. Yet Ammianus had seen Rome, and Athens, and Antioch, and Ctesiphon, ere the Gog and the Magog of spoliation had dismembered and deformed them. We must refer to Mr. Sharpe for a minute description of the spectacle which greeted the eyes of all who sailed into the outer harbour from the sea, or lounged on the Heptastadium, that joined the island of Pharos to the main land. Commerce, learning, and pleasure, war, justice, and royalty, had each its representative in the structures which fronted the port; and life, in dense and restless masses, spread far along the shores and deep into the inland; while on the verge of life were the habitations of the dead — the necropolis of the citizens, and the mausoleum of Alexander and the Lagidæ.

At the distance of twenty centuries the most attractive objects in this panorama are perhaps the temple of Serapis, the emble-

matic deity of a mixed people; and the Museum, with its unimpaired treasures of ethnic poetry, eloquence, and philosophy. The origin and the import of Serapis are obscure: he was most probably imported from Pontus or Sinope, on the confines of Europe and Asia, and his attributes are partly Asiatic and partly European. His image was an amalgam of metals and precious stones welded or fused together, and may therefore have been symbolic of the eclectic spirit of the age generally, and of the Alexandrian state-religion in particular. Serapis was at once the Pontic-Zeus and the Osiri-Apis of the Copts. The faith of the Greeks, never very deeply seated, had become, in the age of Alexander, shallower than the summer brooks that feed the Ilissus. The creed of Egypt, on the other hand, recoiling equally from the intolerance of Persia and the indifference of Greece, had sunk into a sullen fanaticism. The worship of Serapis offered a sort of compromise between these extremes, and a possible medium of national reconciliation. The experiment, however meant, proved successful: and the ritual of Serapis was in time generally accepted by the Alexandrians. Nearly five centuries after his importation by Ptolemy, the emperor Hadrian affirmed that every man, woman, and child at Alexandria worshipped Serapis; and his priests and chapels were, after some demurs and occasional persecutions, admitted into Rome itself. A purer doctrine has taught us that worship is limited to neither time nor place. But we may still respect the effort of Ptolemy to mediate between those who believed too little and those who believed too much, and to provide a common centre for the religious instincts of his eastern and western subjects.

Mr. Sharpe's account of the Museum shall be given in his own words: —

'But among the public buildings of Alexandria which were planned in the enlarged mind of Ptolemy, the one which chiefly calls for our notice, the one indeed to which the city owes its fairest fame, is the Museum, or College of Philosophy. Its chief room was a great hall, which was used as a lecture-room and common dining-room; it had a covered walk or portico all round the outside, and there was an *exhedra* or seat on which the philosophers sometimes sat in the open air. The professors or fellows of the college were supported by a public income. Its library soon became the largest in the world. Ptolemy was himself an author: his history of Alexander's wars was highly praised by Arrian, in whose pages we now read much of it; his love of art was shown in the buildings of Alexandria; and those agreeable manners, and that habit of rewarding skill and knowledge wherever he could find them, which had already brought to his army many of the bravest of Alexander's soldiers, were now equally successful in bringing to his court such painters and sculptors as soon

made the Museum of Alexandria one of the brightest spots in the known world. Fortunate indeed was Alexandria in having a sovereign who took such a true view of his own dignity as to encourage arts and letters as the means of making himself more respected at the head of a great commercial nation. Such an academy not only brings together a number of men of learning to direct the student, but its book-shelves are a store-house of materials for future study, and it may be said to be surrounded with an atmosphere of knowledge, which makes tens of thousands better for the instruction which is delivered to a few hundreds in the class-rooms. The arts and letters which Ptolemy then planted, did not perhaps bear their richest fruit till the reign of his son, but they took such good root that they continued to flourish under the last of his successors, unchoked by the vices and follies by which they were then surrounded.'

We have dwelt at some length upon the reign and character of Ptolemy the Deliverer — both because he was without comparison the best of the Lagidæ, and because with him originated the distinctive features of the Alexandrians. History has not done him justice. He was the Bernadotte of the Macedonian marshals, and his fame is not sullied by ingratitude to his benefactor. What he could give to his motley people, he gave — flourishing colonies, an extensive commerce, military renown, and ample provision for advancing science and civilisation. He could not give them a constitution, nor create from a degenerate people, from a crowd of exiles and a turbulent soldiery, an aristocracy or a middle class. Hence, there were no barriers between the throne and the populace; and Alexandria was equally remarkable for its fierce revolutions and its permanent tyranny. After the death of the last, the most beautiful and not the least accomplished of the line of Lagus, Augustus visited the mausoleum, and contemplated the remains of the great Macedonian. The Egyptian vergers wished to show him the relics of the Ptolemies. 'Pooh,' rejoined the conqueror, 'I 'came to see a king, not dead men.' His censure was too sweeping. Without derogation, he might have done homage to the manes of Soter and Philadelphus.

The immediate successors of the first Ptolemy were not unworthy of their name and station. The reign of Philadelphus was the Augustan age of Egypt. With a standing army equal in numbers to that maintained by Louis XIV. in 1689, and with a navy which neither Antioch nor Carthage rivalled, Philadelphus engaged in defensive wars alone. Extensive and unrestricted trade replenished the treasury, and a prosperous and contented people was a proof that the taxes were neither unequal nor excessive.

'In every point of view,' continues Mr. Sharpe, 'Alexandria

'was the chief city in the world. Philadelphus, by joining to 'the greatness and good government of his father the costly 'splendour and pomp of an eastern monarch, so drew the eyes 'of after ages upon his reign, that his name passed into a 'proverb: if any work of art was remarkable for its good taste 'and costliness, it was called Philadelphian: even history and 'chronology were set at nought, and we sometimes find poets 'of a century later counted among the Pleiades of Alexandria 'in the reign of Philadelphus.'

But in the splendour of Philadelphus lurked the seeds of Alexandrian decline. With him began the unmeasured love of pomp and pleasure, which distinguished and disgraced the later Lagidæ. 'Egypt with Assyria strove in luxury.' The bright page of Alexandrian history closes with the reign of Euergetes, the third of the Lagid house. Trade and agriculture still enriched the country; literature and the arts still flourished in its schools. But the historian 'has from this time forward to 'mark the growth of vice and luxury, and to measure the 'wisdom of Ptolemy Soter by the length of time that his 'laws and institutions bore up against the misrule and folly of 'his descendants.' Our Charles II., we are inclined to think, was no bad representative of the latter Lagidæ. Well-informed, witty, and lounging, he would have relished the Museum-dinners, and entered with great zest into the squabbles and gossip of the Round Table. The Heptastadium was the greatest mart in the world for news, novelties, and oddities of every description. Charles might have been oppressive when he wanted money, and, in order to raise it, have listened occasionally to a Coptic or Jewish *plot*, if it did but promise to end in a round fine on the Isiac Chapter, or in the sequestration of rabbinical chattels. But money was easily obtained at Alexandria, and the crown had some very profitable monopolies of tonnage and poundage, of fisheries and salt. His subjects would doubtless have fitted him with a nickname — but so did the English: and written epigrams on him — but so did Lord Rochester. Their practical jokes and passion for horse-racing would have jumped well with his humour. The regular drama, indeed, was not very flourishing at Alexandria; but minor theatres for music and melodrames, and equestrian circuses, abounded; and there were innumerable holidays and processions and regattas on Lake Mareôtis. So that, upon the whole, his reign might have passed as pleasantly on the banks of the Nile, as it did on the banks of the Thames, always excepting occasional quarrels with Lady Castlemain, and perpetual emptiness of exchequer.

We turn without reluctance from a narrative only less tedious than the annals of the Byzantine emperors, and which the pencil of Tacitus alone could invest with interest. But the history of Alexandria is a picture of civilisation as well as of courts. Its schools have largely contributed, directly and indirectly, to both literature and science, and its population deserves especial notice on its own account. We must first take a look at its schools; from which we will pass on to its population, and to the result of the skilful fusion of its three distinct races.

The Museum of Alexandria was probably the first endowment for educational purposes which the world ever saw. Chaldæa, Palestine, and Egypt, had indeed long boasted their colleges of priests and prophets. But these were part of the state-religion, or, as we should call them, of the church-establishment. Ionia and Athens had their academies and professors of moral philosophy and rhetoric; but these were all on the voluntary system, and not always in the best odour with the powers that were. It had also been much the fashion for unconstitutional sovereigns, like Dionysius of Syracuse, to keep a court philosopher, ranking probably a little above the court jester, and a little below the captain of the body guard — some *savant* sent for to argue and discuss, when his majesty was metaphysically disposed. But the idea of relieving learned men from the cares of housekeeping, by finding them in board and lodging at the state's expense, was first conceived by Soter or his master. Perhaps Aristotle may have hinted to his royal and towardly pupil, that such an arrangement would be extremely convenient to all parties. The government would acquire in exchange for a few talents yearly expended on rooms and commons, loyal and able advocates; and many a wandering philosopher who, like Callisthenes, talked treason because he wanted a supper, might not only accept the offer, but also mould his politics to the prescribed pattern. Be this as it may, Soter built and liberally endowed the Museum: his successors, who reconciled luxury and even crime with literature in a most surprising way, delighted to honour it; and long after the last of the Lagidæ was wrapped in spices and cerecloth, the Roman emperors by turns patronised or bullied the institution, sometimes founding a fellowship, sometimes pensioning out of its funds an old sophist or an old servant, and now and then locking up both lecture and combination rooms.

The Grimms and Deffands of antiquity have transmitted to us through their Boswell Athenæus, some anecdotes of the reunions and *petits soupers* of the fellows of the Museum. These meetings were held either in the college-hall, or adjourned to the royal

dining-room in the Bruchîum. The king was frequently present, and we presume, either as founder or founder's kin, ex-officio chairman on such occasions. Frederick of Prussia, who affected a similar society, used, if the wit of his guests became unpalatable, or he was getting worsted in an argument, to put on his three-cornered hat, and hint that the king was coming. We read of no such distance being kept up by the Ptolemies, though on necessity they were by no means chary of life or the mines. Soter once wishing to pose an antiquary, asked him who was the father of Peleus? 'Nay,' rejoined the Alexandrian Monkbarns, 'tell me first who was the father of Lagus?' Soter covered his retreat by handsomely remarking, that a king who cannot digest rude answers, must not ask rude questions. But the fashion of jokes passes away; and some of the quips and cranks of these learned Thebans give but a poor idea of their wit and humour. Nicknames and practical jests were much in vogue. When Diodorus Kronos, the rhetorician, who was thought to have been the inventor of the veiled and the horned sophism, was puzzled by a question put to him by Stilpo, Soter told him that his name should be, not *kronos*, but *onos, an ass.* This, however, proved in the end very 'tragical mirth;' for Diodorus took to his bed and died of mortification. One day, when Sphærus, the stoic, was dining with Ptolemy Philopator, he said that a wise man should never guess, but only say what he knows. Philopator, wishing to tease him, ordered some waxen pomegranates—Athenæus says *birds*—to be handed to him, and when Sphærus had set his teeth fast in the wax, Philopator laughed loudly at him for *guessing* that it was real fruit. These literary sympoeia could, however, on grave occasions be conducted with suitable decorum. When the translators of the Hebrew Scriptures arrived at Alexandria, they held their first sitting at the dinner-table of Philadelphus. Whatever might shock Jewish prejudices was carefully avoided. The king, says Josephus, ordered that his guests should be served with the same ceremonies as were practised at Jerusalem. Jewish butchers and cooks furnished and dressed the dinner, and one of the translators was asked to say grace. After due honour had been paid to the good things before them, the king proposed philosophical questions to the company; and 'such was the 'manner of entertainment for twelve days.' We know that Menedemus, the Socratic philosopher, was present at this banquet, and perhaps also the president of the Museum, a grave and orthodox priest of Isis. But we suspect that the scoffing and wrangling Greek professors dined for the nonce in their common hall.

We have seen that the hospitable knife and fork played as active a part in the Alexandrian Museum, as in other royal foundations. It is time to inquire what were the more serious pursuits of its members. The royal bounty was not thrown away; we doubt, indeed, if any endowed college has sent forth more learned men, or continued to send them longer. But genius is fastidious; and, although it will thrive in a university as well as elsewhere at nature's bidding, it cannot be planted or forced to grow in one. Alexandria had no agora, and, therefore, no orators; nor any constitutional struggles, and, therefore, no historians. The Museum produced several first-rate verse makers — witness the Anthology; but Theocritus was its only poet. Whatever talents, aided by labour and leisure, can effect, was well and abundantly performed by its members. We cannot here enumerate the men of science who made it illustrious. Their names alone would fill a chapter, the titles only of their works would fill a volume; and the works themselves — with all allowance for the difference between papyrus-rolls and printed books, between copyists and compositors — must have formed a library equal in extent to the Laurentian or Bodleian. It is a defect inseparable from Mr. Sharpe's arrangement, that it does not allow of his grouping together such portions of Alexandrian annals as relate especially to civilisation. His account of the Museum is ineffective because it is scattered over the whole Hellenic and Roman period of his work. The reader must turn back and synchronise for himself; but this inconvenience is more than balanced by the advantages of classification. The schools of Alexandria have been the subject of separate works, and might have been well treated in separate chapters. Our limits will only permit us to glance at a different method.

Were patronage and endowments as fostering to invention as they are to research and learned leisure, the salaries of the Ptolemies would have re-produced Homer and Sophocles. But the oak and the cedar are not reared in royal conservatories. Yet we should be unjust to its royal founders if we pronounced the Alexandrian University a failure. It could not awaken among a mixed people ancestral feelings, nor plenary faith at a late era of civilisation. Hence the elements of the epos and the drama were wanting. It could not revive those simple emotions that wed themselves spontaneously to the lyre and the pipe; and therefore it did not revive lyrical poetry. In the civil tumults of Alexandria no principle was at stake, and therefore both eloquence and history dwindled into panegyric. The great mutations of the Hellenic race, and their accompani-

ment, a free and noble literature, had been already accomplished; and now material development superseded intellectual growth. The Museum and the schools which sprang from it, accordingly, added few names to the lists of Athens and Ionia, and few books to the library of the world. But they sheltered industry, disseminated knowledge, and gave a new and vital impulse to philosophy. Strepsiades, in the comedy, was frightened at seeing on the map Laconia so near Attica; and he was not a worse geographer than nine-tenths of his countrymen. The Athenians banished astronomers and mathematicians as Atheists, and looked on anatomists and chemists as impious meddlers, or, at best, as wizards or madmen. The university of Alexandria produced the first scientific geographer, the first catalogue of the stars, and greatly furthered the studies of surgery and chemistry. Aristotle had embraced the world of science, and begun the encyclopedic pursuit of knowledge. The Alexandrian professors divided the empire of the Stageirite, as the Macedonian generals had partitioned the conquests of Alexander. With the zeal and munificence of the Medici, the Lagidæ rendered their commercial and political relations subservient to literature and art. A present of pictures procured the adherence of Philadelphus to the Achæan league: books and statues were always welcome consignments to Alexandrian merchantmen; and men of genius and learning were invited, solicited, and even *commanded* to become pensioners of the Museum. There may have been vanity and want of discrimination in the royal patrons; but the most voluptuous of the Ptolemies accounted literature among his pleasures; and they were the first dynasty of kings who deemed a *corps de savans* as essential as a *corps d'armée* to the honour and dignity of the crown. To the copyists of Alexandria, much more than to the monks of Byzantium, we owe the preservation of the most precious relics of the Hellenic mind; and the Scaligers and Bentleys of modern philology had no unworthy precursors in the Alexandrian Aristophanes and Aristarchus.

It is a common complaint against Roman literature that, with the exceptions of history and satire, it originated no masterworks, and little intrinsically excellent. But for the few who have derived instruction and delight from the great originals of Greece, hundreds have drawn inspiration from the majesty of Virgil and the felicity of Horace. Latin literature, indeed, was not merely the ark that wafted ancient civilisation over the dark and middle ages, but the torch also that transmitted the sacred fire to the scholars of Italy and Europe. The muse of Latium is not so much the offspring of Ionia and Athens as of the

Alexandrian poets. The most characteristic and picturesque of the Latin poets were their disciples; and Virgil himself, who so deeply influenced European literature at its revival, was less the pupil of Homer than of Theocritus, Aratus, and Apollonius. We do not estimate very highly the learned versifiers of Alexandria. But we owe great and immediate obligations to their school. Their faults were, perhaps, inseparable from their age: their services as the conservators of the epos, the drama, and the eloquence of their Athenian progenitors, are authentic and undoubted.

They have, however, higher claims upon us. At Alexandria was effected that union of the eastern and the western mind which brought into contact with each other the rationalism of Europe and the theology of Asia, and produced a second harvest of ethnic philosophy. Plato revived in Plotinus, Aristotle in Proclus; and in the person of the emperor Julian philosophy was encircled with the diadem of the world. It is one of the disadvantages of Mr. Sharpe's method, that the sects and doctrines of the Alexandrian schools, and their effect upon decaying Paganism and expanding Christianity, are not brought forward consecutively and distinctly. Our limits will not permit us to supply, however briefly, this defect. We can only indicate a few of the more prominent features of a very interesting section of literary and psychological history.

The dynasty of the Lagidæ — a period of nearly three centuries — was the first era of Alexandrian literature. Its commencement and close present the Hellenic mind under very different aspects. At its close the republics of Greece were disorganised and politically effete. The pride of race and the passion of rivalry had not ceased; but it was no longer an ennobling pride and a sustaining passion, so much as mere impatience of present evils and a resentful repining after extinct power. Personal selfishness was the rule: devotion to the commonwealth, like that of Demosthenes and Lycurgus, the exception: a cosmopolite spirit had supplanted the love of country, and either shore of the Ægean swarmed with voluntary as well as enforced exiles. Literature exhibited a close analogy to Italian art in the present day. It was a careful copy of great models: the artist no longer drew from nature and from his own mind the sources of his inspiration. In philosophy all problems seemed to have been solved; as in politics all experiments seemed to have been tried. The adventurers in both, therefore, had nothing left but to busy themselves in disturbing old solutions, and in generating universal distrust and doubt. Precisely at such an epoch, the creation of a central receptacle

of learning and learned men would appear to be of most value. It opens a fresh field of enterprise to the capable and the restless; and acts the part of a colony, in drawing off from home the unemployed and discontented. The mixed population of Alexandria had for this purpose the freshness of a virgin soil. A new race of pupils surrounded the professors; and questions, which had long palled on Attic ears, were eagerly listened to in the lecture-rooms of the Museum.

At first the Hellenic character naturally predominated, and the tendency of the age was literary rather than philosophical. Theocritus was drawn from the hills and pastures of Sicily — his mind filled with Claude-like landscapes and pastoral sounds — to a region of artificial life. From a back-street in Alexandria, the schoolmaster, Callimachus, was promoted to the chair of poetry in the Museum. His pupil, Apollonius, mistaking the form for the spirit, aspired to be the Homer of an age which contained no epical elements; and Lycophron and Aratus applied metre to subjects, which no metrical skill can make attractive. Of all these, except Theocritus, it may be said that they have 'a name to live, but are dead.' They are read by scholars, and hardly by them. Thanks to Dr. Lamb, we shall now know to what advantage Aratus can be made to look in an English dress. The library of the Museum contained in the reign of Philadelphus two hundred thousand rolls of papyrus. The study of books had taken place of the study of nature and of man; and, accordingly, criticism and science took place of poetry and eloquence. Under its new bias the age was vigorous and prolific. Euclid produced a perpetual model of clear and concise demonstration, the manual of the beginner, and the exemplar of the proficient. Ctesibius advanced the theory of hydrostatics, and although a Greek, applied his science to the uses of life. A true view of the solar system was attained by Aristarchus of Samos; and Timocharis compiled a catalogue of the fixed stars with their latitudes and longitudes measured from the equinoctial point. Geography and medicine made equal strides, and the activity of the Grecian mind was diverted from a ceaseless round of unprofitable dialectics into healthy channels of experiment and induction.

The papyrus rolls of the Museum received no addition more important than the Septuagint version of the Scriptures. Whatever conceptions, metaphysical or cosmogonical, the philosophers of Greece might have imported from Egypt or Asia, barriers almost insurmountable separated the eastern from the western mind, until Alexandria offered an asylum to the exiles of Palestine and Peloponnesus. The fastidious ears of the Greeks

recoiled from the harsh idioms of Syria; and 'the people of the 'Book' disdained, under the common term of Gentiles, all the families of the earth who had not Moses and the Prophets. The translation of the sacred books of the Jews opened a new world to the Grecian schools; and the exclusive pride of the Jews was soothed by increasing proselytes, and by the admission of their records and rabbis to the lecture rooms and closets of ethnic students. In the writings of a Syrian tribe, which had bent successively beneath the yoke of Assyria, Persia, and Macedonia, the Greek philosophers read with amazement a uniform and ample recognition of the truths to which their own doctrines laboriously tended — the unity of the Divine nature, and the harmony of the Divine attributes. Again and again the old Coptic reproach, that in antiquity the 'Greeks were 'always children,' must have presented itself; and although they might despise the ceremonial law, and resent the fanatical exclusiveness of Judaism, they felt that a wider basis for speculation was henceforward secured to them. Among a people wearied with the restless theories and annihilating scepticism of the schools, the earnest spirit of the Egyptian religion had made many converts. But the grave and formal genius of the Egyptian ritual was ill suited to a lively and imaginative race; and the passion for outward beauty, ineradicable from the Hellenic mind, was repulsed by the gross animal worship of the Copts. The Jewish Scriptures presented an equally earnest system of thought, combined with a purer ritual; the union of creeds was the principle of Alexandrian eclecticism, and from it sprang the two great branches of the Museum, Neo-Platonism and the Didascaleia of the Christians.

The confluence of the old and new learning might have furnished Mr. Sharpe with historical scenes of no common interest — Philo, the Jew, asserting that his ancestral and authentic faith veiled in subtlest allegory whatever Eastern symbol or Grecian dialectics had distantly shadowed or laboriously defined; the Museum, the Sorbonne of Paganism, at first opposing, and then combining with the Neo-Platonists against their recent and unsparing foe the Christian controversialists; Clemens, in philosophical panoply, assailing philosophy itself; and Lucian harassing with Parthian combat both sages and saints. But we must be content with merely indicating the nature and direction of the latter speculations of paganism. The Alexandrian academy and the catechetical schools have employed volumes, and would speedily exhaust our narrowing limits. It may, however, be interesting to trace the last footsteps of that massive and remote religion, which transcends antiquity,

and still impresses the traveller with its august 'chambers of 'imagery.' We cannot do so better than by the following extract from Mr. Sharpe: —

'But the poverty of the Egyptians was not the only cause why they built no more temples. Though the colossal statue of Amunothph uttered its musical notes each morning at sunrise, still tuneful amid the desolation with which it was surrounded, and the Nile was still worshipped each midsummer by the husbandman to secure its fertilising overflow, nevertheless the religion itself for which the temples had been built, was fast giving way before the silent spread of Christianity. The religion of the Egyptians, unlike that of the Greeks, was no longer upheld by the magistrate; it rested solely on the belief of its followers, and it may have sunk into Christianity the faster for the greater number of truths which were contained in it than in the paganism of other nations. The scanty hieroglyphical records tell us little of thoughts, feelings, and opinions: indeed, that cumbersome mode of writing, which alone was used in religious matters, was little fitted for any thing beyond the most material parts of their mythology. Hence we must not believe that the Egyptian polytheism was quite so gross as would appear from the sculptures; and, indeed, we there learn that they believed, even at the earliest times, in a resurrection from the tomb, in a day of judgment, and a future state of rewards and punishments. With the decay of the old religion, there was too clearly to be seen an accompanying breaking up of society. Men are not held together by self-interest only; civil and moral laws are not obeyed from the mere dictates of prudence; and hence lawgivers have usually stamped their codes with a divine sanction. Religion is the great bond by which men have, at all times, been held in social union; the introduction of a new religion is a revolution as violent as a military conquest, and it may be centuries before the new framework is strong enough to act as a bond to society.'

We have already noticed the three principal elements of the Alexandrian people. They differed in all respects from their fellow-subjects in Upper Egypt, and in most respects from any single population in the world. A few of their characteristics have been collected by Mr. Sharpe, of whose description we avail ourselves, with some additions.

The ports of the Mediterranean have, in all ages, been remarkable for the motley and picturesque groups on their quays and causeways. Three continents supply them with *tableaux vivans* of nearly every variety of the human race. The haven and streets of Alexandria presented daily a spectacle equalled only by the square of St. Mark's in the 13th century, or by Malta and Gibraltar in our own. Its native population was hybrid; its subject population, from Memphis to Syêne, retained the garb, the speech, and the manners of the subjects of Rameses

and the builders of the Pyramids. The broad Phœnician merchantship, the long Rhodian galley, and the clumsy Pontic junk, anchored beside the Heptastadium; and the thirty-two dialects in which Mithridates conversed, would not have completely qualified him for a dragoman on the Alexandrian Exchange. 'I see among you,' says Dion Chrysostom, whose speech to the Alexandrians is the liveliest portraiture of the people he addresses, 'Greeks, Italians, and Syrians, Libyans and 'Æthiopians — but these are, in some sort, your neighbours; 'and I see, also, Bactrians from the Oxus, and Scythians from 'the Tanais, and men who drink the waters of the Tigris, the 'Danube, and the Indus; — ye are a spectacle to all nations.' It was the union, in a rude form, which Alexander projected for Europe and western Asia — the proper population of the first commercial and cosmopolite capital. More various and lively than the representation of the trading world, which Addison sketched on the Royal Exchange of London, it recalls to us, with some abatements, Milton's vision of 'imperial 'Rome':—

> 'Some from farthest South
> Syêne, and where the shadow both way falls,
> Meroë, Nilotic isle; and, more to west,
> The realm of Bocchus to the Black-moor sea;
> From the Asian kings and Parthian among these;
> From India and the golden Chersonese,
> And utmost Indian isle Taprobanè,
> Dusk faces with white silken turbans wreathed;
> From Gallia, Gades, and the British west;
> Germans and Scythians and Sarmatians, north
> Beyond Danubius to the Tauric pool.'

The grave and the grotesque, the splendid and the sordid, the least civilised and the most intellectual representatives of mankind, jostled one another in this shifting and indiscriminate mass, like the groups of the carnival, or the strange realities of the Molo. Philosophers in sad-coloured cloaks, and bearded like pards, promulgated to half-earnest half-yawning audiences trite saws and threadbare sophisms. Physicians advertised in person their infallible remedies in terms that 'would have made 'Quintilian stare and gasp,' outvying Paracelsus and old Parr. Stately litters followed by sturdy beggars; the wrinkled eunuch, the pale-eyed money-lender; the Jew, not in the degraded type of Holywell Street, but the citizen of no mean city, as when 'he smote Philistia hip and thigh;' the Greek, not slavish and supple, like the modern Smyrniote, but reflecting in his bearing and features the dignity of his race; the Roman, lord of all, and

the negro, servant of all, mingled together amid strings of camels and wains groaning with bales, amid Arab porters, and diviners from Babylon. No one was idle—'Civitas,' says the Emperor Hadrian, 'in quâ nemo vivit otiosus.' The blind, the crippled, the gouty found something to do: 'they are glass-'blowers, paper-makers, muslin-weavers (cinyphiones).' The clumsy Roman, who could not keep even a sun-dial in order without the help of a foreign clockmaker, marvelled at their versatility. 'They even hatch eggs;' and hence, Hadrian adds, the city was 'opulenta, dives, fœcunda,' and yet withal, if Dion may be trusted, 'no where more people crying for bread.' Nor, rightly considered, are pauperism and employment irreconcileable features in scenes from life. Wealth attracts population, and industry and idleness do not coexist in Hogarth's pictures alone. At Alexandria, as in other commercial cities, there must have been crowds of the *half*-employed as well as mendicants by profession; — hands in demand when work was plentiful — hands turned off when markets were low. The emperor, one of the most inquisitive men of his own or any age, was evidently much amused by the Alexandrians. His statistics are, however, sometimes at fault. He was wrong about the universal work and wages; but perhaps, during the imperial visit, the less creditable portion of the community was sent into the neighbouring desert, as into a union-house of infinite capacity. He was wrong, too, about the religious denominations of the city; for he says, 'they all worshipped Serapis, from the 'street-porters to the patriarch.' Whereas the religion of Serapis, though remarkably comprehensive and accommodating, was beset with every variety of dissent.

If from the physical we turn to the moral characteristics of the Alexandrians, we find them by common consent saddled with an evil reputation. Polybius abominated them (βδελύττεται). 'The mercenaries,' he says, 'were mutinous and over-'bearing, for ever quarrelling with each other and wronging 'civilians (paganos, pékins).' The Copts were sharp-witted and cowardly, shrill evil-tongues — ὀξὺ (*peuple criard*), like their neighbours the Arabs. The Greek bourgeoisie were the best behaved, 'had most sense of decorum,' but they were few in number, having never recovered the massacres of Physcon. The very boys were as ready in street-fights as their fathers. 'Indifferent soldiers,' says Statius, 'but the best of singers, and 'only surpassed by their compatriots, the Alexandrian fighting-'cocks, as an appendage to Roman supper-parties.' 'They are not by any means to be trusted,' says Hirtius, a century and a half later than Polybius; 'fallax genus, aliud cogitans, alia simu-

'lans.' 'Light as straws (*κούφοι*),' says Dion Cassius: 'a great 'deal lighter (*κουφοτάτοι*),' says Herodian: 'a passionate, brag-'ging, calumnious set,' says Vopiscus: 'ventosi, furibundi, 'jactantes, injuriosi.' 'Their medical men,' says Polybius, 'are utter humbugs (*ὁλοσχερῶς καταψεύδοντες*): they cram 'their prescriptions with hard words, and make their pupils 'stare with their terms of art; but take a patient to them, and 'ten to one they mistake his disease, and leave him incurable.' Latterly, however, the faculty would seem to have improved; for a physician or apothecary settling 'at Rhodes or Cyprus, or 'other ground,' usually advertised himself as a 'Member of the 'Royal College of Alexandria.' The surgeons especially had unusual facilities for learning their profession, since dissection was practised openly at Alexandria, and formed a branch of the university lectures. We suspect the surgeons had the best of the practice. The Alexandrians were much addicted to *rows*, and occasionally indulged themselves with a massacre of Jews, so that lint and splints would be more in request than rhubarb and colocynth. We have no accounts of the clerical portion of this bustling community. An anecdote in Josephus goes to prove the priests of Isis effectual father-confessors, the very *frati* of Boccaccio and Grassini. From Rome they were expelled as often as were the philosophers by the Cæsars, or the Jesuits by modern sovereigns. The number of Isiac and other divines must certainly have been considerable in a city where every sect was tolerated, and where worship was singularly capricious. Little also is known of the Alexandrian bar. Among a people so prone to wrangling, lawsuits were probably frequent and remunerative; and, outside the gates, the drifting sands and yearly inundations of the Nile must have furnished a plentiful supply of actions for trespass and disputed boundaries. One accomplishment the Alexandrian lawyers possessed, not usually found in Chambers and Courts—they were devoted to music. 'I defy you to tell,' says Dion Chrysostom, 'as you 'pass by the courts, whether they are trying prisoners, or 'drinking and singing catches.' We must, however, in fairness to the bar, add, that 'physic and divinity' were equally harmonious. The physician hummed a tune while feeling the pulse; the sophists and rhetoricians had their concerts; even the cynics, elsewhere 'most melancholy,' were at Alexandria 'most musical' also. We must refer to Athenæus for the strange names given to musical instruments. Cornopeons, accordions, serpents, &c., and the various components of a *concert-monstre*, are nothing in comparison. We cannot conclude our catalogue of Alexandrian eccentricities better than in Mr.

Sharpe's own words:—'With their wealth they had all those 'vices which usually follow, or cause the loss of, national inde- 'pendence. They seemed eager after nothing but food and 'horse-races,—those never-failing bribes for which the idle of 'every country will sell all that a man should hold most dear. 'They were grave and quiet at their sacrifices, and listless in 'business; but in the theatre or in the stadium, men, women, 'and children were alike heated into passion, and overcome with 'eagerness and warmth of feeling. They cared more for the 'tumble of a favourite charioteer than for the sinking state of a 'nation. A scurrilous song or a horse-race would so rouse them 'into a quarrel, that they could not hear for their own noise, nor 'see for the dust raised by their own bustle in the hippodrome; 'while all those acts of their rulers, which in a more wholesome 'state of society would have called for notice, passed by un- 'heeded. Their ready employment of ridicule in the place of 'argument, of wit instead of graver reason, of nick-names as 'their most powerful weapon, was one of the worst points in the 'Alexandrian character; and their history proves the truth of 'the wise man's remark, who, when he tells us what characters 'are most formed by nature to undermine the foundations of 'society and overturn the state, does not mention the proud or 'the cruel, the childish or the rash, the lustful or the wicked, but 'the mockers and scorners. But frankness and manliness are 'hardly to be looked for under a despotic government; where 'men are forbidden to speak their minds openly, and the Alex- 'andrians made use of such checks upon their rulers as the law 'allowed them. They lived under an absolute monarchy, tem- 'pered only by ridicule.'

Notwithstanding these unfavourable traits, Alexandria yielded its due proportion of eminent men, useful institutions, and enduring thoughts. Did time allow, we would borrow from this last act of the Ethnic world scenes strange and full of import—palpable disruptions of forty centuries, birth-throes of a new being in states and homes. 'Last scene of all,' Egyptian, Greek, and Roman, outworn philosophy, corrupted gospel-faith mingled in one indiscriminate mass; on the horizon the gleam of Saracenic spears, and around the walls the black tents of Amrou, and stillness on the granite quays, and silence in the hippodrome. But for these and other matters we must refer to Mr. Sharpe's pages; thinking highly of his diligence and accuracy, and with a friendly wish that the 'gods had made him more 'poetical.'

We had scarcely closed Mr. Sharpe's volume, when a work, giving fresh interest to the beaten track of Egyptian travels and

researches, was put into our hands — Miss Martineau's 'Eastern Life, Present and Past,' of which the first volume and part of the second relate to 'Egypt and its Faith.' Excellent as a book of travels, it is equally excellent as an adjunct to history. Miss Martineau unites the observant with the learned traveller — sees for herself, even after Eôthen; and has put spirit into the dry bones of Champollion, Wilkinson, and Lane. The bustle of Cairo and the solitude of Thebes are sketched with equal power and truth; even the desert has its gorgeous hues; and the silence of centuries becomes eloquent in her pages. A single extract is all we can afford at present. Were we looking out for a merely descriptive, or a merely reflective passage, or for one startling from its speculative boldness, we should be at a loss where to begin, and where to end. But as we must begin and end with a single extract, we have selected the following observations; as not only true in themselves, when properly limited and understood, — but of general application to all researches which have for their object the practical, moral, and intellectual life of antiquity. The tendency of Europe, at the revival of classical learning, was to idolize the past. We now incline to desecrate and depose it. The earlier propensity was that of the bookworm; the latter is that of the sciolist. Surely there is a medium, in which scepticism may acquiesce and faith repose; in which research and reverence may be reconciled, and the Present illustrate, without disfiguring, the Past. '*Detur* 'hæc venia antiquitati ut, miscendo *humana divinis*, primordia 'augustiora faciat.'

'The most interesting part to me of this beautiful group of temples [the temples of Philœ] was a chamber reached from the roof, always retired and somewhat difficult of access, which represents the death and resurrection of Osiris. This chamber is nearly over the western adytum, forming an upper story of the holy place. Here is sculptured the mourning of Osiris, and his embalming, funereal transit, reception by the spirits of Hades, and final investiture as Judge of the Dead. The next most interesting portion is the birth of Horus, to which subject the western temple is devoted. The Christians have made sad havoc here with their mud-plastering; but significant portions may be made out; and at the end sufficient clearance has been effected to bring out the beautiful group of Isis with Horus on her knees, receiving homage on all hands, the guardian hawk overhead being surrounded with a glory of radiating water-plants.

'What a symbol is this defacement itself of that action of the infirm human mind, which is for ever obliterating, as far as it can, all ideas but its own! How faithless in fact, as well as ignorant, is that zeal which would extinguish as dangerous all conceptions but those which suit its own transient needs, and which considers as false

all ideas and all expressions of them which are not at the moment present to themselves! And how great is the symbolical encouragement here in the durability of the old representations, and the ineffectual character of the defacement! These Christians flattered themselves that they had buried away for ever those old gods of Egypt, and driven out the whole time-honoured group to make way for their saints. They thought the thing was done when they had put a yellow halo over the lotus-glory; and the dove over the hawk; and St. Peter, with his keys of heaven, over Phthah, with his key of life; and angels with their palm-branches over the assessors of the dead with their feather symbols of integrity: as the Puritans of modern times supposed they had destroyed superstition by burning altar-pieces and stripping cathedrals. But such extinction, being no man's business, is in no man's power. The mud plaster can be cleared away, and the old gods reappear, serene and beautiful, and almost as venerable as ever to those who can discern their ideal through their forms; and it may be that their worship is as lively as ever in the hearts of those who regard them (as their best worshippers always did regard them) as imperishable ideas presented in forms congenial to their times. The Christian saints, with their halos, keys, palms, and books, share the same privilege. No narrow puritan zeal can abolish them. In as far as they embody spiritual truth, they must share the immortality of truth: exactly so far, and no further. Meantime, we who have stood before the plastered walls of Philœ, and the ruins of Catholic churches, cannot escape the admonition they convey — to accept the truth which comes to us, without daring to interfere with what comes (as *they* believe) to others: to enjoy our brightening dawn, without trying to put out the moon and stars; which would not have existed, if they had not been wanted by some beings beyond our jurisdiction, and in some place beyond our ken.'

ART. III. — 1. *Narrative of Events in Borneo and Celebes, down to the Occupation of Labuan; from the Journals of James Brooke, Esq., Rajah of Sarāwak and Governor of Labuan. Together with a Narrative of the Operations of H. M. S. Iris.* By Captain RODNEY MUNDY, R. N. London: Murray, 1848.

2. *Narrative of the Voyage of H. M. S. Samarang, during the Years* 1843–6, *employed surveying the Islands of the Eastern Archipelago; accompanied by a brief Vocabulary of the Principal Languages.* Published under the Authority of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty. By Captain Sir EDWARD BELCHER, R. N., C. B., F. R. A. S., F. G. S., Commander of the Expedition. With Notes on the Natural History of the Islands. By ARTHUR ADAMS, Assistant Surgeon. London: Reeve, Benham, and Reeve, 1848.

THOUGH the great maritime nations of Europe have long carried on a commercial intercourse with the Oriental

Archipelago, we have, up to the present hour, been content to remain in comparative ignorance of that large division of Asia. The merchant has trafficked with it, and the mariner navigated its narrow seas, without contributing much to the stock of knowledge possessed by civilised communities. We may, in fact, almost be said to have regarded it as a vast group of half fabulous isles, lying on the utmost confines of enterprise, midway between the territories of history and romance. The reader of old voyages and travels will remember something of Magellan and St. Francis Xavier, of Drake and Cavendish, of William Adams of Gillingham, Captain Saris and Oliver Van Noort, who made it the scene of their adventures; and the names of Sir Stamford Raffles and Sir James Brooke connect the subject with contemporary associations: But it will be long before the public generally acquire just notions of the twelve thousand islands, the prodigious area they occupy on the surface of the globe, the stupendous grandeur of their scenery, and the inexhaustible variety of their resources.

Nevertheless, we have recently made some steps towards the accomplishment of this task. Books on the Indian Archipelago are rapidly multiplying, and Java, Sumatra, Pulo, Kalamantan, or Borneo, Celebes, and the Philippines, have been brought within the circle of popular knowledge. Much, however, still remains to be done, to familiarise the public with the Indian Archipelago, which, commencing at the further extremity of the Bay of Bengal, stretches away eastward far into the Pacific, through more than fifty degrees of longitude; while in breadth it extends through thirty-one degrees of latitude, from Timor in the vicinity of Australia to Bengui, the northern point of Luzon, in the parallel of Hainan. Within this immense circumference we discover several vast islands and groups, inhabited by races of men differing very greatly from each other in character, complexion, religion, language, and manners; some having made considerable progress in civilisation, so as even to have attained to ideas more or less perfect of a free government — while others still remain buried in the depths of barbarism, and in acquaintance with the arts of life scarcely surpass their neighbours on the plains of New Holland.

Yet every where throughout these islands we discover the materials of a lucrative commerce, the means of easy communication, and apparently all the elements which contribute to the formation of civil society. No part of the globe possesses a more genial climate. The extremes of heat and cold are in many places unknown. Health is promoted by those powerful atmospheric currents which, under the name of the

monsoons, prevail periodically, and bring along with them refreshing and fertilising rains. Volcanic agency from beneath, as in Borneo, Java, Celebes and elsewhere, has thrust up the mountains to a prodigious height, and thus prepared a resting place for the clouds, the cradles of innumerable rivers, and the sites of those mighty primæval forests, which impress so peculiar a character on the landscapes of the Archipelago.

Continental Asia is much less distinguished for the rich diversity of its productions than this insular prolongation of it towards the south-east. Europe has for centuries been familiar with the costly spices of the Moluccas, with the ebony, pearls, and ostrich feathers of New Guinea; the diamonds, camphor, and gold of Borneo; the rice and pepper of Java and Sumatra; the sugar, red veined ebony, cigars, coffee, and hides of the Philippines; and the bees' wax, edible birds' nests, trepang, and odoriferous gums found generally in all the islands. But our curiosity has not yet impelled us to acquaint ourselves with the geography of the several groups, to accompany Forrest on his adventurous voyage from Balembangan to New Guinea; to toil through the valuable but quaint researches and speculations of Dalrymple; to encounter the tedious prolixity of the Dutch navigators; and thus make our imagination at home, as it were, in all the verdant islands and sunny seas comprehended within the capacious designation of the Indian Archipelago. And yet the inducement to apply ourselves to this branch of oriental learning is not small. Upwards of forty millions of human beings, according to some calculations, are there already: waiting to cultivate a further intimacy with Europe, and to be quickened into intelligence and moral activity by the touch of Western civilisation. As it is, the inhabitants of the Archipelago are no where mere listless savages, subsisting on the bounties of nature, and indifferent to the morrow. They display, on the contrary, much industry and energy: and whether on land or sea, are perpetually engaged in collecting, preserving, developing, or distributing the productions of their several islands. On the coasts we behold innumerable fishermen employed in taking or curing trepang, collecting agar-agar, or diving for pearls. On the plains and low lands, we find numerous tribes engaged in agriculture, raising rice, coffee, sugar, tobacco, or spices, cultivating betel or cocoa-nut groves, or growing those other fruits and vegetables which no where abound more plentifully. Meanwhile, the seas, shoals, bays, gulfs, and channels swarm with trading prahus, navigated by Bugis, Malays, Javanese, Bajows, and Papuans, and conveying to and fro for exchange or sale the commodities of the several groups and isles.

The first glimpse obtained by the people of the West of this wonderful Archipelago was through the relations of the great Venetian traveller Marco Polo, who, in the service of the Mongol Emperor of China, explored it about the year 1290. In the following century Sir John Mandeville, during his thirty-four years' travels, likewise visited it; but nearly two centuries more elapsed, before commercial enterprise advanced so far towards the East. Meanwhile, however, an Asiatic people had discovered the Archipelago, and were exploring it in all directions, for the purposes of trade and conversion. These were the Arabs: who, issuing from the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, penetrated through the Atolls of the Maldives, doubled the southern promontory of Ceylon, traversed the Bay of Bengal, boldly navigated the channels of the twelve thousand islands, and extended their voyages to the shores of the Celestial Empire. With the details of their mercantile and religious operations we are unacquainted. We only know that adventurer after adventurer from the Arabian Peninsula, from Persia, Syria, and Egypt, appeared in the Indian Archipelago, and taking up their abode in the wealthier and more desirable islands, became so many apostles of El Islam. Here, by these men and the mariners who brought them to the field of their labours, was collected much of the materials of those wonderful Tales, which under the name of 'The 'Thousand and One Nights,' have since made the circuit of the world. Full of the courage which is inspired by enthusiastic piety and the passion for gain, the Mohammedan merchants, in settling among the idolaters, invariably determined in secret to overthrow their superstition, and at the same time, perhaps, their temporal power which was based upon it. Belief in the Koran operated like the tie of brotherhood. The Faithful were generally ready to aid each other, to project common enterprises, and to elevate some fortunate disciple of the Prophet from the obscurity of private life to a throne. What were the proceedings of the early Muslims, of whose exploits we have no record, we may partly conjecture from that which took place in Java towards the close of the fifteenth century, when the Hindú kingdom, whose capital was Moja Pahit, fell beneath the sword of Mohammedan adventurers from Sumatra, just as the course of European enterprise was on the point of being directed towards these Eastern seas.

In 1509, eleven years after the illustrious Vasco de Gama had opened a passage to India by the Cape of Good Hope, Don Lopez de Sequeira may be said to have discovered the Oriental Archipelago, when with a small squadron he made the coast of Pedir, in Sumatra. Proceeding afterwards to

Malacca, on the Malay Peninsula, he engaged in a contest with the Sultan Mohammed, who defeated him, took a number of the Portuguese prisoners, and compelled him to retrace his steps. Two years afterwards the great Alphonso Albuquerque sailed to Malacca, ostensibly to avenge the disgrace of Sequeira, but in reality to extend the dominions of Portugal under any pretext whatsoever. Into the details of the enterprises and wars that followed, this is not the place to enter. The Portuguese penetrated the Archipelago in search of the Spice Islands, made forcible settlements on the Moluccas, and were guilty of indescribable cruelty and treachery in the course of their victorious career. Still further to exasperate their ambition by the spirit of rivalry, the Spaniards, under Magellan, a Portuguese by birth but in the service of Charles V., astonished them by appearing in the Archipelago in 1519 from the other side, by the straits, which bear his name. Magellan only discovered the Manillas, to lose his life there: and so much were the Spaniards occupied in other quarters, that it was not until 1564, that they took possession of them, and in honour of Philip II. changed their name to that of the Philippines. Fifteen or sixteen years later the fluctuations of European politics reached these distant regions. By a singular coincidence Philip united Portugal to Spain, and the Dutch shook off the Spanish yoke, almost at the same moment (1579, 1580). The Dutch had supplied themselves as merchants with the commodities of the East at Lisbon. They had now no choice, therefore, but to treat the Portuguese as Spaniards; and, after the fashion of their predecessors, to try their fortunes in the East as conquerors. When the Portuguese recovered their national independence in 1640, it was too late for them to retrieve the oriental empire they had by this time lost.

The flag of Holland first made its appearance in these seas in 1596: shortly after which England also made some efforts to share the commerce and spoils of Insular Asia. But while the Dutch went on patiently nursing their influence, consolidating their trade, and laying the foundations of future empire, our countrymen, on the contrary, after a brilliant commencement in Japan and elsewhere, relinquished the enterprise to concentrate all their efforts on the continent of India. Throughout the whole of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Dutch were occupied in strengthening their position in the Indian Archipelago, driving out the Portuguese and Spaniards, and securing the monopoly of the trade in spices. Gradually the Portuguese vanished from the scene, but the Spaniards maintained their ground in the Philippines; and—while the Dutch, chiefly confining their attentions to the south, stretched west-

ward and eastward from Java, obtained exclusive dominion over the Moluccas, insinuated themselves into Borneo, and established factories in Celebes—the Spaniards predominated in the northern groups, made settlements on the great island of Magindanão, attempted the reduction of the Sulus, and even extended their claims to Palāwan and Northern Borneo.

When we read the history of piracy in antiquity, and find it able to make head against the Roman republic, even in its most palmy days, we are apt, with a smile, to impute the circumstance to the imperfection of naval science in those ages; forgetting that the buccaneering system destroyed by Pompey was scarcely more formidable to the legitimate commerce of the world, than that which now flourishes in the vicinity of a British settlement, and in the very heart, we might almost say, of the Netherlands' East Indies. At all events, the pirates who disputed the sovereignty of the Mediterranean with Rome, though exceedingly numerous, and possessed on land of a superb basis of operations (the same might be said of the Barbary powers, so long the disgrace of Christendom), were few compared with their successors in the eastern seas; who, in addition to their naval strength, command whole principalities, and almost empires ashore, where they mimic regal splendour, and exercise many of the functions, and perform some of the duties of kings. History, which seldom underrates the forces of belligerents, estimates at twenty-four thousand the pirates defeated by Cæsar's rival. We may, without the slightest exaggeration, maintain that more than four times that number now carry on the same calling in the eastern seas, though existing under different conditions,—inasmuch as they aim at no common purpose, have no general organisation, and are swayed by no central authority.

It must have been remarked by all who have bestowed any consideration on the subject, that the haunts of pirates are distributed as it were over the ocean by the hand of Nature. Wherever there exist numerous groups of islands, separated from each other by narrow and intricate channels, lavishly indented with creeks and bays, encompassed with reefs and shoals, pierced with caverns, and walled in part with precipices, which none but desperadoes will descend or climb, there you may almost reckon with certainty on discovering a piratical station.

The earliest buccaneers known to history made their appearance among the isles and rocks which stud the Egean; the Normans issued from the intricate and half-frozen seas of the North; the buccaneers of America founded their short-lived empire in the archipelago of the Mexican Gulf; the Juasmis

selected for their place of refuge the innumerable rocks and islets which stretch along the eastern shores of Oman; and the Malays, Illanuns, Balanini, Bajows, Sulus, Papuans, and other marauders who infest the Indian Archipelago, rejoice in the vast labyrinth of reefs, shoals, gulfs, bays, creeks, and channels, into which the circumference of the twelve thousand islands is broken up.

The navigators and mariners who frequent those seas find it difficult to comprehend, from whence can issue those myriads of war prahus which they encounter everywhere, threading the most tortuous passages, standing up and down the rivers, or stealing round the sandpits and headlands which diversify every shore. But if we unroll before us a map of the Archipelago, and institute inquiries respecting the haunts of the pirates, our surprise will cease: or, if we wonder at all, it will be at the fact that, in spite of so many enemies and obstacles, an immense and perpetually increasing trade should still be carried on. From Sumatra on the west to New Guinea on the east, and from Java, Bali, Lombok, and Floris on the south, to the utmost limits of Magindanão and Palāwan northward, there is scarcely a single island which does not send forth buccaneers. But we must not form our ideas of them upon the Corsair of Lord Byron, or from the pirates who once infested our own seas: they are not mere robbers, without home or habitation — without family or property — who scour the ocean in search of gain, as highwaymen used to traverse Hounslow Heath. On the contrary, they carry on during a portion of the year other callings on sea or land — fishing, trading, or cultivating the soil, like honest and industrious people. Many of their settlements are among the pleasantest spots in the whole East. You ascend some newly-discovered, secluded river, stretching far into the interior, across beautiful plains, through immense primitive forests, up broad picturesque valleys, unequalled, perhaps, in the world, for the magnificence of their vegetation: and you come suddenly upon a sweet little village, consisting of hundreds of neat and graceful houses, erected on wooden pillars with the lightest materials, and surrounded by gardens as trim and well ordered as any in China. You inquire who are the dwellers in this attractive spot, and you learn that they are pirates! You behold the women and children sitting at work or playing in their lofty balconies, where some venerable old man, with blanched beard and weather-beaten countenance, sits calmly meditating on the affairs of this sublunary world. That respectable person is also a pirate, though he prays daily to Allah, and performs all the ordinary duties prescribed by his religion. You enter the houses, and find in them some proofs of the civilisation of Western

Asia, characterised by the fierce fanaticism of the Arabian Peninsula; while next door, perhaps, you perceive long strings of human heads depending in festoons from the ceiling, or gathered up in nets ready to be exhibited at the orgies of some Pagan festival. Around, the country far and near is elaborately cultivated; and breezy groves of cocoa-nut trees at once adorn the landscape, enrich the proprietor, and afford the traveller a refreshing shade. Nevertheless, at the proper seasons of the year, forth from this agreeable home — this little tropical paradise — issues a ruthless band of buccaneers, who, with lelahs and matchlocks, spears, bows, and poison-darting sumpitans, spread desolation far and wide.

In magnitude and appearance the piratical fleets differ widely from each other. Those of the Sea Dyaks, and some other tribes, consist of small light boats, rudely built and armed, which are propelled rapidly with paddle and sail along the shore. Unequal to long voyages or contests with large vessels, they only aim at the plunder of native trading boats, or the capture of slaves. On the other hand, the fleets of the Illanuns and Balanini, on their departure from their island homes upon long marauding expeditions, present a spectacle of wonderful magnificence, consisting, sometimes, of ninety or a hundred war prahus with numerous banks of rowers, double decks, warriors clad gorgeously in scarlet, bright brass guns, flashing spears and scimitars, lofty masts, broad sails, and parti-coloured streamers waving and flapping in the breeze.

It is impossible, while considering the habits, strength, and character of these pirates, not to institute a comparison between them and our own buccaneering ancestors, the Vikings or Sea Kings of the North; who more than a thousand years ago carried on along the shores of Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Germany, France and England, the same profession, and exercised the same cruelties and atrocities as now disgrace the rovers of the Indian Archipelago. In both cases the system arose out of similar circumstances — a defective government, and imperfect knowledge of the useful arts, a wrongly-directed education, and the prevalence of erroneous and perverted opinions throughout the whole body of society. Among the Northmen peaceful pursuits were held in little esteem. To acquire by force was more honourable than to earn by industry. In order to provide for their sons and kinsmen, the kings and nobles of Scandinavia, instead of encouraging them to betake themselves to agriculture or commerce or any other profitable profession, supplied them with the means of building, manning, and equipping a number of vessels, with which they scoured the sea in quest of plunder and captives. Accustomed to struggle with the elements, to

endure privations, and to live in the perpetual presence of danger, they quickly learned to set a slight value upon life, and to stifle in their breasts all sentiments of compassion. They habituated themselves to look on wounds, and blood, and torture, and the miseries of captivity, without the least emotion; and when their turn came to suffer or to die, they went through the ceremony with complete indifference. *Ridens morior.*

The same thing may now be predicated of our Indian pirates. Scorning the quiet drudgery of sedentary life, except during their season of compulsory leisure, their principal chiefs aim at opulence and power solely through rapine and violence. To them, merchants are but their flocks and herds, and the pacific dwellers on land, the rough agriculturist, and the toiling artizan, only so many articles of traffic. Without pity or remorse, they fire villages at night just as the Scandinavians did, massacring all who offer resistance; make captives of the remainder, manacle or bind them to each other like wild beasts, cast them pell-mell into the holds of their prahus, and sell them at the next slave market into hopeless servitude. Nor is it the weak and unprotected alone, against whom they direct their attacks. As the Normans of old landed boldly in thickly-peopled districts, assaulted towns and villages, and even laid siege occasionally to capital cities, so the Illanuns and Balanini fly at the noblest game, storm the strongholds of princes, and lay large cities in ashes. Even so recently as our treaty with Omar Ali for the suppression of piracy, the Balanini openly threatened to undertake an expedition against Brunê and destroy it, to punish the Sultan for entering into an alliance with us.

It may serve to convey some idea of the numbers, enterprise, and daring of these men, to observe, that throughout an immense area of some thousand leagues square, no native vessel navigates the sea in safety, no native inhabitant of the land, whether prince or peasant, sleeps at night securely in his bed. The power of the sea kings of the East makes its appearance everywhere, when least expected,—from the northern extremity of Sumatra to the most south-westerly province of New Guinea, and from the Philippines to Sandal Wood Island. Historians have remarked with surprise that the Scandinavian pirates were able to build, fit out, and victual ships which were equal to voyages of more than a year's duration. Yet, as a general rule, the utmost limits of their expeditions were confined within a narrow circle, in every part of which they could easily obtain water and provisions. The buccaneers of the Archipelago would have made light of this. They are often known to be out for upwards of two years, within which period they sometimes traverse ten thousand miles of sea: since they have been found on the

north-western coast of Borneo, having on board slaves from Papua and merchandise from the Patani, in the Malay Peninsula.

The brilliant success, which fortune sometimes awarded to the Vikings of the North, falls also at times to the share of their modern representatives in the Indian Archipelago; where many an Oriental Rollo has won splendid provinces with his sword, and seated himself by force on a more or less durable throne. Nearly every island, small and great, within the circuit of that vast group has, at some time or other, accepted a sovereign from among the pirates, whose courage and intelligence may, in such countries indeed, be admitted to entitle them to supreme authority. Until recently the attention of the world has not been directed to the rovers of the East: while numerous writers have vied with each other in vaunting the heroism of the Sea Kings. But, if we divest ourselves of traditional prejudices, and extend our impartial admiration from the deeds of our Scandinavian forefathers to those of our Mohammedan and Pagan enemies in Insular Asia, we shall find among the latter examples of an equally chivalrous courage and of the same contempt of death. Mr. Brooke, who is able fully to appreciate the enthusiastic valour which he is compelled to extirpate, records, with a sort of proud satisfaction, the Spartan heroism displayed by the Illanun Panglima on the beach of Sarāwak.

'Arrived at Siru,' he says, 'I found the Patingi waiting till the Pangeran and the Illanun Panglima came to the beach; and, to prevent suspicion, my party kept close in the boat, whence I could observe what was passing without. The Pangeran and Illanun walked down, both well armed, and the latter dressed out with a variety of charms. Once on the beach retreat was impossible, for our people surrounded them, though without committing any hostile act. The suspicion of the two was, however, roused, and it was curious to observe their different demeanour. The Borneo Pangeran remained quiet, silent, and motionless, a child might have taken him. The Magindanāo Illanun lashed himself to desperation; flourishing his spear in one hand and the other on the handle of his sword, he defied those collected about him. He danced his war dance on the sand, his face became deadly pale, his wild eyes glared, he was ready to *amok*, to die, but not to die alone. His time was come, for he was dangerous, and to catch him was impossible; and accordingly Patingi Ali, walking past, leaped forward and struck a spear through his back far between his shoulders, half a foot out at his breast. I had no idea that after such a stab a man could, even for a few instants, exert himself; but the panglima, after receiving his mortal wound, rushed forward with his spear and thrust it at the breast of another man; but strength and life failed, and the weapon did not enter. This was the work of a few seconds.'*

* Mundy's Narrative of Events in Borneo and Celebes, i. 309.

Another passage from the same deeply interesting Journal will show that all pirates do not display the same stoicism, and that neither intrepidity nor affectation is always able to subdue or disguise the fear of death: —

'About one the pirate Budrudeen was taken across the water to the house of his own relatives, who were present, and had previously consented to his death, and there strangled by Pangeran Bakore. The mode of execution is *refined*. The prisoner is placed inside thick musquito curtains, and the cord twisted from behind. The criminal, it is said, kept repeating, "What! am I to be put to death for *only* "killing the Chinese? Mercy! Mercy!" His brother-in-law was krissed by a follower of the rajah inside a house; his hands were held out, and the long kriss being fixed within the clavicle bone on the left side, was pushed down to the heart. The criminal smiled as they fixed the kriss, and died instantly.'*

Brave men, however, always die in much the same manner when their passions are excited, or when the necessity comes for meeting their fate. The consciousness of a life of blood does not appear to daunt them. No disciple of Zeno, nurtured in the Portico on ethics and cold syllogisms, could depart out of life with more magnanimous composure than one of these freebooters, who received his mortal wound in a piratical encounter. 'The 'account given,' says Keppel, 'of the scene which presented 'itself on the deck of the defeated pirate when taken possession 'of, affords a striking proof of the characters of these fierce 'rovers, resembling greatly what we read of the Norsemen and 'Scandinavians of early ages. Among the mortally wounded 'lay the young commander of the prahu, one of the most noble 'forms of the human race; his countenance handsome as the 'hero of Oriental romance, and his whole bearing wonderfully 'impressive and touching. He was shot in front and through 'the lungs, and his last moments were rapidly approaching. He 'endeavoured to speak, but the blood gushed from his mouth 'with the voice he vainly essayed to utter in words. Again 'and again he tried, but again and again the vital fluid drowned 'the dying effort. He looked as if he had something of im-'portance which he desired to communicate, and a shade of dis-'appointment and regret passed over his brow, when he felt 'that every essay was unavailing, and that his manly strength 'and daring spirit were dissolving into the dark night of annihi-'lation. The pitying conquerors raised him gently up, and he 'was seated in comparative ease, for the welling out of the 'blood was less distressing; but the end speedily came; he folded 'his arms heroically across his wounded breast, fixed his eyes

* Mundy's Narrative of Events in Borneo and Celebes, i. 319.

'upon the British seamen around, and casting one last glance 'at the ocean, the theatre of his daring exploits, on which he 'had so often fought and triumphed—expired without a sigh.'*

The speech which this pirate chief would have uttered, but could not for the overflowing of his life's blood with his voice, may, without the least extravagance, be supplied from one of the Northern Sagas. In the records of the Sea Kings, which often describe heroes smiling, like the Borneo chiefs in their last moments, we meet with the picture of a wholesale butchery of captive rovers from the celebrated strong hold of Jomsburgh; among whom there seems to have been a sort of rivalry which of them should display the greatest coolness and jocularity in the extremity of a fearful death.

In a cruising voyage about the year 924, the Jomsburghers fell in with the fleet of Jarl Hakon, a king of Norway. Superstition appears to have had its share in their defeat. They fancied that they saw Thorgerd Hördabrud herself at the prow of Hakon's ship with whole volleys of arrows flying from her fingers, each arrow bringing to one of them his death-wound. Sigwald cut the cable and sailed away, saying, that he had made a vow to fight against men, and not against witches. When Bui the Thick perceived that further resistance was fruitless, he took two chests full of gold, and calling out 'Overboard all Peri's 'men!' plunged with his treasure into the sea and perished. Vagn, however, continued to fight valiantly against the combined forces of the Norwegians; but was at length overpowered and taken prisoner, with thirty of his followers. To reduce such men to slavery was a thing altogether out of the question; for the Danes, as Adam of Bremen observes, were so impatient of servitude, that rather than endure it, they immediately took refuge in death. Like Muda Hassim, therefore, in the case of the pirate Budrudeen and his brother-in-law, Jarl Hakon resolved to deliver himself from his prisoners with the axe; and in the morning, after breakfast, he commanded them to be brought forth for execution. We take the narrative from Mallet.

'The prisoners being seated on a log of wood with their legs 'bound together by a rope, withies or osier twigs were twisted 'in their hair. A slave was then placed behind each, to keep 'his head steady, by holding fast the withies braided into a 'band for that purpose. The executioner was no less a per-'sonage than Thorkell Leire, one of the most renowned Nor-'wegian chieftains, whose daughter Vagn had vowed to gain 'possession of without the consent of her relations. Thorkell

* Expedition to Borneo of H. M. S. Dido, ii. 22, 23.

'began his sanguinary task by striking off the head of him who 'sat outmost on the log. After he had beheaded the next two, 'he asked the prisoners what they thought of death.

'"What happened to my father," replied one, "must happen '"to me. He died, and so must I."

'Another said he remembered too well the laws of Jomsberg 'to fear dying; a third declared that a glorious death was ever 'welcome to him, and that such a death was far preferable to an 'infamous life like that of Thorkell's.

'"I only beg of thee," said a fourth, "to be quick over thy '"work, for thou must know it is a question often discussed at '"Jomsberg, whether or not a man feels anything after losing '"his head. I will, therefore, grasp this knife in my hand; if '"after my head is cut off, I throw it at thee, it will show that '"I retain some feeling; if I let it fall, it will prove the con-'"trary: strike, therefore, and decide the question without '"further delay."

'Thorkell, says the Saga man, struck off the man's head with 'a stroke of his battle-axe, but the knife instantly fell to the 'ground.

'"Strike the blow in my face," said the next; "I will sit '"still without flinching, and take notice whether I ever wink '"my eyes; for our Jomsberg people know how to meet the '"stroke of death without betraying any emotion."

'He kept his promise, and received the blow without showing 'the least sign of fear, or so much as winking his eyes; Sigurd, 'the son of Bui the Thick, a fine young man in the flower of 'his age, with long fair hair as fine as silk flowing in ringlets 'over his shoulders, said, in answer to Thorkell's question: "I '"fear not death, since I have fulfilled the greatest duty of life; '"but I must pray thee not to let my hair be touched by a '"slave, or stained with my blood."

'One of Hakon's followers then stepped forward and held his 'hair instead of the slave, but when Thorkell struck the blow 'Sigurd twitched his head forward so strongly, that the warrior 'who was holding his hair had both his hands cut off. Eirek, 'the son of Jarl Hakon, who seems to have relished this prac-'tical joke, then came up, and asked Sigurd whether he would 'have his life spared.

'"That depends," replied the youth, "upon who it is that '"makes me the offer."

'"He who has the power to do it, Jarl Eirek," said the son 'of the Norwegian chieftain.

'"From his hand will I accept it," said Sigurd, and he was 'immediately loosed from the rope. Thorkell, enraged at Eirek's 'clemency, exclaimed, "If thou spare the lives of all these men,

'"Jarl, at least Vagn Akason shall not escape me." So saying 'he ran at Vagn with uplifted axe, but the crafty sea-rover 'threw himself on the ground, so that Thorkell fell over him 'and cut the rope with his axe; seeing that, Vagn sprang up, 'and seizing the weapon, gave Thorkell his death wound. Jarl 'Eirek, notwithstanding his father's remonstrance, then asked 'Vagn if he would accept life from his hands.

'"Willingly," replied Vagn, "provided thou wilt give it to '"all of us."

'"Loose the rope," said Eirek; and it was done: eighteen 'had been beheaded, and twelve were spared by Eirek thus 'interfering, among whom was a Welchman named Bjorn.'

To return, however, to the East. Ever since Mohammedanism was planted in the Archipelago, Arab adventurers have strayed thither, with no resources but their courage and their swords, in the hope of erecting sovereignties for themselves among a less energetic and civilised people. To enhance their influence, they have generally affected to be descended from the Prophet, and assumed the name of Sheriffs, under which they have become famous since the publication of Mr. Brooke's journals. Occasionally, in the former records of that part of Asia, we obtained glimpses of these bold men, whose influence, it must be admitted, has been of a mixed character, some times highly beneficial to the natives, at others, equally pernicious. That we, contemplating them from a particular point of view, should be inclined to regard them as altogether malevolent and mischievous, is natural enough; since they now stand in our way and obstruct the efforts we are resolved on making for the regeneration of the Archipelago. But we must not forget that there was a time, in which the Sheriffs seem to have done good service. Making their appearance among a half-savage race, and bringing along with them a knowledge of the Koran and of the first principles of civilised society, they naturally asserted their superiority over the Malays and Dyaks; who willingly succumbed to the authority of their new masters — especially when, by so doing, they opened to themselves the prospect of riches and power, subordinate, indeed, to those of their chief, but greater than they could ever expect to acquire without his co-operation.

No evidence, we believe, exists by which the progress of civilisation in the Archipelago can be traced further back than to the disciples of the Koran; who appear to have been the founders of nearly all the states which acquired any celebrity, or enjoyed any durable existence in Borneo, Celebes, or any other of the larger islands. There, no doubt, as every where else, Mohammedan civilisation has exhibited a gross and unspiritual character:

rising to a certain height, and displaying a considerable amount of splendour, but speedily degenerating, because resting on an imperfect ethical basis. Still the Arab adventurers, whatever they may now be, must be admitted, we think, to have been useful in their day, and to have roused the Malays and Dyaks from their apathy: — imparting to them a vigorous impulse, though with a direction, generally, perhaps, towards evil, but sometimes also towards good.

Even in the present age it is impossible not to admire the success with which a few solitary Arabs have erected for themselves a fabric of power in Borneo and elsewhere. Arriving, penniless and unknown, among savage and ignorant races, they at once inspire them with respect for their persons by their courage and sagacity, teach them to construct houses and plan villages, to cultivate the soil, to lay out gardens and plant fruit trees, and to surround themselves with all the elements of comfort known or requisite in those regions. Unfortunately the shortest road to affluence lies not through the paths of labour. Deriving subsistence from honest toil, they aim at wealth and power through violence: and, submitting themselves to the direction of the most vigorous and daring spirits, they take to piracy as the most promising profession. While the Sheriffs, therefore, in their relation to the communities they create and govern, must be admitted to be benefactors,—since they organise and keep them together, augment their means, and render them independent; in relation to external communities not in alliance with them, they are so many pernicious scourges. Having, by an abuse of their advantages, acquired wealth, they often put it out to interest in the most iniquitous manner. For instance, by advancing money, arms, gunpowder, salt, and provisions to the Illanuns, Balanini, and Sea Dyaks, to be afterwards repaid in slaves and plunder, they are evidently the main supporters of the system of piracy, as well as of the slave trade which is one of its necessary consequences. Mr. Brooke, therefore, is perfectly right in denouncing the Sheriffs as the worst enemies of civilisation in the Archipelago: because, though they reclaim and refine up to a certain point, they stop short there; and, by tolerating, or rather perhaps inculcating the most immoral principles, prevent the healthful and spontaneous growth of society.

Some prejudiced writers have sought to give currency to the opinion that all the pirates of the Eastern Seas are Mohammedans; and that they owe their propensity to dishonesty to the doctrines of the Koran. This is a great mistake. It generally happens, no doubt, as well in Borneo as in other of the islands, that the mouths of the great navigable rivers are possessed by Muslims, —

the descendants sometimes of genuine Arabs, but more frequently Malay or Illanun converts to the tenets of El Islam. In obedience to an instinct which appears to be of universal operation in the Mohammedan world, all these people betake themselves to trade, build vessels, and spend a large portion of their lives upon the sea. In passing to and fro from island to island, they meet with boats and canoes laden with property more or less valuable and belonging, perhaps, to persons altogether unwarlike. The temptation is too strong to be resisted. Traders themselves, but with martial habits and aptitudes, they forget the duties of their peaceful calling, seize the goods of the defenceless merchants, and enter upon the career of piracy. If resistance be offered, they convert it into a pretext for massacre; or if captives be taken, refractoriness and stubborn self-defence supply their enraged captors with an apology for reducing them to slavery. In every island and on every coast towns and villages are found, where goods and captives thus obtained may be disposed of. Few mercantile operations are as profitable as slave-dealing. The pirates, therefore, despising ordinary plunder, apply themselves chiefly to the collection of captives, mostly women and children, who are retained in servitude without difficulty; while the men, because more dangerous, are, for the most part, murdered.

In this way we may presume the thing took its rise, and gradually acquired strength. At present there exist large piratical communities capable of sending forth annually fleets manned with five or six thousand men. We allude chiefly to Sulu. This state, which was formerly thought worthy to be denominated an empire, extends its authority over large groups of islands — many of them fertile in all the necessaries of life — but chiefly remarkable for the production of men who, with the reputation of being contaminated with every vice, yet possess the virtue of courage in the highest degree. Vice and profligacy, divorce, slavery, revenge, assassinations, murders, are said to be the everyday amusements of the people; who yet increase in an extraordinary manner, carefully cultivate their lands, and addict themselves unremittingly to the laborious and dangerous enterprises of commerce and piracy. We must infer, therefore, that vice is not so rife as is pretended in the Sulu Islands, or that its effects are less enervating than we have been accustomed to believe; for although the territories of the state have, by a combination of circumstances, been greatly curtailed, there is no indication of any falling off in bravery, no symptom of a disposition to quail even before a European force. Again and again have these islanders been engaged in contests with Spain;

and although the civilisation of that country, spurious and imperfect as it is, ultimately triumphed in the conflict—so far, at least, as to lead to the conclusion of an advantageous peace—yet the Sulus seem to have invariably displayed pre-eminent courage, and ultimately to have yielded only to overwhelming numbers, or before the influence of European discipline.

Towards the close of the eighteenth century, the sultanate of Sulu, in addition to the four groups of which it now consists, comprehended the whole northern division of Borneo, down to the river Kimanis, the larger half of Palāwan, and some indefinite settlements on Magindanāo. Its maritime power was then truly formidable; and the Dutch, who alone, at that period, interfered in the internal affairs of the Archipelago, seem always to have carefully avoided any collision with this brave and adventurous people. Nor, even in our own time, has any effectual check been given, either by Great Britain or by Holland, to their daring depredations. We have already alluded to their numbers. About the month of April the fleet, consisting of two or three hundred prahus, well manned and armed, sets sail from the capital; and, separating into two divisions, sweeps round the whole island of Borneo, landing at intervals, firing villages, collecting captives, and plundering and devastating for several miles inland. The mischief perpetrated is often done for its own sake. They pull down cottages, destroy gardens, and fell the young betel and cocoa-nut trees, to try, perhaps, the temper of their sabres. Having wasted and destroyed the whole face of the country, they move on like locust-swarms, swelling the number of their captives, and gorged with the spoils of the wretched inhabitants. In this way they proceed as far as the Straits of Sunda: and then, facing about to the east, attack the coast of Java, capturing occasionally Dutchmen and their wives, and selling them wherever they find such articles in request. As long as they find their voyages answer, they push on towards the rising sun: But, in due time, they encounter the Papuan from New Guinea, who, being out on the same errand, are generally too well armed and far too watchful to be made prizes of. Having pursued their career, therefore, as far as it is attended with profit, the Sulus retrace their steps—crowding northwards through the Moluccas, lay the subjects of Holland under contribution—and return with diamonds, gold, spices, and slaves, to enjoy themselves during the rest of the year in their beautiful and healthful islands.

The Sulus, who are an extremely mixed race, regard themselves, and seem to be regarded by others, as the bravest and most resolute pirates in the Archipelago; since they do not

confine their depredations to the attack of native prahus or Chinese junks, but boldly assail and board square-rigged vessels, though manned, in part at least, with European crews. A traveller who resided six months in the principal island furnishes a curious list of the captures made during that period, that is to say, of such as came to his knowledge, which probably constituted but a small part of the whole. His account is imperfect, inasmuch as he often omits to notice the character of the crew, while he points out the nature of the cargo. The first capture he saw brought in was a Spanish brig, laden with sundries from Manilla; to this succeeded twenty smaller craft, probably belonging to the same native owner, all taken among the Philippines. Then followed in the prahus of the Sulus themselves a thousand slaves, kidnapped from the same islands; who were all sold at Sulu, but whether for domestic use, or for exportation, does not appear. To these triumphs over the Spanish flag were soon added others over those of England and the Netherlands — first, the capture of a paddiwakan from Macassar, commanded by a Dutchman, who was afterwards ransomed for the sum of twelve hundred Spanish dollars; and then that of six smaller craft under English colours in the Malacca seas, and an English brig, of which the whole crew was murdered.

When Sir Edward Belcher visited Sulu, in 1844, such was the state of things he found there: and he can have expected nothing else. A few days before his arrival, three piratical prahus, which had been cruising among the Philippines, came in with their cargo of female prisoners, and sold them openly in the slave market. The datu melook, or prime minister, was said, and apparently not without reason, to be deeply implicated in this and similar transactions. Human nature is probably the same at Sulu as at Cuba: And, we fear, Captain Belcher will have vainly threatened them with the vengeance of the British flag, should the sultan persist in making Sulu a place of refuge for the Balanini when under pursuit for acts of piracy.

An attempt has been made to enumerate the stations in the Sulu islands at which the pirates keep their war prahus, and from which they issue on their plundering expeditions. But the undertaking is useless, and the details would be tiresome. It is sufficient to remark, that among the several hundred islands and islets of which the Sulu group consists, there is not one enjoying the advantage of a harbour or accessible beach, which does not, at the proper season of the year, augment the strength of piracy in the Archipelago; and, as the buccaneers of these islands are distinguished from all others by their superior bravery, so do their fleets consist of larger and more skilfully

built prahus, capable of carrying heavy guns and a numerous crew.

In the dominions of the Sulus the Balanini possess a group of islets, in which they leave their wives and families while they themselves are engaged in their piratical excursions. These people are generally believed to be a tribe of Bajows or Sea Gipsies, who, at some period beyond the reach of tradition, made their appearance in the Archipelago, though from what part of the world they came is altogether unknown. In this respect they resemble the Gipsies of Europe and Western Asia. Several divisions of the race, now found dispersed through the whole extent of Insular Asia, subsist by their own honest industry, which includes fishing for trepang, pearls, mother-o'-pearl, agar-agar, &c. But the Balanini, finding piracy more profitable, have abandoned altogether the peaceful pursuits of their brethren, and now scour the Archipelago from east to west, from north to south, in search of plunder and captives. They have been met on the north-west coast of Borneo, having on board their prahus slaves from Papua and the Philippines; and at other seasons of the year, extend their depredations to Patani and other provinces on the eastern coast of the Malay Peninsula.

Within the last few months, an expedition, consisting of several war steamers, was fitted out from Manilla against the Balanini, and proceeded to attack them in their island, which has been described from report by Sir Edward Belcher. Their strongholds are situated on the edge of a lagoon, communicating with the sea by a narrow channel, strongly staked across, so as barely to leave room for the passage of a single prahu. Their batteries, consisting of at least a hundred guns, are all pointed upon this spot. The Spaniards, however, forced an entrance, and, after a long and sanguinary engagement, succeeded in capturing the batteries, and taking all the prahus they found in the lagoon. For the present, therefore, the force of the Balanini may be regarded as broken, and their principal stronghold dismantled. We heartily wish in return, that the Balanini could make reprisals upon Spanish slavers off the coast of Africa.

Similar in character are the fierce Illanuns from Magindanão; who in Borneo, Palāwan, and elsewhere, have carved themselves out small independent principalities with the sword. Sir Edward Belcher has collected much curious information respecting these rovers from the great Bay of Illanun, the original seat of their power, whence also they have derived their name. Here they live nominally independent of the Sultan of Magindanão, though in reality they are still subject to him: since, whenever any

foreign power has business to transact with the Illanuns, it makes an application to that prince, through whose intervention the affair is invariably settled. The description of the Bay and its fierce inhabitants is given in Captain Belcher's own words: —

'The shores,' he says, 'of the immense bay of Illanun, on the southern part of Magindanão, the eastern arm of which forms a peninsula with a very narrow neck, are closely wooded, with mangroves running out, in most instances, into six or nine feet water, and affording sudden shelter for vessels drawing about six feet water. These trees springing from roots which firmly support the main trunks at a height of seven or eight feet above high-water flow, cover the swampy ground which intervenes between them and a spacious lagoon, the stronghold of the Illanun pirates, and gives to them the appellation of Las Illanos de la Laguna, where it is highly probable they submit to their own pirate chiefs. Throughout the vast range of the bay connected with this lagoon, the Illanuns have constructed numerous substantial escapes, being ways of timber which permit of their hauling the vessels into the lagoon upon any sudden emergency; and so amazingly expert are they in this manœuvre, that, when in hot chase, my informants have pressed them close and considered their escape impossible, they have seen them dash suddenly into one of these escapes, and before their faluas or launches could reach the spot, they had been hauled out of sight, and upon presenting themselves at the opening, were saluted by a discharge of round and grape from heavy brass guns, placed in battery and so far within this dangerous jungle that attack was impossible. It is also a well-known fact, that the whole line of the bay is vigilantly watched by vigias, or look-out houses, within lofty trees, and immediately on the alarm being given, ropes are instantly led to the point of entry, and the home population is ready to aid in hauling them through the mangroves, as well as to defend them from further attack. The method of constructing these escapes is very simple; mangrove trees are driven, at opposite angles, obliquely into the mud, and their upper ends securely lashed to the young standing mangrove trees, forming a V-shaped bed, at an angle of 120 degrees. These trees being stripped of their bark are kept very smooth, and when wet spontaneously exude a kind of mucilage which renders them very slippery. The outer entrance of this angular bed is carried into deep water, and at so gradual an inclination that the original impetus given by the oars forces them at once "high and dry," and by the ropes then attached they are instantly drawn by their allies into the interior, at a rate, probably, equal to that at which they are impelled by oars.'

The slaves who have escaped from the Illanuns assert that within the lagoon they have extensive building establishments, and means prepared for repelling any attack which may be made upon them. Old prahus are used instead of houses; in these they keep their wives, families, or treasures, in readiness for removal to any part of the lagoon upon the approach of danger.

The ideas which commonly prevail in Europe on the subject of Malay piracy, are exceedingly vague and imperfect. Few have been at the pains to acquaint themselves with the extent and resources of the Archipelago, without which the number of piratical communities, the strength of their fleets and the large range of their expeditions can scarcely appear credible. Even after instituting numerous and careful researches, it is still difficult to account for many circumstances in the actual *status* of oriental piracy, which yet seem to be undeniable. In many cases European merchant vessels, as well as the trading prahus of the natives, are attacked by corsairs of whose haunts we are altogether uninformed. A large portion of the surrounding seas, it is true, remains unsurveyed; and there are numerous islands, we may, perhaps, venture to say whole groups, of which we scarcely know the names and certainly neither their longitude nor latitude. From these unknown places many of the pirates who visit the north of Borneo are supposed to issue; but they are chiefly found in the seas about Magindanão, and south and east of the Philippines.

Some idea, however, may be formed of the unexplored piratical haunts by an account of those with which we are better acquainted. Along nearly the whole eastern coast of Celebes the rajahs and their subjects are almost all pirates and possess numerous fleets of prahus, which may be seen at all times drawn up on the beach at high-water mark with their ammunition and arms on board, ready to be launched at a moment's notice. According to the sultan of Koti, the chief of Kylie alone possessed a thousand prahus: at the most moderate computation some few years ago he had at least seven hundred at his command. Many other rajahs, whose strongholds lie south of Kylie, own from a hundred and fifty to two hundred and forty prahus, all engaged in piracy. On the opposite coast of Borneo, from Cape Unsang southwards, for upwards of a thousand miles, every river, creek, and bay may be said to be occupied by piratical communities, the number of whose prahus taken together would make a maritime power of considerable importance. These prahus are from eight to ten tons burden, admirably built both for speed and safety. They depend for velocity partly on their light and sharp build, partly on the number of paddles, which are managed with great vigour and skill. They are generally armed on their bows, centre, and stern, with lelahs or swivels of small calibre but long range; and when their prey has been disabled by these, their crews, at the sound of the gong or tom-tom, rush to the conflict with long boarding spears, krisses, Malay hatchets, swords, muskets, blunderbusses, and a variety

of missiles, such as stones and sticks pointed and burnt at the end. Sir Edward Belcher observes that —

'The vessels of the Illanuns are very sharp, of great beam, and exceeding ninety feet in length. They are furnished with double tiers of oars, and the largest generally carry about one hundred rowers, who are slaves, and not expected to fight unless hard pressed. The fighting men, or chiefs as they are termed, amounting to thirty or forty, occupy the upper platform, and use the guns as well as small lelahs, or swivels. The whole of the main interior, occupying about two-thirds of the beam and three-fifths of the length of the vessel, is fitted as a cabin; it extends from one-fifth from forward to one-fifth from aft, and at the bow is solidly built, with the whole length of the vessel with hard wood, and baulks of timber calculated to withstand a six-pounder shot; a very small embrasure admits the muzzle of the gun, which varies from the six to the twenty-four pounder, generally of brass, independently of numerous swivels of various calibres mounted on solid uprights secured about the sides and upper-works of the vessel. Above the cabin is the fighting deck, upon which their heroes are placed, and upon any chance of action they dress themselves in scarlet, and are equipped very much in the style of armour furnished for the stage property of our theatres, varying from steel-plate to ring-chain or mail-shirt. Their personal arms are generally the kris and spear; but they have also a huge sword, well known as the "Lanoon sword," which has a handle sufficiently large to be wielded with two hands. In place of a mast they have sheers, capable of being raised or depressed suddenly, upon which a huge mat sail is hoisted.

'The fitting of these sheers is as follows: on the fore part of the fighting deck is a small pair of bitts, each little head being placed about three feet on each side of the centre line; through the head of these bitts a piece runs, windlass fashion, its outer ends being rounded, which pass through the lower end of the sheers in holes; this arrangement completes a triangle, having the windlass base of six feet. The heads of the sheers are joined by a solid piece of wood, perforated as a sheave hole for the halliards by which the sail is hoisted; a third spar is attached which, taken aft as a prop, instantly turns this mast upon its windlass motion to the vertical, and almost, as if by magic, we find the sail expanded or reduced instantaneously.'

It is surprising that these prahus should not be blown up more frequently than they are — considering the large quantity of powder they usually have on board. Even the very smallest carry two barrels, those of middling size five, while the larger class have rarely less than fourteen or fifteen on board. It has sometimes been made a question, who supplies them with this gunpowder. The criminality is shared by every European nation: numerous ships with English colours having been found to be engaged in the trade; though we would willingly hope that there are grounds for believing, that the chief supply is obtained from

the French, the Chinese, and the Americans. With respect to the last, a writer of great experience ingeniously observes that humanity is much indebted to them; since the powder they sell will not go off, and he who fires their muskets is in far greater danger than the person fired at. The Dutch government strictly forbids its subjects to traffic in these dangerous articles.

The seasons in which the pirates make their appearance in the several parts of the Archipelago, are tolerably well known: it might, therefore, be supposed that vessels and prahus would avoid putting to sea at these times. But persons engaged in trade cannot allow their capital to lie idle for months, and remain themselves cooped up in harbour through apprehensions of danger, which after all may never overtake them. Besides, it is the course of commerce which regulates the motions of the pirate; so that, if the merchants changed the period of putting to sea, their enemies would do the same, and no advantage would be gained by the alteration. At present the buccaneers are found cruising about the Straits of Malacca in the months of October, November, December, and January; after which they apply themselves to honest industry during three months in the year, viz., February, March, and April,—these they spend in fishing, collecting agar-agar, and preparing for future expeditions. Throughout the whole summer they make their appearance on the eastern coast of the Malay Peninsula, and among the innumerable small islands which lie along the shores of Sumatra from Singapore southwards, as far as the Straits of Banka. In other parts of the Archipelago the pirates select other seasons for their depredations, being guided by the movements of the merchants upon whom they prey. As a general rule, they do not assault ships under sail: but taking advantage of the short lull between the land and sea-breezes—when vessels often lie completely becalmed at a short distance from the shore—they steal out quietly, gliding behind rocks and islands till they come suddenly upon the doomed trader. During fogs and bad weather they have occasionally made mistakes which have proved fatal to them.

On one occasion a favourite Panglima of Rajah Raga, the celebrated pirate of Koti, observed early in the morning a vessel lying at anchor. The rain, which was then descending in torrents, darkening the air, appeared to favour the Panglima's design; he succeeded in consequence in approaching very near his victims before he was discovered. He then ordered all his lelahs to be discharged; and at the sound of the gong, the pirates, one hundred and forty-six in number, with loud shouts, prepared for boarding. The Panglima was on the instant made

aware of the error he had committed. In the sides of the vessel which he had devoted to destruction numerous portholes opened suddenly, and a tremendous broadside carried dismay and death among his followers. In vain the Panglima shouted that it was all a mistake and that they meant no harm; broadside after broadside was discharged, till the shattered prahu sank to the bottom, and every man on board excepting five. These floated away on spars, and were rescued by their countrymen. The enemy deeming them unworthy of quarter, refused to pick up the helpless wretches, and sternly abandoned them to the fate which their crimes so richly had deserved. The avenging ship was an English man-of-war.

To illustrate the justice of so terrible a chastisement, we must relate one of the innumerable acts of villany by which it was provoked. Shortly before, an English vessel, under Dutch colours, had left the Malacca straits, laden with opium and piece goods, and passing down along the coast of Sumatra, carried on an advantageous traffic with the natives. It then sailed over to the coast of Borneo, traded at Sambas and Pontiana, and rounding the southern point of the island, cast anchor in the Banjarmassim river. Here Captain Gravesome had the misfortune to fall in with Raga himself; who learning the great value of the cargo, and that there was, besides rice, the sum of twenty-four thousand dollars on board, put forth all his arts of persuasion to allure the captain to Koti. Gravesome entertaining no suspicion of the pirate's designs, easily allowed himself to be persuaded; and once more setting sail, steered eastward, along that wild and naked shore in which the island of Borneo terminates towards the south-east. Here for the space of a thousand square miles, a plain so barren as scarcely to produce a single blade of grass, borders upon the sea. It is supposed to be replete with iron ore: and that this is the reason, why mariners at night behold its surface perpetually covered with lightning, which darting hither and thither in all directions, illuminates its arid surface, and presents a spectacle of surprising grandeur. Innumerable rocky islands extend along the inhospitable coast, but they are too waste, precipitous, and full of danger, for the most desperate pirates to visit them without necessity. Captain Gravesome was of course careful to give these crags a wide berth. At length he entered the Koti river, up which he sailed without interruption, seventy or eighty miles. Here Raga advised him to cast anchor, while he proceeded to the Sultan's capital to negotiate permission for him to trade. His real purpose, however, was very different, being nothing less than to concert with that infamous prince the murder of

Captain Gravesome and his crew, and the seizure of the ship with all the property it contained. The agreement is said to have been drawn up in writing: by which it was stipulated that the Sultan should have one-third of the spoils, while the remainder was to be distributed between Rajah Raga and the other Bugis chiefs who should assist him in the massacre. All things having been thus arranged, Raga returned to the vessel, and descending into the cabin, began to amuse Captain Gravesome with accounts of the large profits he would make at Tongarron. In the midst of their conversation, he took down a beautiful kris which was suspended from the ceiling of the cabin; and, while continuing an animated description of their advantageous commercial prospects, suddenly plunged the weapon into the captain's heart. His followers, who had skilfully dispersed themselves throughout the ship, fell at the same moment upon the crew, and murdered them all, with the exception of five individuals;—among whom were an unhappy young lady and a boy, who, having escaped many dangers, were afterwards poisoned at Tongarron, in the hope of thus concealing from the English the crime which had been committed. When Dalton, under somewhat more favourable auspices, visited Koti and other places on the eastern coast, he found every where numerous relics of European ships which had been plundered and destroyed by the natives,—such as compasses, telescopes, binnacles, chronometers, chairs, and tables. On one of these he wrote his account of Captain Gravesome's murder. In several houses he also observed articles of ladies' wearing apparel, handsome dresses and costly pelisses, though what had become of the owners he was unable to discover. Once in front of a chief's mansion, he saw a European woman, who, through fear or shame, immediately retreated. He was secretly informed, however, that numerous white slaves were scattered over the country: some of whom were condemned to perform the vilest drudgery, in a climate where even the natives are rendered languid by the heat. Our imagination follows with difficulty the sorrows and sufferings of such captives, when subjected to men so fierce and lawless. What extremity of misery must they inevitably endure, before they sink into an early grave! Such, however, has unquestionably been the fate of thousands of Europeans in various parts of the Archipelago: while the multitudes of natives who have been made to drain the same bitter cup, exceed calculation or belief. On the north-western coast the crews of the 'Sultana' and 'Viscount Melbourne,' of whom only twenty-six survived the wreck, were sold as slaves, and afterwards ransomed by Mr. Brooke. But in the immense

majority of cases there is no one to interfere. The captives mostly linger out their wretched lives under the lash of their most cruel task-masters, until relieved by death.

To put an end to the vast piratical system of which we have been endeavouring to give the reader some idea, we must adopt a policy altogether different from that which has been hitherto pursued. We perfectly concur with those, who counsel the closing against them of all the markets at which they have been accustomed to dispose of their spoils and captives. But this is very far from being an easy operation. They have more than once been known to plunder vessels and native prahus in the vicinity of Singapore; after which, transhipping the goods they had thus obtained into small trading boats and disguising themselves as merchants, they have sailed boldly into the port, sold their plunder, purchased arms and ammunition with the proceeds, and then returned to their calling without being discovered. If this can take place at a British settlement visited constantly by ships of war, how much more practicable must it be in other parts of the Archipelago, where slaves are in request, and where the rulers, through both interest and inclination, always wink at, and usually encourage, these nefarious proceedings?

Mr. Brooke has shown, by what he has effected in Sarāwak and the adjoining districts, in what way the evil is to be extirpated. It is not enough to destroy a bad government, we must replace it by a good one. Otherwise the seeds of mischief, like those of trees in a spot cleared of jungle and abandoned, will shoot up again with astonishing rapidity, and soon create the necessity for having again recourse to force. Sarāwak is tranquil, because it is under British influence: and the occupation of Labuan will speedily bestow quiet and prosperity on the whole sultanate of Borneo, from the Rejang northward to Maludu Bay. In this range formerly were found some of the most celebrated haunts and markets of the pirates, whose prahus frequently lay concealed in the small inlets and creeks of that island which has now become a British possession. Bruné itself was the principal emporium of piracy in the East: slaves and plunder were constantly conveyed there, to be afterwards distributed through the interior, or transhipped for distant places. This market has now been closed for ever; and as our influence takes root in the great island and spreads northward and southward, it will be rendered altogether impossible for a buccaneering prahu to put with safety into any of its ports.

To complete the work we have thus commenced, and give fair play to our trade and settlements, we cannot wait and trust to the gradual development of our influence: we must consider the

urgency of the occasion a sufficient reason for the application of extraordinary means. Increase of territory is, for its own sake, no way desirable. We have colonies enough, and dependencies enough. But to protect our actual possessions and give security to our communications with Australia, which will henceforward be carried on by steam through this mighty archipelago, it will be incumbent on us to convert the principal strongholds of piracy into peaceful settlements or naval stations. No other plan can prove effectual. As long as the buccaneers remain in possession of convenient ports and harbours, even the total destruction of their fleets would only produce temporary security. Wherever we break up their power, we must establish our own; otherwise our avenging squadrons will no sooner have withdrawn, than the building of war prahus will re-commence and create anew the necessity for fresh expeditions. We need not enumerate the points where the great roots of piracy are found: they are not many, though the branches which rise and spread from them may almost be said to overshadow the Archipelago. But whatever may be their number, to the permanent occupation of them we, and whoever will co-operate with us in this work of peace, shall ultimately be driven; because experience will by degrees convince us, that to temporise is to have nothing certain but the expense.

We repeat, therefore, that in order to ensure success to this great enterprise it will be necessary to establish small well-chosen settlements in the principal tracts of commerce, and, consequently, of piracy. These we may convert into coal depôts and stations for steamers, as well as into commercial emporiums. When this is once accomplished, the native traders, aware of the protection afforded by the British flag, will redouble their activity, and apply all their energies to the development of the resources of the Archipelago: But not till then. Civilisation has no greater change in prospect.

We avoid indicating more particularly the sites of such settlements, though government must in various ways become acquainted with them. It would not be difficult, however, to fix upon certain points, sufficiently central though widely scattered, on which, if a small force were placed, piracy must immediately die out of itself. This would, at once, be a better and a cheaper course, than keeping up large naval armaments to pursue and chastise the buccaneers on the high seas. Instead of encountering them abroad, we should proceed directly to their homes: and there, with our ships of war anchored at their very thresholds, dictate the terms on which we would, henceforward, tolerate their existence as communities. If we found them refrac-

tory and disposed to resistance, we should raze their strongholds to the ground, and utterly break up and disperse their populations. But in all cases we must utterly annihilate their war prahus: since, if we undertake the police of the Archipelago, none of those petty states can have the slightest pretext for carrying arms of this description.

We are, of course, aware that some will condemn this mode of proceeding as violent and arbitrary, will denominate us pirates on a grand scale, and contend that we are only putting smaller robbers out of the way that we ourselves may carry on the game without let or hindrance. We would invite such persons to consider the history of the Archipelago: by which, should they be persons open to conviction, they will soon be rendered sensible of the folly and inutility of any other course. Ever since the period of Jenghis Khan, the whole of Insular Asia, if we except the Japanese Empire, may be shown to have been kept in barbarism by means of piracy. We need look for no other cause. Hitherto the arrival of Europeans, so far from destroying it by an adverse influence, has, unfortunately, only added to its strength. This effect has, no doubt, been incidental. Before the advent of the Portuguese, there existed several native governments, both in Borneo and elsewhere, which were sufficiently powerful to keep piracy in awe, and to dispense altogether with the necessity of entering into a disgraceful alliance with it. Up to that period, therefore, robbers on the high seas in the Archipelago belonged to the same class with pirates in the West; that is to say, they consisted of desperate adventurers, who, being without property or profession, determined to reap a harvest with their swords. But when, by the intrigues and cruelty of the Portuguese, the Spaniards, and the Dutch, the native governments had been destroyed one after another, there soon arose a new race of spurious rulers. These men readily allied themselves with the powers of evil, in the hope of being ultimately able to assert their ascendency over the common enemy, the marauders from the West. Piracy, in this state of things, would be often confounded with patriotism; and that became a virtue which, in nearly all circumstances of society, is the worst of crimes. Villains put on the character of heroes: and the united force of vice, fanaticism, and cupidity, as well as the innate reverence of all men for their hearths and altars, were called into action in unavailing opposition to worse brigands than the Archipelago itself could supply. For more than two centuries this corrupting conflict was carried on. Habit is second nature or nature first habit: — it does not much matter which. Every European who appeared in those

parts evidently regarded it as his duty to plunder and oppress the natives: they in their turn learned to look upon every act as venial which might tend to rid them of their foreign tyrants.

In this way a strange kind of public opinion has grown up in the Archipelago, where to commit piracy, especially against Europeans, is regarded rather as a commendable action than as a crime. Nor must we, on this account, be too severe on these unhappy islanders. They remain much what they were when they first came into contact with our profligate predecessors; while we, enlightened by civilisation, have almost acquired a new sense of justice, and have taught ourselves to regard as grave offences against humanity what our forefathers perpetrated without a blush. The improvement which we have made in morals and politics, should oblige us, however, to all practicable lenity towards them on this occasion. Their theory of ethics — or what we may call such — is, to the last degree, perverted: they are often unconscious that piracy is a crime — insomuch that when several unfortunate men, apprehended in the fact, were about to be executed at Singapore, they exclaimed against the injustice of the sentence; — considering they had done nothing but what was right, since they had only obeyed the orders of their superiors, and had acted in strict conformity with the established customs of their country. Of course we are not going the length of maintaining that virtue and vice are arbitrary creations of the mind: we may yet be permitted to remark, that morals vary so much in different countries, that there is always a feeling of severity, if not of wrong, in rigorously applying the ethical code of one community to the members of another.

Still we have no desire to blunt the sword of justice when the natural progress of an honest policy in the Archipelago turns it against pirates. Wasps' nests must be taken. If pirates are consulting their own interest in perpetrating acts of robbery, we shall, in our turn, be consulting the interests of humanity by punishing them. It is not our fault that we cannot develope legitimate commerce without suppressing, or perhaps destroying them. Some tremendous examples have already been made: and, if necessary, we must make others, until the lesson has spread through the length and breadth of the twelve thousand islands, that it is no longer lawful to rob on the high seas. At the same time we again repeat, that whatever can be effected by mildness and policy, should never be attempted by force, — especially under such circumstances.

For the interest of humanity, however, it is incumbent on us to succeed, at any rate, in this enterprise; and, if we faithfully perform our duty, in a very few years there will not be left

throughout the whole extent of the Archipelago one single piratical prahu.

Let us not, however, be supposed to be recommending a system of indiscriminate conquest. We are, on the contrary, averse from territorial aggrandisement for its own sake; and if we extend our dominions, it will be for no other purpose than to give persecuted and wretched humanity some solid *point d'appui* on which to repose in the Indian Archipelago. We not only admit, but we rejoice to think, that our own interest coincides with that of the natives in the measures we propose: a coincidence which, though it may expose us to suspicions among our rivals, is in itself a fortunate circumstance, since men never act so vigorously as where their own welfare is concerned. The introduction of a just and enlightened policy has become absolutely necessary, and will be well rewarded. No regions of equal extent on the surface of the globe supply equally rich and varied materials for commerce, ranging from gold and gems of the costliest kind down to the humblest necessary of daily life. The superb vegetation of the islands — their picturesque and magnificent forms — their fertility — their mild and salubrious climate — all combine to render them the most agreeable residences for man. Merchants, therefore, and capitalists will, as soon as their attractions become known, hasten to settle in a country, where, in the midst of delicious groves and gardens, and on the banks of magnificent rivers, they may carry on, at their ease, the most lucrative trade. In many cases the natives will take upon themselves all the laborious and dangerous parts of the process, collecting the produce of the interior among the wild tribes, and afterwards, undertaking to distribute it, in their prahus. All they themselves want is protection: having which, they will not long remain poor.

Of this, all must be convinced who are acquainted with the advances already made by commerce in the twelve thousand islands. Almost at every step towards the interior we have discovered some new article of merchandise, some valuable kind of timber, some odoriferous gum, some species of root, or fruit, or grain, not yet included in the catalogue of human food, some rich mineral or vegetable dye calculated to improve the beauty of our European fabrics: And yet we have hitherto scarcely stepped beyond the threshold of Borneo, Celebes, Palāwan, Magindanão, or New Guinea. All beyond the mere fringe of the coast is unknown; though rivers of great breadth and depth court the entrance of steamers, and promise to reveal new lands at every stroke of the paddle.

In the interior of Borneo there are mountainous regions

which afford an European climate, where settlers from this country might locate themselves without the smallest apprehension of suffering from the heat. Yet to all appearance these ranges are fertile to their summits, and, under judicious management, would not only support a crowded population, but contribute innumerable new products to commerce. Their present inhabitants exist in a state of the most primitive wildness, scarcely possessing any clothing beyond what their own rude art can manufacture; no sooner, however, do they behold our goods than they desire to possess them, and betake themselves to the collecting of bees' wax, birds' nests, camphor, or whatever else they find will be received in exchange for handkerchiefs, or sarongs, or petticoats. Men are nowhere found to remain naked when they can obtain clothing; and the Kadyan or Dyak who has received a sarong or a measure of salt in exchange for gums or bees' wax, is much less a savage than his neighbour who has never engaged in so profitable a traffic.

There are many subjects connected with this inquiry, on which we have not touched: not because they are wanting in interest, — but because the proper handling of them would betray us into too great length, and because the point which we have selected is the condition precedent to all others. We have said enough for the present: And can only express our hope that the country will go along with us in earnestly pressing on ministers the propriety of taking immediately all such steps as may be necessary for the suppression of piracy and the diffusion of commerce and civilisation in the Oriental Archipelago.

In treating this question, we have been compelled to refer to numerous works, old and new, though by far the most useful are those which we have placed at the head of this article. With Sir James Brooke's Journal, whether published by Captain Mundy or Captain Keppel, the public is already so familiar that we may safely dispense with detailed criticism. Few men have been more adventurous or successful than their distinguished author. Our obligations to him as a nation cannot as yet be estimated, because he has modestly concealed the extent of his services; but his Journal will prove a lasting monument of the courage, and perseverance, enterprise, and disinterestedness which he has displayed in his singular career. Would that the cause of commerce and civilisation might always in this manner go hand in hand!

To Sir Edward Belcher's narrative we are also, in common with the public, very greatly indebted: though in the present article, we have only been able to avail ourselves of a very small part of the varied and valuable information it contains. In the

wide range of his voyage, Sir Edward Belcher came in contact with the pirates on but few points. He had other work to perform: and his volumes sufficiently show with what skill and ability he performed it.

ART. IV.— *Der Romantiker auf dem Throne der Cäsaren, oder Julian der Abtrünnige.* Ein VORTRAG VON DAVID FRIEDRICH STRAUSS. Mannheim: 1847.

NOTHING can well be more wearisome than German pamphlets, unless it be German *jeux d'esprit.* To write a good pamphlet, three things are requisite: a distinct practical purpose; conciseness; and a popular manly style. What German can pretend to these?

If we select the pamphlet before us as an exception to the above sweeping condemnation, it is because, while remaining thoroughly German in treatment, it exhibits a mastery rarely seen in the application of erudition and scholastic dissertation to the actual questions of the day. It has no wit, no vehemence, no pressing logic, no generous enthusiasm; but it is calm, erudite, and crushing. There is in it a constrained sarcasm more effective than any violence. It purports to be, and is, a dissertation on the character of Julian, the Apostate; but it is more: it is at the same time an anatomy of the character of Frederick William IV. An unsuspecting reader would imagine it to be simply a very novel and ably written chapter of ecclesiastical history; give him but a hint, and beneath the mask of the fourth century he sees an unexpected figure of the nineteenth. Julian is the King of Prussia: Julian's vain attempt to stay the irresistible march of Christianity by a restoration of defunct Polytheism, is Frederick William's feeble ambition of arresting the course of modern development, by a restoration of the defunct spirit of the Middle Ages.

The style in which Strauss has executed this task is really admirable. Nothing can be better in point of taste. He never quits the austere gravity of the professor; never descends into the arena of modern politics; never swerves from his path. The king is not once mentioned, but his presence is felt in every page. Strauss makes no assertion which he does not fortify with texts from the ancient writers; but he has selected his citations with such piquant malice, that he makes Gregory of Nazianzen, Libanius, Zosimus, and Ammianus Marcellinus draw the portrait of the living king. Amidst the lumber of antiquity he has found the mask of a modern histrion. You

know not whether you are reading a chapter of ancient or of modern history, till you turn to the authorities, and then you find that you have been reading both in one. The wit of this pamphlet lies in its erudition.

In consequence of this double aspect, the pamphlet has a more than fugitive interest. Long after Frederick William is forgotten, this portrait of Julian will be worth considering. Indeed, as far as the merely temporary political significance goes, that is in a great measure destroyed by the recent events in Germany. A great reaction *may* come; but, till then, the king will hardly continue his former efforts at restoring past conditions and defunct creeds. Strauss wrote, it should be observed, before the recent revolution. When he wrote there was an urgent necessity upon him to attack the retrograde tendencies of the Court. That is over; but his pamphlet has not thereby lost its meaning. He has since stepped boldly into the political arena, and his 'leaders' in the *Mannheimer Zeitung*, have created 'a sensation.' Our present business, however, is with his Julian.

It may not be altogether superfluous to explain what Strauss and the Germans mean by a Romanticist (*Romantiker*). The Romanticist is one who, in literature, in the arts, in religion, or in politics, endeavours to revive the dead past; one who refuses to accept the fiat of history; refuses to acknowledge that the past *is* past, that it has grown old and obsolete; one who regards the present age as in a state of chronic malady, curable only by a reproduction of some distant age, of which the present is not the *child*, but the *abortion*. Poets who see poetry only in the Middle Ages, who look upon fairy tales and legends as treasures of the deepest wisdom; painters, who can see nothing pictorial in the world around them; theologians, who see no faith equal to the deep reverence of saint-worship, who see no recognition of the Unspeakable except in superstition, who acknowledge no form of worship but the ceremonies of the early church; politicians, who would bring back 'merrie England' into our own sad times by means of ancient pastimes and white waistcoats:—these are all Romanticists.

It is quite clear that however modern the name, the Romanticist is not a new phenomenon. There have ever been — will ever be — men who, escaping from our baffling struggle with the Present, dream of a splendid Future, where circumstance is plastic to their theories, or turn themselves lovingly towards the Past, in whose darkness they discern some streaks of light made all the more brilliant from the contrast — this light being to them the only beacon by which to steer. Antiquity had its

Utopists and Romanticists, as we have our Humanitarians and Puseyites; and the felicitous idea of Strauss's pamphlet is that of seeking a Romanticist on the throne of the Cæsars, as a stalking-horse under cover of which to shoot at the Romanticist on the throne of the chiefs of Brandenburg.

This identification of the ancient and modern spirit of Romanticism is the *idée mère* of Strauss's pamphlet: the rest follows as a natural consequence. It enables him, for example, to solve the puzzle presented by the contradictory judgments of historians. Is it not strange, indeed, to find sceptical writers, the Gibbons and Schlossers, speaking of the Apostate with ill-dissimulated severity; while theologians who, one should think, would be most shocked at his apostacy and his enmity to their religion, are his warmest defenders? To take only the most recent, Neander and Ullmann. Here are too pillars of orthodoxy: learned, temperate, devout. They have laboured to support and glorify that church which Julian exerted himself to destroy. Neander has composed a work of true German erudition upon Julian and his Times*; and Ullmann has written the life of Julian's greatest and fiercest antagonist.† Yet these men, though by no means misrepresenting the character of Julian nor endeavouring to soften his acts, do nevertheless apologise for them. They deplore his opinions, but they recognise in him a noble effort to spiritualise the world, to revive the decaying faith of men; and this very attempt to revive the past, which excites the scorn of Gibbon and Schlosser, is the foundation of their praise.

'Our romantic theologians,' says Strauss, 'sympathise with him; they scent him out as the flesh of their flesh. No Christian, it is true; but a Romanticist: he is our own man! If he has not the true faith, *objectively*, at any rate he has it *subjectively;* nay, more, Neander assures us, Faith may be divine in its essence, even when the dogmas in which it is incarnated are human. That which was true and divine in Julian's religion, according to Neander, was his belief in the divine origin and destiny of man.'

Having thus made out the point from which his comparison is to start — that Julian was a Romanticist — Strauss proceeds to consider what are the epochs in the history of the world favourable to Romanticism. He says, it is in epochs when the old creed has fallen into desuetude, and the new creed which is to supplant it has not yet perfectly developed itself. In alarm at the progress of the new creed, some zealous partisans of the

* Der Kaiser Julian und sein Zeitalter, Leipsig, 1813.
† Gregorius von Nazianz, Darmstadt, 1825.

old make a vigorous effort: they wish to resuscitate the dying belief: but, unhappily, they themselves have not the pure faith; their partisanship springs less from conviction than from will. Their faith does not rule them; they rule it. Over the contradictions of their beliefs is thrown the darkness of mysticism: 'Romanticism is in its essence mysticism; and only mystical 'souls can become Romanticists.'

'But the Old and the New,' adds Strauss, 'like the Positive and relatively speaking, the Negative (as in our days Christianity and Humanity) stood in direct antagonism in Julian's days. To him the Christians, because they denied the gods of Greece, of Rome, and of Egypt, were just as godless and atheistic (ἀσεβεῖς and ἄθεοι are their constant predicates in his writings) as in the eyes of our Romanticists are all who disbelieve in the divinity of Christ.'

This is one of the few hints, by which he lets the reader into the hidden meaning of his pamphlet, and tells us we are reading contemporary history. The author of the *Lebens Jesu* peers out here. He proceeds to compare the modernised and corrupted creed of the ancient Greeks, as transmitted through the Alexandrians to Julian, with the modernised Christianity of the Romanticists. 'Homer and Hesiod,' he says, 'would no more 'recognise their Olympus in the gods of Plutarch and Plotinus, 'of Julian and Libanius, than St. Paul and St. John would 'recognise their church in Neander, — or Luther and Calvin 'recognise theirs in Schleiermacher.'

But we suppose the reader is impatient to arrive at Frederick William — or Julian — for they are one. Romanticism, after some brilliant success in literature and art, which raised only isolated opposition, began to show itself more formidable in religion and politics. It was not, however, until 1840, that Romanticism mounted the throne. The danger was then conceived to be so imminent, that all earnest writers on the other side thought it necessary to declare open war against the Middle Ages. For eight years political polemics may be said to have been occupied with this single question; Strauss's pamphlet, therefore, has an *apropos* in German criticism which only Germany can understand.

Julian was educated by the Romanticists of Alexandria: Frederick William was the pupil of Schelling. Here, at setting out, is a point of resemblance which we despair of making the reader fully perceive, unless he have wasted some precious days and nights over Plotinus and Schelling:

'Gens ratione ferox et mentem pasta chimæris!'

We can only say, that historians are amazed at the similarity

in thought and in method, in language and results, between the writings of Schelling and Plotinus. The emperor, once seated on his throne, assembled round him the philosophers; Frederick William called Schelling to Berlin. The gods of Greece were once more to be worshipped; a royal hand was to open the Temple of Jupiter .... and the Cathedral of Cologne!

One of the first objects of the emperor was the restoration of the church. The ancient title of *Pontifex Maximus* was dearer to him than that of emperor. Even the pagans were astonished at his zeal, his respect for all minutiæ, his meddling interference, his decrees, and circulars; he did not even omit to write with his own royal hand instructions concerning the outward demeanour of the priests; while the warnings against dangerous works and against the study of atheistical philosophy remind us of the edicts of certain consistories of our days. Is this Julian we are speaking of, or are we in Berlin?

It is worthy of note that Julian had a partiality for the Jews, whom he preferred infinitely to the Christians. Inferior as their Book was to the religion of the Greeks, it had nevertheless some points which Julian could not but applaud. Sacrifices — the interdiction of certain kinds of food — but, above all, its opposition to the Christians, were all in its favour. The Romanticist, of course, preferred the old to the new — the dead to the living. He not only protected the Jews, but was desirous of seeing their temple at Jerusalem once more rebuilt; he gave enormous sums of money towards it, and appointed his learned minister, Alyphius, to superintend the work.

But a singular illustration of the justice of Strauss's comparison is found in the defence by Ullmann of the celebrated edict, which interdicted the study and teaching of Greek authors by Christians. This edict, which pagan writers cried out against, modern theologians approve; the injurious restriction against which Gregory of Nazianzen protested so eloquently, Gregory's biographer in some measure extenuates. Julian, says Ullmann, looked upon Greek literature as the sacred writings; he could not, therefore, consistently allow them to be explained by men who did not believe in them: no more than we can agree to our sacred writings being commented on and interpreted by a person who has gone over to another faith. If the government had the right to deprive Bruno Bauer of his professorship, surely Julian was right in depriving the Christians of their places. Ullmann's defence is so far sound; but he lays himself open to Strauss, when he takes us to another and a higher point of view. Greek literature, he adds, is the patrimony of succeeding generations; the patrimony of every man who

thinks; — Saint Basil or Gregory have as good a right to it as Libanius and Zosimus: to deprive them of it is tyranny. 'Truly,' replies Strauss, 'and we can also regard the Scrip-'tures from a similar point of view — as simply historical: and 'no teacher, having the requisite knowledge, should be pre-'vented from expounding them: and just as the Scriptures 'have made their way in spite of all Julian's edicts, so will the 'new school make its way in spite of all crowned Romanticists.'

The divine right of kings is too obsolete a faith to be gravely proclaimed at present. It was a faith once: a faith which lived through the strangest trials; but it has long since ceased to have any hold upon men's minds. So remote from us is the period of its existence, that, although we accept it as an historical fact, we can only by a powerful effort realise it for a moment to our imaginations. It is consigned to the lumber-room of the past: *there*, of course, a Romanticist will fondly seek it, drag it forth, and hope once more to see it live among men. And this did Frederick William! Strauss is only pointing a sarcasm, when he refers us to the complacency with which Julian attributed to himself the countenance and revelations of the gods. Such a pretension had nothing in it either unusual or incredible: but the mention of it artfully suggests to the reader's mind a new feature in the audacious parallel which the pamphleteer is silently but significantly drawing. What German could fail to recall to mind Frederick William's repeated proclamation of his divine right? How could the royal reply to the congratulatory address of the deputies of the nobility on his accession be forgotten?

'I know,' said the crowned Romanticist, 'that I derive my crown from God alone, and that I can say, Woe be to him who touches it! But I also know, and I proclaim it before you, that my crown is a deposit confided to my house by the Almighty; I know that to him I must render up an account of my government, day by day, hour by hour. If any one among you demands a guarantee from his king, he has these words: from no one on earth can he have a better.'

From that moment the Pietists were in vogue; no public office could be held but by *les bien pensants;* and courtiers vied with each other in religious fervour. Hegel was dethroned; all Hegelians lost favour; Schelling, Stahl, Eichorn, Hengstenberg, were the councillors of the King, just as Ædesius, Maximus, Eusebius, and Chrysantius, were the councillors of Julian. Nay, the resemblance is yet more particular; for, as Saint René Taillandier remarks, 'on n'a pas oublié les émeutes des étudians, 'la capitulation de M. Stahl; et l'on comprendra que la spiritu-

'elle érudition de M. Strauss prenne un plaisir très vif à retrouver 'les détails de cette histoire dans les *biographies* d'Eunape.'*

Let us borrow from this lively critic another passage supplementary to Strauss's indications: —

'N'oubliez pas non plus ce trait si important, ce trait commun 'à tous les princes romantiques: ils en appellent au droit divin, 'mais ils n'y croient pas. Ils invoquent un vers d'Homère, une 'légende du moyen âge, mais ce n'est chez eux qu'un expédient 'de l'esprit au lieu d'une conviction naïve. Que d'efforts ne 'font ils pas pour se donner à eux-mêmes cette confiance impos-'sible! Un peintre de Francfort achève en ce moment même un 'tableau singulièrement expressif dont le plan lui à été donné par 'Frédérick Guillaume IV. Dieu est dans le ciel et la royauté 'sacrée par ses mains siége solennellement entre la terre et 'l'empyrée, comme ces demi-urges Alexandrins, auxquels Julien 'se comparait lui-même. Au-dessous de lui, les mortels sont 'assemblés par groupes nobles, bourgeois, paysans, et tous élèvent 'des regards respectueux vers le vicaire de la divinité.'

Strauss has not forgotten to mention Julian's oratorical ambition: the remark of Ammianus — *linguæ fusioris et admodum rarò silentis* — was too cutting in its application to be passed over. The king's unfortunate propensity to hear himself talk, which has led him into so many rash promises, and has brought such suspicion on his royal word, is maliciously pointed out by Strauss in Frederick's prototype. The reader asks himself, 'Is 'it Antioch — is it Königsberg which has had the audacious 'stupidity not to relish this kingly eloquence?' Strauss might reply with the philosophic showman, rescued from oblivion by Mathews, 'whichever you please, my little dears! you pays 'your money, and you takes your choice.'

Equally biting is the allusion to the king's vacillation: 'the 'crowned Romanticist generally shows himself as self-opiniated, 'and yet not firm.' There is a citation from Ammianus appended to this remark: might it not have been exchanged for, or coupled with, an authority taken from some German publicist? Bettina — who has a real regard for the king — told him to his face, that he was always swayed by the last speaker. Strauss is careful to bring forward Julian's sudden revocations of sudden edicts — his undoing in the morning what he had done over night. But in spite of Gregory of Nazianzen or Ammianus, you cannot forget that you are in Berlin.

As a sarcasm is always lurking behind Strauss's learning, we suppose an application is intended in the picture drawn of

* Revue des Deux Mondes, tome xxii. p. 519.

Julian's irascibility; which is represented as having made it dangerous to be near him when excited. There can be no mistake about the following: —

'That the crowned Romanticist should be witty is a matter of course. Many of his *ornatè et facetè dicta* have come down to us. Even in official acts and proclamations he could not always restrain himself.'

Frederick William, without being absolutely a wit, has uttered some royal *bon mots*, and is partial to them. One we remember to have seen in a letter to Humboldt, which is worth citing; as a specimen of royal flattery, it is equal to those of Louis XIV. Humboldt dedicated his 'Kosmos' to the King. The pietists, alarmed at its philosophic tendency, endeavoured to persuade the King that it undermined all religion and all social order; but the king, for once, was not to be frightened. He wrote to thank the author, and gracefully quoted to him the lines in Goethe's 'Tasso,' where the Duke Alphonz receives the 'Jerusalem Delivered:' —

'Du überraschest mich mit deiner Gabe
Und machst mir diesen schönen Tag zum Fest.
So halt' ich's endlich denn in meinen Händen,
Und nenn' es in gewissem Sinne mein!'

Having exhausted all the materials which antiquity afforded him of making Frederick William ridiculous in the person of Julian, Strauss, as a final blow, undertakes to excuse the heathen Romanticist, and, by implication, to condemn his Christian successor. He does find some traits in the character of Julian which he can cordially admire; thereby leaving us to conclude that he sees nothing admirable in his modern imitator.

'However, to do Julian no injustice,' he says, 'it is time to notice those features in his portrait, which reveal to us not simply the Romanticist, or the general idea of a Romantic Prince, but more particularly a Heathen Romanticist — a Romantic prince on the throne of the Cæsars, wherein he is to be distinguished from the Christian Romanticists, with whom he has hitherto offered us some traits of resemblance, nay, wherein he stands in direct contrast to them, which can hardly turn out to his disadvantage.

'That which, as a Romanticist, he was desirous of renewing, was an union of the Grecian spirit of beauty with the Roman spirit of power. We see the Grecian spirit influencing Julian in maintaining, amidst all his sophisticating degeneracy, all his neoplatonic mysticism, that philosophical tendency, that freedom of thought which strives to penetrate into the natural causes of things, and rebels against all unreasoning belief. It was because the whole Christian system was founded on this unreasoning belief, that the philosophic Emperor was repelled from a doctrine which he accused of being calculated for the

credulous, the childish and unreasoning portion of the human race. The mere reference of any phenomenon in nature or history to the Divine will did not suffice for him; he demanded a harmony and evident connexion between the will of God and the nature of the circumstances.

'To the Grecian tendencies of Julian's mind we may also add his love of nature, on which was based his entire system of religion. It was to him inconceivable, how men surrounded by visible and living Deities, from whom they received daily and hourly benefits—the sun whose rays warmed them, the moon whose light cheered them, &c.—could worship a dead man of whom neither they nor their ancestors had seen any thing.'

In plain English, Strauss, as a Pantheist, sympathises with the Polytheism of Julian, which is so little removed from his own creed; while Christianity only appears to him, as it did to Julian, the worship of a 'dead man.' We shall return to this presently; let us now continue our citation:—

'Of Rome Julian possessed, above all men, its primal virtue: the virtue of a warrior: the power of disciplining an efficient army, and of planning expeditions, as well as personal bravery. To this must be added his bodily hardihood, his temperance, and sobriety. Like the great Romans of the good old time, Cincinnatus, Curius, and Fabricius, who were distinguished by the simplicity of their mode of life, one of his first acts of sovereignty was a simplification of his household, and the dismissal of hosts of cooks, barbers, and eunuchs, by whom his predecessors had been surrounded. In imitation of the Romans, his couch was a litter of straw covered with a skin; his fare during a campaign was hardly good enough for a common soldier, and in times of peace hardly good enough for a Diogenes. In continence he was a Scipio; yet, like Cæsar, he was unceasingly employed all day and half the night in carrying out his multiplicity of schemes. This Roman mode of life, when raised to philosophical consciousness, was stoicism; consequently the romantic Augustus is a stoic—nay, by the exaggeration of his position, a cynic.

'As an ancient Romanticist, Julian was further a liberal in politics, a friend to old republican institutions—which, though they no longer lived, he respected in their forms, and endeavoured to revive their spirit. Not only did he, like the predecessors of Augustus, refuse the title of lord, he even, to the amazement of those long accustomed to Byzantine despotism, went on foot on New Year's Day to the consuls; and, when soon afterwards he unintentionally interfered in their offices, he imposed on himself a fine of ten pounds in gold.

'As affected and ineffectual an experiment, truly, yet far more pleasing, than the attempted revival of the unlimited power, and of the Oriental or feudal pageantry of sovereignty—with which Christianity, in its classic age, showed as much affinity as the Greco-Roman religion with republican freedom and simplicity.'

For polemical purposes this contrast may be effective enough.

But Strauss, as a philosopher, is guilty of a singular contradiction. While, on the one hand, he recognises the eternal truth and grandeur of the imperishable elements of the Grecian and Roman spirit; on the other, he studiously confounds the eternal and imperishable spirit of Christianity with the perishable forms in which it appeared during the Middle Ages. That he should protest against the chimerical attempt to revive the dead — that he should ridicule all efforts to bring back into the living Present the lifeless formularies of the Past, is worthy of his position and of his renown; but, is it possible, that the Christianity of our age only rises before him as identified with feudal institutions, and that he can see nothing in its spirit beyond the restoration of temporary formularies, only to die out with them? Julian, he says, is antipathetic to him, inasmuch as Julian wishes to arrest the march of the world's progress — antipathetic as a Romanticist; but the spirit which Julian wished to revive — the harmonious manhood of Greece and the simple strength of Rome — that has Strauss's hearty approbation. To our mind, nothing can be more unfair, than the covert insinuation which this passage is intended to convey: it is a compliment to classical antiquity at the expense of Christianity. We understand a preference for the antique spirit over that of the Middle Ages; but we do not understand the blindness which identifies the Middle Ages with Christianity.

There is something solemn and prophetic in the close of this pamphlet. Christian writers, he says, have disfigured the death scene of Julian. They have represented him as furious, blaspheming, despairing, and in his despair exclaiming — *Thou hast conquered, O Galilean!* — *νενίκηκας, Γαλιλαῖε!* This phrase, though false as history, has a truth in it. It contains a prophecy — to us a consoling prophecy — and it is this: Every Julian, *i. e.* every great and powerful man, who would attempt to resuscitate a state of society which has died, will infallibly be vanquished by the Galilean — for the Galilean is nothing less than the genius of the future!

We here conclude our humble task. All our readers are familiar at least with the name of Strauss. The parallel in question is a favourite idea, we are told, at present in Germany, where a miso-Berlinism has long prevailed. This jealousy has extended to the king: and the most popular caricature of the present troubled period represents Frederick William IV. straining his limbs in the Garden of Sans Souci, in order to tread in some imaginary footsteps of Frederick the Great. A parallel which personifies a tendency to reaction, by the character and history of Julian, may be worked out, we conceive,

by a German scholar, without any sense of injustice to the king. Strauss is evidently all in earnest; though a pamphlet of the kind in England would be probably taken for only a learned pastime, such as might have amused the erudite leisure of Arbuthnot, or exercised the lively pedantry of Dr. Parr.

ART. V.—*Results of Astronomical Observations made during the years* 1834, 1835, 1836, 1837, *and* 1838, *at the Cape of Good Hope, being the Completion of the Survey of the whole Surface of the Heavens, commenced in* 1825. By Sir JOHN F. W. HERSCHEL, Bart., K. H., &c. &c.

THE work whose title we have placed at the head of this article forms the record of the completion of the greatest astronomical enterprise that was ever undertaken by the members of one family. It was begun about seventy years ago, by Sir William Herschel, the father, assisted by his sister Caroline* and his brother Alexander†, and continued by him,

---

* This venerable lady died at Hanover at the beginning of the present year, in the ninety-eighth year of her age. She had acted as the recognised assistant of her brother for nearly half a century, and received a small salary in that capacity from George the Third. She wrote down all his observations, which he dictated from his stage, whilst engaged in sweeping the heavens with his twenty-feet or other telescopes; she attended him in all his night watches, which were generally continued up to the approach of daylight: she noted the clocks, reduced and arranged his journals, prepared the zone catalogues for his sweeps, and executed the whole of the laborious numerical calculations which were required for the reduction of his observations. When occasionally relieved from these duties, by the interruption of the observations, she was accustomed to sweep the heavens with a five-feet reflector, which her brother had constructed for her special use, in search of comets and other objects, and her labours were rewarded by the discovery of eight comets (five of which are recorded in the Philosophical Transactions), besides several remarkable nebulæ and clusters of stars. After her brother's death, in 1822, she retired to her native city, where she continued to enjoy, in a green old age, the respect and regard of her friends and relatives, the just honours paid her by the king and royal family, the homage rendered to her name and services by men of science and astronomers who, from time to time, visited her in her retirement, and, above all, the satisfaction of witnessing, in the person of her nephew, the assiduous prosecution of those researches which were so intimately associated in her mind with all her tenderest recollections.

† He was a practical mechanic of no ordinary skill and ingenuity,

with little or no interruption, almost down to the close of a very long life; for we find that one of the most considerable of his Memoirs was published in the 'Philosophical Transactions' for 1818, when in the eightieth year of his age. In 1825 it was resumed by his son, chiefly, as we believe, from a profound sentiment of respect for his father's memory, who devoted eight years to a review of his observations, and to a systematic survey of those portions of the heavens which are visible in our latitudes: the further examination of the southern heavens, and the reduction and discussion of the vast series of observations which is contained in the work before us, have continued to occupy his almost undivided attention up to the present time.

The second survey of the northern hemisphere was completed in 1833, and its results are contained in an elaborate catalogue of 2306 nebulæ and clusters of stars, which is given in the 'Philosophical Transactions' for that year, and also in six catalogues of double stars, which are to be found in different volumes of the 'Memoirs of the Astronomical Society.' Of the first class of objects only 525 were new, and those generally inconsiderable in size or of the last degree of faintness: for we find amongst them only one very conspicuous nebula, and a very small number of those of the brighter kind, which had not previously appeared in the catalogues of his father. No more striking proof could be afforded of the searching and comprehensive character of the scrutiny of the heavens which had been made by that incomparable observer. In the observation of double stars, indeed, we find many astronomers of great merit, who have followed in the footsteps of the Herschels, though M. Struve, the distinguished director of the Imperial Observatory of Pulkowa, is probably the only one of their number whom we should venture to elevate to the dignity of a rival; but in the observation of nebulæ they have had neither competitors nor followers: it is a department of astronomy which has hitherto been entirely their own.

Our knowledge, however, of stellar astronomy, and of the *construction of the heavens*, (to use a phrase which Sir W. Herschel introduced,) was necessarily incomplete and unsatisfactory, as long as the southern hemisphere was not as carefully surveyed as the northern. Many objects of great interest, which are visible to observers in both hemispheres, are seen much more advantageously in one of them than in the other. The Milky Way, the subject of so many speculations, was required

---

and eminently useful to his brother in the framing and mounting of his telescopes.

to be examined throughout much of its southern course, which is either altogether invisible, or imperfectly seen in our latitudes, particularly those portions of it in the neighbourhood of the constellations Centaurus and of the Southern Cross, where the Coal Sack, a pear-shaped oval, as well as other spaces, almost destitute of stars and presenting a striking contrast of darkness to the crowded and brilliant regions around them, had long attracted the attention of southern voyagers and observers. The Magellanic Clouds offer to the naked eye appearances, occupying a considerable space in the heavens, similar to some parts of the Milky Way, but in no way connected with it, which have no parallel in our hemisphere. It was an inquiry of great interest, also, to ascertain whether the distribution of stars, as ascertained by the process of *gauging* or otherwise, followed generally the same law to the south of the Galactic circle as it did on the north. To trace, in fact, all the points, whether of parallelism or of discrepancy, which present themselves in the character and arrangement of the nebulæ and stars of the two hemispheres.

As far also as this department of astronomical science was concerned, the southern hemisphere was almost entirely a virgin field of observation. Lacaille, the well-known author of the 'Cœlum Stelliferum Australe,' had laboured in it long before telescopes had attained the power of penetrating deeply into space. Observatories, indeed, of the first order had been established at the Cape of Good Hope, Paramatta, and the East Indies, and some of them had been directed by astronomers of great eminence and industry; but their instruments were adapted generally to meridional observations only, and not fitted for such as this class of researches required; and though M. Dunlop had applied a reflecting telescope of nine feet focal length and of nine inches aperture, to observe the more remarkable of the southern nebulæ and clusters of stars, and had published in the 'Philosophical Transactions' for 1826 a catalogue embracing as many as 629 of those objects, yet the representations which he has given of some of the more conspicuous of them have been found to be, for the most part, either incorrect or inadequate; whilst the descriptions of others were so imperfect, or their positions so erroneous, that Sir J. Herschel, after the most careful research and examination, was unable to identify more than one third of their number.

It was with a view of partially filling up this great blank in our knowledge, not so much of the mere superficial phænomena of the Southern Hemisphere, such as a well-arranged catalogue of

stars, like that of Brisbane*, would partially supply, as of those profounder regions of the celestial spaces which the most powerful telescopes alone can reveal to us, that Sir J. Herschel resolved to transfer his astronomical establishment to the Cape of Good Hope. He sailed on this mission on the 13th November, 1833, in a private ship, (having declined, as we believe, a passage, offered to him by the Admiralty, in a ship of war,) and reached his destination early in the month of January following. After some delay, he selected, as the sité of his observatory, a very convenient residence, named Feldhausen, about six miles distant from Cape Town; well sheltered from dust, a peculiar nuisance of the soil and climate of that neighbourhood, and protected, as far as an exuberant growth of oak and fir timber could afford it, from the wind also. It was sufficiently distant from the great Table Mountain, which rises to an elevation of more than 4000 feet, to be out of the reach of the clouds which form copiously over and around its summit; and being situated on the south-east side of it, from which the prevalent winds blow with great violence during the finer and clearer months, they were found to leave the mass of air to the windward of the mountain in comparative tranquillity, whilst they rush like a vast cataract down its mural precipices on the leeward, filling Cape Town and its neighbourhood with dust and uproar. A similar phænomenon is presented by a lofty cathedral, when it breaks the course of a violent wind: the air on the side immediately exposed to it is left in a state of comparative repose, whilst it rushes like a torrent over the ridge of the roof, and expends all its fury upon that side which is apparently least exposed to it.

The erection of the dome, and other structures necessary for the reception and use of his instruments and apparatus, was urged on with all practicable expedition as soon as he was in possession of the property which he had selected for his residence. The sweeps of the heavens, with the twenty-feet reflector, were begun within two months of his arrival at the Cape, and on the 2d of May the seven-feet equatorial was completely mounted, and made its *coup d'essai* in the micrometrical measurement of the magnificent double star α Centauri, which is only second in brilliance to Sirius and

* Compiled by M. Rumker, from observations made by him at Sir Thomas Brisbane's observatory at Paramatta. This establishment has since been transferred to the public by its liberal and noble-minded founder, and an observer, with a competent salary, appointed to superintend it: but the observations, if made, have never been published.

Canopus. From this period the observations were continued regularly, whenever the condition of the weather or of the atmosphere (for clouds were not the only obstacles) would permit, until the beginning of 1838, when the great and arduous work which he had undertaken was finally brought to a close.

In the course of this undertaking he had devoted nearly 400 nights to sweeping, by successive zones of 3° in breadth, the entire surface of the southern hemisphere: he had observed the positions, and described the characters and appearances of 1708 nebulæ and clusters of stars, and determined the distances and angles of position of 2102 double stars, not observed, or observable in our latitudes, as well as of many others which are included in his own northern catalogues or in those of other observers. He had also made, by means of the equatorial and its micrometrical apparatus, 1112 measurements of the distances and positions of the more considerable double stars which he had observed in his own sweeps, or which were found in the catalogues of other observers.* He has given representations of more than sixty of the more remarkable nebulæ and clusters of stars which he observed, including most delicate and elaborate drawings of the course of the Milky Way from the constellation Antinous to that of Monoceros; of the great nebula in the sword-handle of Orion, the object of so many and such conflicting representations, as well as of that which surrounds the variable star η Argus†, in the neighbourhood of the Coal Sack of the Milky Way, accompanied by accurate catalogues of all the stars which are included within their range as low as those of the seventeenth magnitude. The two Magellanic Clouds being much too extensive to admit of an

---

* Very few double stars had been previously observed in the Southern Hemisphere. Mr. Dunlop gave a catalogue of 263 in the third volume of the 'Memoirs of the Astronomical Society:' M. Rumker noticed a few others.

† The changes of brightness of this star, both in remote and recent times, are very remarkable. Halley, at St. Helena, in 1677, makes it of the fourth magnitude, and Lacaille, in 1751, of the second: the traveller Burchell states that he observed it of the fourth magnitude in 1811 and 1815, and of the first in 1828. It appeared to Sir J. Herschel, on his arrival at the Cape in 1834, to be between the first and second magnitude, but it became a large star of the first, and hardly inferior to α Centauri, in January, 1838. In March, 1842, Mr. Maclear records it as considerably less than a star of the first magnitude, but in the April of the following year it had increased so considerably as to be only inferior in brightness to Sirius himself.

equally accurate representation of the appearances which they present in a telescope, he was obliged to confine himself to charts and catalogues of 919 stars, nebulæ, globular, and other clusters which are found within the limits of the greater, and of 244 within those of the lesser, of these singular regions of the heavens. To these great and laborious researches, requiring nearly four years of assiduous observation, and a much longer period for their reduction and discussion, must be added very extensive investigations in astrometry or the accurate numerical determination of the magnitudes of the stars, observations on Halley's comet, on the satellites of Saturn and on the spots of the sun, with occasional notices and discussions of many other questions of great importance and interest in astronomy. It may be safely said, that no single publication, during the last century, has made so many and such considerable additions to our knowledge of the constitution of the heavens.

The only assistant engaged by Sir J. Herschel was a practical mechanic, named John Stone, whose services were necessary in working the sweeping and other mechanical movements, and in executing the necessary repairs. He was a good workman, both in wood and iron, and had acquired great experience in the employment for which he was engaged during several years of similar service in his northern surveys. His master bears grateful testimony to his undeviating steadiness and regularity. With this single exception, all the labour of making the observations, as well as that of reducing, arranging, and preparing them for the press, was executed by himself.

The instruments which he carried out with him were the same as those which he had employed in his northern surveys. A seven-feet equatorial, which had formerly belonged to Sir James South, for the purpose of making micrometrical measures of double stars; a reflecting telescope, with three mirrors, of twenty feet focal length and eighteen inches and a quarter clear aperture, one of which had been made by his father, and used by him in his surveys of the heavens: one made by himself, under the immediate inspection and directions of his father; and a third which he had himself ground and figured subsequently, but which was cast at the same time, and from the same metal with that last mentioned. They were all of them equal, or nearly so, in focal length and optical power, when freshly polished and in good working condition, so far at least as a judgment could be formed of their performance. The polishing apparatus, with whose use he had made himself perfectly familiar, accompanied him, and was applied whenever the least tarnish or dimness of any part of the surface of the

mirror was either detected or suspected. This operation was much more frequently needed at Feldhausen than in England, and it was a fortunate circumstance, affecting materially, in fact, the whole issue of his enterprise, that he was in the possession of such a prompt means of securing the maintenance of the same standard of optical power in the performance of his telescopes.

The optical power of a telescope may be variously estimated: it may be considered as expressing the measure of the quantity of light which it is capable of transmitting to the eye, compared with that which it receives without its aid; or as the measure of the power which it gives us of penetrating into space, compared with that to which we can penetrate by unassisted vision; or, thirdly, as the measure of the apparent size or magnitude which it gives to objects viewed by it, compared with that under which they appear to the naked eye. The two first of these powers are necessarily dependent upon each other; whilst the third, though frequently confounded in popular apprehension and language with both of them, has no necessary connection with either. If all the light which entered the aperture of a telescope was transmitted through the eye-glass in a pencil which is less than the aperture of the pupil of the eye (a condition which is generally secured), its *optical power*, in conformity with the first of our estimates, would be measured by the ratio of the clear area of the aperture of the telescope to that of the pupil, whilst its *space penetrating power* would be measured by the ratio of the diameters of those apertures, or, in other words, by the square root of the former. For if we conceive the light which issues from a star or luminous object to be uniformly spread over the surface of a perpetual succession of spheres, whose centres are the common source of emanation, the same aperture of the same telescope placed at different distances from it, will admit quantities of light which are proportional to its intensities on the surfaces of the corresponding spheres of dispersion, and therefore inversely proportional to the areas of those surfaces over which the same quantity of light is distributed, or, in other words, to the squares of their radii. It would consequently follow, that the space *penetrating power* of the telescope would be measured by the simple ratio of the radii of the spheres of dispersion, or by the distances at which the same quantity of light would be transmitted to the retina by the telescope in one case, and by the unassisted pupil of the eye in the other. Thus if the extreme distance at which a star of the first magnitude would first become visible to the naked eye was denoted by 1, the *power* which we are seeking

to express would be represented by the multiple of that distance at which the same star would first become visible when seen through the telescope: consequently, if the aperture of the pupil of the eye was assumed to be two-tenths of an inch, a telescope of four inches aperture, if no light was lost in its passage through it, would increase the range of natural vision twenty times, and its *optical power* would be represented by 400.

But it is well known that some light is lost by its transmission through a lens, and much more by its reflection from a metallic surface, however exquisite may be the polish which is given to it; whilst its diminution in one case is probably not more than five per cent., in the other, according to some careful experiments made by Sir William Herschel, it is not less than twenty-three per cent. It would appear, therefore, that whilst out of 100 rays entering the aperture of a refracting telescope with three lenses, 86 are transmitted to the eye, their number would be reduced to 41 in a reflecting telescope of the Newtonian construction with two mirrors and a double eye-glass. It was this enormous loss of light in reflecting telescopes of the ordinary kind, where two reflectors are employed, which induced Sir William Herschel to modify the construction of his larger telescopes by suppressing the second mirror. This was effected by hitching the great mirror slightly in its bed, so as to cause the optical axis of the telescope to make such an angle with that of the tube, so as to form its image near the side of the tube or even beyond it, and thus to admit of its being viewed, in the case of very faint objects, either by the naked eye or by an eye-glass, without any serious obstruction of light by the intrusion of the head of the observer. By the adoption of this construction, nearly 64 instead of 41 rays of light, out of every 100 which entered the aperture of a telescope, were transmitted to the eye, and its optical and space penetrating powers were considerably increased. In the case of the 20-feet reflector with 18¼ inches aperture, the latter power was augmented by this expedient from 61 to 75, so as very nearly to equal four times the linear aperture (in inches) of the telescope.

The extreme stars, which are visible to ordinary eyes without the aid of a telescope, are those referred to the sixth magnitude, though some persons, endowed with very acute vision, may penetrate into space, under favourable circumstances, as far as those of the seventh. If we should assume as an hypothesis (which is, however, almost demonstrably untrue) that all stars are equal in magnitude and brightness when placed at the same distance from the observer, it would appear to follow from the

researches of Sir William Herschel*, and more recently from those of Steinheil of Munich, that a star of the sixth magnitude, such as δ Geminorum, is eight times as distant as a medium star of the first magnitude, such as Capella, and twelve times as distant as Sirius; the more recent and elaborate researches of Sir J. Herschel, contained in the volume before us, would make this distance much greater. If we adopt the distance of Sirius as a unit, and supersede, in conformity with this hypothesis, the orders of magnitude by those of distance, it would appear that this star, the most brilliant in the heavens, removed to twelve times its distance from us, would still be visible to the naked eye as a star of the sixth magnitude. If the same star was removed to a distance seventy-five times as great, or, in other words, to the 75×12, or 900th order of distances, it would still continue visible in the twenty-feet reflector which the Herschels employed in their surveys: but the great telescope of Lord Rosse, of fifty-four focal length, and six feet aperture, possessing a space penetrating power of 288, would extend this limit of visibility to the 3436th order of distances.† If we should suppose the unit of this scale, or the distance of Sirius to be 200,000 times the radius of the earth's orbit (and it is probably more than four times as great), and light to take eight minutes to pass from the sun to the earth, a telescope of these prodigious optical and space penetrating powers would render it visible, if removed to a distance which light would not traverse in less than 10,500 years; and yet how small, in all probability, is this distance compared with those of some of the remoter nebulæ, which present themselves, in the field of view of such a telescope, as an almost inappreciable haze of light, though possibly constituting the accumulated light of a system of stars not inferior in number and brightness to those which compose our Milky Way, of which the immense spaces comprehended within the range of vision of the naked eye, forms an almost infinitesimal portion?

If, however, the hypothesis of the absorption of light in the celestial spaces which Olbers proposed, and which Struve has so ably advocated‡, be admitted as correct, then the principle

---

* Phil. Trans. for 1817, p. 31., on the local arrangement of the celestial bodies in space.

† We believe Lord Rosse adopts the Newtonian construction, which would reduce its space penetrating power to about 230.

‡ Etudes de l'Astronomie Stellaire, p. 83.: some recent observations with Lord Rosse's telescope, noticed in the Journals, seem irreconcileable with this hypothesis.

which we have adopted for estimating the space penetrating powers of telescopes must be abandoned, and the extent of them very considerably reduced, particularly for those of very large optical powers. Though we are quite ready to admit that the subject is not free from difficulties of a very serious nature, yet we are by no means satisfied with the sufficiency of the premises upon which the very eminent astronomer above mentioned has founded his conclusions; in addition to the objections which have been stated in a former Number of this Journal*, it is very difficult to conceive the absorption of light without admitting the existence in the celestial spaces of matter in some form or other, however diffused and ethereal, which is not easily reconcileable with our ordinary conceptions of the stability and permanence of the great system of the universe.

The ratio, however, of the quantities of light transmitted to the retina by a telescope and by unassisted vision, will not furnish, under all circumstances, a correct and invariable measure of its optical power. It is influenced by the magnifying power, in a manner which it is not easy to estimate or explain: for it is well known that some stars become visible with higher magnifying powers, which are not so with lower. The capacity, also, of the unassisted eye to admit light varies very considerably from the enlargement or contraction of the pupil, being greatly affected by different conditions of bodily health, and still more by the removal of the stimulus which strong light produces. If we enter a very obscure chamber, objects which are at first absolutely invisible, will cease to be so after a short interval of repose; nor is this effect due to the mere enlargement of the pupil of the eye, and to the consequent increase of the quantity of light which is thus transmitted to the retina, but is referrible likewise, in no slight degree, to its increased sensibility to the perception of the impression of light, which is produced by the diminution of its quantity and by a state of repose. Sir William Herschel† found his power of observing very faint and delicate nebulæ and other objects very greatly increased, during his sweeps of the heavens, by shielding his eye, by means of a black hood, from the admission of extraneous light, and by avoiding the observation of any of the larger stars: even if a star of the third magnitude approached the field of view, he found it necessary to withdraw his eye before its entrance, in order that the delicacy and acuteness of vision, which a long continuance of comparative darkness and tranquillity had produced, might not be impaired. It was for this reason that he

* No. 173. p. 183. † Phil. Trans. for 1800, p. 52.

generally felt it necessary to decline observing the transits of large stars, unless no others of inferior and less obtrusive brightness could be found within the limits of the zone to which his sweep was confined. He has stated, that on one occasion, after sweeping for a considerable time with his forty-feet reflector, the appearance of Sirius announced itself, at a great distance, like the dawn of morning, and rose by degrees, increasing in brightness, until this brilliant star at last entered the field of view of the telescope, with all the splendour of the rising sun, and compelled him to withdraw his eye from a spectacle which it was not, under such circumstances, in a condition to regard. He found that it generally required more than twenty minutes from the commencement of his observations, before the eye had acquired the repose necessary to observe very delicate objects in the telescope, and that the transit of a star of the second or third magnitude would disorder the eye again, so as nearly to require the same time for the re-establishment of its tranquillity. Effects like these, considerable as they are, are not dependent upon the enlargement of the pupil of the eye, which the absence of bright light always produces, but to the increased sensibility of the organ; for the diameter of the optic pencil, in the twenty-feet reflector, was, at the time of sweeping, not generally more than $\frac{12}{100}$ of an inch, which is considerably less than the ordinary aperture of the pupil of the eye, and which was capable of admitting, therefore, under the circumstances which we have described, the whole of the light that was transmitted through the telescope.

Sir William Herschel, in his systematic sweeps of the heavens, employed exclusively the twenty-feet reflector, and his son has adhered to the same instrument, or to one of equivalent optical and space penetrating power, both in his northern and southern surveys; and a very little consideration would be sufficient to show that the employment of telescopes of different powers would deprive such surveys of much of their interest and utility. If they did not penetrate into the same depth of space, they would neither comprehend the same objects, nor present them under the same features: single stars might become double; nebulæ, which were irresolvable or mere hazes of diffused light, in one telescope, might be resolved into a congeries of stars in another, whilst others would be found to change their form and outline so entirely, as to make their recognition or identification difficult or impossible. The representations which have been given of the same nebulæ by Messier and the Herschels, and which may be relied upon as faithful pictures of the appear-

ances which they really presented in their telescopes, are not less different from each other than those which they are said to assume in the gigantic telescope of Lord Rosse. Sir J. Herschel has remarked, in the work before us, the startling discrepancies between his own most elaborate representation of the great nebula in the sword handle of Orion, seen at the Cape at an elevation of 60°, under the most favourable circumstances, and four others which have been given us, one by Lamont, the very eminent astronomer of Munich, two by Rondoni and one by De Vico, of Rome, notwithstanding the application, in the latter cases, of all the resources of the most refined art to their perfect delineation. The inferior light of Mr. Dunlop's Newtonian reflector (about $\frac{1}{7}$th of that of Sir J. Herschel's), might have had as much influence, as other defects, whether in its construction or use, on the very imperfect and inaccurate representations which he has given of so many of the southern nebulæ. By using, however, the same, or an equivalent telescope, in all the gauges and surveys of the heavens, made by his father and himself, not only do their results at different periods become comparable with each other, but the periodic and other changes which they have undergone, have in some cases been made more completely manifest, and become the foundation of the most important conclusions.

The climate of the Cape of Good Hope is not so well suited for observation as the very general prevalence of bright and cloudless skies would lead us to conclude: it is the cold season from May to October, and more especially in June and July, that is best suited for this purpose. The definition of the instruments during these months is habitually good, imperfect vision being rather the exception than the rule. The best nights are those which succeed, after an interval of one or two days, the heavy rains which fall at this season, when the tranquillity of the images and sharpness of vision is so perfect, that the application of magnifying power is only limited by the aberrations of the specula. Under these circumstances, a power of 1200 was not unfrequently used, and, with the application of the triangular aperture, the disks of stars were shown with extraordinary clearness and precision, and so much reduced in size, that the closest double stars were easily separated. In the hot season, from October to March, the nights were generally superb; but in the neighbourhood of the Table Mountain, a belt of cloud surrounded its summit during the south-east winds, which prevail so generally during that season, extending to the distance of several miles, and intercepting the view of the sky. The extreme dryness and heat, also, of the sandy plains to the north, sometimes exceeding 140°

Fahrenheit, disturbs the tranquillity of the air, and distorts, in a very remarkable manner, the images of the stars; but still, in the hottest season, nights of admirable definition will sometimes occur. Notwithstanding these and other irregular optical effects of peculiar atmospheric conditions incident to the climate, including a very remarkable phænomenon, called by Sir J. Herschel 'the nebulous haze,' which is frequently noticed in the observations, there still remains a much greater number of nights which are applicable to the business of observation than are to be found in our latitudes. Sir William Herschel, whose experience of our climate surpassed that of any other astronomer, has asserted that, even if we watch so diligently that no favourable opportunity shall escape us, an observer's year is very productive if it affords him 100 hours of observation, a conclusion which will appear less startling, if we consider that the night must be clear, the moon absent, no twilight, no haziness, no violent wind, no sudden variation of temperature, allowing also for various unforeseen delays and changes in the apparatus. He calculates that it would require nearly 1475 hours, or 14¾ years, to sweep the heavens visible in our latitude with his twenty-feet reflector, with a power of 157, an estimate which is clearly excessive, as it was subsequently effected by Sir J. Herschel in little more than eight years. Struve allows 120 clear nights at Pulkowa, of which 80 are fit for observation; allowing 25 observations for one night, it would require a year for 2000 observations: the greatest number which he ever observed in one year was 2119. At Feldhausen, Sir J. Herschel, in the year 1836, was enabled to sweep during the whole or parts of 131 nights, and during 100 in the following year, besides many nights which were probably lost for this purpose, by being devoted to other important scientific inquiries. These and other facts would indicate a condition of climate at the Cape of Good Hope much more favourable for observation than that which prevails in our latitudes.

The number of nebulæ and clusters of stars observed by Sir J. Herschel in his southern survey was 1708. Of these, 89 had been observed by himself, and 135 by his father, in their northern surveys, but were seen at the Cape at much greater elevations and under much more favourable circumstances: 9 others appear in the catalogue of Messier, and 206 have been identified, with more or less certainty, with objects observed by Mr. Dunlop: the remaining 423 (which are recorded in his catalogue) altogether escaped his observation, though sought for with no small sacrifice of time and labour. The accurate determination of the R. A. and N. P. D. of a nebula or cluster of stars, where a

conspicuous star or other feature near the centre of its figure does not define the point of observation, is necessarily more or less vague and indefinite; but a careful comparison of the positions assigned to those which were common to the northern and southern surveys, as well as of those which were common to different sweeps in the same, and determined independently therefore for a second or third time, would appear to lead to the conclusion that no error was incurred exceeding 45″ in Polar distance, or 30″ in right ascension, and that it was generally of a much smaller amount. There would be no difficulty, therefore, in identifying such as should be again sought for, at least with a telescope of equivalent power, except in the case of very faint objects, whose discovery was necessarily more or less dependent upon very favourable conditions of the atmosphere.

The most interesting of the objects of observation in the southern hemisphere were the two Nubeculæ or Magellanic clouds. The first is situated about 16° from the South Pole, with a R. A. of about 12°, occupying an ill-defined but somewhat roundish circular space of nearly 3° in diameter. It is preceded within a few minutes of R. A. by the great globular cluster 47 Toucani, the most magnificent in the southern sky, though still completely insulated from it; but with this almost solitary exception, it is placed in a region of the heavens which is miserably destitute of stars and nebulæ. The sweeps on the sides of it are described as an astronomical desert, and the occurrence of this luminous region in the midst of large spaces of dark and starless skies increases, by the contrast it presents, the effect which it is calculated to produce upon the spectator. The larger Nubecula is situated at nearly the same distance from the Pole, and between 100° and 120° of R. A.: its form is equally difficult to describe or to represent, presenting a thin axis of light, but very irregular and ill defined, variable in its intensity, and not strongly distinguished from the general mass, which opens at its extremities into somewhat oval sweeps, recalling in some faint degree the appearance of the well-known 'dumb-bell'* nebula, which forms No. 27 in Messier's catalogue. It occupies an area of about 42 square degrees, or about four times as large as that of the smaller Nubecula: and contains within its figure the extraordinary number of 278 nebulæ and clusters of stars, without reckoning 50 or 60 outliers, which may be considered as appendages to its system, being at the rate of about $6\frac{1}{2}$ to a square degree, a plenitude of such objects which surpasses that of

* Represented in fig. 26. plate x. p. 494. of the Philosophical Transactions for 1833.

any other nebulous region of the heavens, far exceeding that of the most crowded parts of the great nebulous system of Virgo, in the wing of that constellation, or in Coma Berenices, which is the richest that is found in the northern hemisphere. 'It is 'evident from this,' says Sir J. Herschel, 'and from the inter-'mixture of stars and unresolved nebulosities, which might pro-'bably be resolved with a higher optical power, that the Nu-'beculæ are to be regarded as systems *sui generis*, and which 'have no analogies in other parts of the heavens.'

The regions of the heavens near the greater Nubecula, though dark and featureless, are not so barren, either of stars or nebulæ, as those surrounding the smaller. The general aspect, indeed, of the southern sky is much less striking than the northern, the constellations being for the most part less brilliant in their component stars, and less picturesque in their grouping. There is no south polar star conspicuous to the naked eye to aid the astronomer in the adjustment of his instruments or the traveller in his migrations, and its whole neighbourhood as far as 15° every where around it, is almost equally destitute of stars and of nebulæ, and more particularly of the latter; and though poets have been disposed to pay their devotions to the southern cross, and Orion may display his glories at greater elevations and in purer skies, yet the first impression that this hemisphere produces upon the minds both of travellers and astronomers, is one of disappointment at its inferior brilliance and interest. The nebulous systems, however, of the southern heavens, when fully examined, will be found to be, though less considerable in number and extent, quite as interesting in their forms and characters as those of the northern: they are also distributed more uniformly over the surface of the heavens, presenting patches of nebulæ, generally surrounded by vacant spaces of greater or less extent, and very rarely connected in a continuous band. The lesser of the two Magellanic clouds, as we have already seen, is completely insulated; but the case is somewhat different with the greater, which is partially connected with a series of nebulous patches, extending from the back of the constellation Dorado, through portions of Horologium, Eridanus, Fornax, and Cetus, to the equator, where it merges in the great nebulous region of Pisces, increasing in density as we approach that constellation. Another very remarkable region occurs in a circular space of about 18° in diameter, between $16^h\ 45^m$ and 19^h R. A., traversed by the Milky Way, occupied by the constellation Corona Australis, the body and head of Sagittarius, the tail of Scorpio, and part of Telescopium and Ara, where we find a grand display of no less than thirty re-

solved or resolvable globular clusters of stars, of unusual splendour and beauty.

The character and appearance of this group of clusters, so different from any which presents itself either in the northern or southern hemisphere, suggests to Sir J. Herschel the hypothesis that it is a portion of the great nebulous system, which is nearer to us than the rest. If nebulæ only differ from clusters by their component stars not admitting of resolution by means of telescopes of such optical powers as have hitherto been brought to bear upon them, we may reasonably infer that it is distance alone which is the foundation of the distinction between them. We may conclude, therefore, *à fortiori*, that a group of clusters so considerable as that which we are now considering does not present itself to us under the aspect of a group of nebulæ, such as we find in so many other regions of the heavens, only because it is placed more completely within the range of the space-penetrating powers of our telescopes.

The great nebulous system of the northern hemisphere, embracing more than one-third of the nebulous contents of the heavens, occupies the constellations Leo, Leo Minor, the body, tail, and legs of Ursa Major, the nose of Camelopardalus, the point of the tail of Draco, Canes Venatici, Coma Berenices, the preceding leg of Bootes, and the head, wings, and shoulder of Virgo. It is in this last constellation that it attains its greatest condensation at a point which is almost precisely the North Pole of the Galactic circle: it forms a broad irregular patch, occupying nearly one-eighth part of the sphere, and subtending at the point of space from which we view it, an angle between 80° and 90°. Sir J. Herschel names it the nebulous region of Virgo. The somewhat corresponding system to the south of the Galactic circle, though its range is much less extensive, and its parts less closely connected together, has been named by him the nebulous region of Pisces, inasmuch as it attains its greatest condensation in a point of that constellation, which is from 20° to 25° distant from the south Galactic Pole.

We thus find two great nebulous systems, which are, to a great extent, separated from each other by the sidereal system, which forms the Milky Way, and bearing not very dissimilar relations to it; and though there are many nebulæ and patches of nebulæ (besides the distinct and peculiar systems of the Magellanic clouds), which are dispersed in various parts of the heavens, and not referrible to them, yet if we except the group of globular clusters in Sagittarius and Scorpio, which rather belong to the sidereal than the nebulous system, and the faint prolongation of the nebulous region of Virgo, which presents itself in the

constellations of the Cross and Centaur, it will be found that there are very few nebulæ in the Milky Way, when compared with the area which it occupies, and that their number is almost infinitesimally small when compared with the groups and clusters of stars of which it is composed. Are we to conclude, therefore, that our sidereal system, considered as identified with the Milky Way, is nearly altogether distinct from the nebulous system, being interposed, as it were, between the two great members of which it is composed, and only intercepting some of their dispersed and outlying members which stretch beyond its plane? And if we should conceive a point of view to be taken in the prolongation of the line joining the nodes of the Galactic circle, where it separates into two branches, and at a distance so great as to cause the sidereal system which it forms to appear in our telescopes, equally nebulous with those between which it is interposed, it would probably present itself to our observation as a thin nebulous film, bifurcating near its middle, and interposed between nebulæ of somewhat irregular form and outlines. It might, in fact, recall to mind that most wonderful nebula in the constellation Centaurus, which Sir J. Herschel has figured*, and of which two slightly analogous forms have been observed in the northern hemisphere. It presents to us two nebulous masses, whose interior edges are well defined, and nearly parallel to each other, as well as to a thin nebulous streak which is interposed between them. If, however, instead of seeking in the nebulous system for forms resembling that which the Milky Way would probably present if seen from a point in the prolongation of its plane, we should suppose the point of observation to be taken in a direction perpendicular to its plane, and sufficiently distant to convert a discrete sidereal into a nebulous character, it might possibly (for we know nothing of its extreme limits in its own plane) appear as a nebulous ring, with a diffused and irregular nebulosity throughout its area, whilst a semi-elliptic nebulous stream would proceed from the extremities of a diameter of the primary ring, its lesser axis being nearly half the greater. Such is the appearance, without reference to varieties of shading and central condensation, which is presented by the remarkable nebula, marked No. 51. in Messier's Catalogue, and which Sir J. Herschel has figured in the plates which accompany his Northern Survey.†

The southern hemisphere seems to be quite as fertile as the

* No. 3501. in his Catalogue.

† Fig. 27. Phil. Trans. 1833.

northern in the number and variety of forms which the nebulæ present. Some are so capricious and irregular as to defy all attempts to describe or classify them, and still more to conceive the nature of the physical connexion, if any exists, by which their members are held together; whilst others present such regularity of form and arrangement, and such striking characters in common, as not only to be easily referred to classes, but to produce in the mind an almost irresistible impression that their connexion is determined by physical laws, however incompetent we may be, in the present state of our knowledge, to develope or conceive them.

One of the most extraordinary forms of nebulæ which occur in the southern heavens, has been named by him the 'bust or 'silhouette' nebula, from its singular resemblance to a bust or profile: two are described as 'falcated nebulæ,' with a double star, or a resolvable nucleus, putting on that appearance, at their heads, with a scythe-like or incurvated tail gradually expanding towards its extremity: they may probably be referred to the class of cometic nebulæ which will be hereafter noticed. In the tail of Scorpio, in the eighteenth hour of R. A., near the Milky Way, we find an easily resolvable nebula, in the form of a quadrant of a circle, with its circumference, and one at least of its terminating radii, very distinctly defined, and a star placed precisely in its centre. Is this peculiar position of the star fortuitous or not? The nebulæ in the Nubecula Major are, as we have already remarked, somewhat peculiar and characteristic, presenting irregular combinations of three or a greater number of nuclei, more or less connected with diffused nebulosities: but in some cases the connecting nebulosity has disappeared, and very curious groups of round or elliptic nebulæ, cometic nebulæ or nebulous stars, are left behind. Some nebulæ are remarkable for their length and thinness, mere streaks of nebulous light; sometimes they are crooked and irregular, with various centres of condensation; sometimes they are straight where no such tendency appears; more frequently, however, they are extremely elongated ellipses, increasing in condensation towards their centres, where the interior and denser portions become more and more spherical as they approach it. 'If we regard,' says Sir J. Herschel, 'the spherical as only a particular case of the 'elliptic form, and a stellar nucleus as the extreme stage of 'condensation, at least nine-tenths of the whole nebulous contents 'of the heavens will be found to belong to this class, so that as 'regards a law and a structure, the induction which refers them 'as a class to the operation of similar causes, and assumes the 'prevalence within them of similar dynamical conditions, is most

'full and satisfactory. To abstain altogether from speculation 'as to what may be those causes and conditions, and to refuse 'all attempts to reconcile the phænomena of so large and definite 'a class of cosmical existences with mechanical laws taken in their 'most general acceptation, would be to err on the side of exces-'sive caution and unphilosophical timidity. The time is clearly 'arrived for attempting to form some conception at least of the '*possibility* of such a system being either held in a state of 'permanent equilibrium, or of progressing through a series of 'regular and normal changes, resulting either in periodical 'restorations of a former state, or in some final consummation.' Forms thus regular and generic in their character, from the most elongated ellipse to the perfect circle, can only result from the projection upon the plane of vision of spheroids of every degree of flatness, from the disk to the sphere, and of every variety of density and ellipticity from the surface to the centre. 'If a nebula,' as our author has observed on another occasion*, 'be nothing more than a cluster of discrete stars, (as we have every 'reason to believe, at least in the majority of cases,) no pressure 'can be propagated through it: and its equilibrium, or, to speak 'more correctly, the permanence of its form, must be maintained 'in a way totally different. In a system so constituted, no 'general rotation of the whole, as a mass, can be supposed. It 'must rather be conceived as a *quiescent form*, comprising within 'its limits an indefinite multitude of individual constituents, 'which, for aught we can tell, may be moving one among the 'other, each animated by its own inherent projectile force, and 'deflected into an orbit more or less complicated, by the in-'fluence of that law of internal gravitation which may result 'from the compounded attractions of all its parts. I have 'elsewhere† shown how a quiescent spherical form may subsist 'as the bounding outline of an immense number of equal stars, 'uniformly distributed through its extent, each of which attracts 'all the others with a force inversely as the square of the distance, 'and whose united attractions compose an external force on 'each, directly proportionate to the distance from the centre of 'the sphere. In such a state of things, each star might describe 'an ellipse in any plane and in any direction in that plane about 'the common centre, without the possibility of collision: but 'the sphere, regarded as a whole, would have no rotation about 'any axis. If the form be not spherical, and the distribution 'of the stars not homogeneous, the dynamical relations become

* Phil. Trans. 1833, p. 301.

† Cabinet Cyclopædia: art. Astronomy, last page.

'too complicated to be distinctly apprehended, yet we may still 'conceive that something of an analogous result may subsist, 'and that both the internal form and the internal density may 'be maintained (at least under certain conditions) for the mass 'in a quiescent state, whilst all its elements are in a state of 'unceasing transfer and exchange.' It is impossible to estimate too highly, in the present state of stellar or cosmical astronomy, the importance of the problems, whose solutions are both answered and suggested in the preceding passage: they touch upon speculations the most sublime which can occupy the mind of man; the correlation of those laws which determine the maintenance and stability of systems which surpass that of our sun and planets, as much in the variety and complication of their structure, as in the vastness of their dimensions.

Of systems referrible to the class to which the preceding observations apply, planetary and annular nebulæ and nebulous stars are amongst the most interesting. The southern hemisphere supplies a considerable number of such objects, presenting considerable variety of character. Their appearance is generally that of a round or oval disk, of nearly uniform condensation, and they are very commonly attended by one or more stars as satellites; we say satellites, for the circumstances under which they appear suggest a physical connexion between them, such as the doctrine of chances would render more nearly necessary than probable; and when we consider 'the enormous magnitude 'of such bodies, and their consequent probable mass, they may 'be easily conceived to possess a gravitating energy, which, 'however rare we may conceive them to be, may yet be capable 'of retaining in orbits, three or four times their diameter, small 'bodies of a stellar character.'* There is one planetary nebula, which Sir J. Herschel has delineated, where an oval disk, defined with considerable distinctness, is surrounded by a slight chevelure or nebulous haze. The transition from such a case to a nebulous star, where the more condensed disk is replaced by a central star, encompassed with its nebulous haze, not unfrequently with the nicest definition of its outline, seems to exhibit one step in a process of absorption, which the other presents at its completion. Annular nebulæ, some of which are oval and some circular, of which many examples are found in both hemispheres, may be referred to different origins: they may be rings, or they may be hollow globes or spheroids, whose

* Sir J. Herschel, Phil. Trans. 1833, p. 500., where he suggests the propriety of measuring their angles of position from time to time, with a view to detect their orbital motions.

permanent existence in a state of equilibrium it is not very difficult to conceive: in one case, the interior of the ring may be devoid of nebulosity; in the other, its brightness must decrease from the circumference to the centre. There are not wanting examples in the heavens to justify both these hypotheses. The ellipticity of a ring would depend upon its inclination to the visual line: of this kind is probably one which Sir William Herschel discovered*, in the form of a long and narrow ellipse — its longer axis extending more than 4′: the occurrence of two stars symmetrically disposed at nearly the extremities of the axis of the elliptic vacuity in its middle, adds not a little to the interest created by the contemplation of this wonderful object: it cannot be fortuitous.

This association of one or more fixed stars with nebulæ, in such a manner as to indicate some connexion of dependence between them, though it may not be explicable by any laws within our cognizance, is extremely common. We have before noticed this connexion, in the case of planetary nebulæ, whilst nebulous stars speak for themselves. Such, also, are cometic nebulæ, where a diffused nebulous tail flows from a star as a nucleus or head, and of which the falcated nebulæ, which we have already noticed, may also be considered as varieties: such are elliptic nebulæ, of great length and delicay of outline, interposed between stars at their extremities. Double nebulæ present themselves also like double stars, and under strictly analogous conditions as to distance, position and brightness, recalling, quite as forcibly as in the case of double stars, the notion of their necessary connexion with each other, and suggesting the same class of researches with respect to their relative orbital motion. They assume, also, great varieties of form and character: sometimes they are both of them round nebulæ, sometimes one, and sometimes both of them, are extremely elliptical: sometimes their axes are in the same line, sometimes parallel, and sometimes transverse to each other: in one case, we find a star interposed between a round and an elliptic nebula, and manifestly connected with them as one system; sometimes double nuclei, and sometimes double or triple stars are involved in the same round and diffused nebulosity. It would, however, be equally vain and tedious to attempt to describe the multiplied and singular combinations of stars, nebulæ, and clusters of stars, with respect to each other, which such researches unfold, offering, as they do, an endless and most attractive field for observation and inquiry. Do their

* Its number is 218. in Sir J. Herschel's Northern Catalogue; fig. 28. in Phil. Trans. for 1833.

forms or positions change? Do nebulous bodies, which exhibit, as so many of them do, a centre of aggregation or of greatest condensation, become, in the progress of time, more and more compressed? Do globular and other clusters of stars become more and more concentrated? Are all nebulæ collections of stars, which will admit of resolution when telescopes of sufficient optical power are brought to bear upon them? If the statements which have been circulated respecting recent observations of nebulæ in Lord Rosse's telescope be correct, the last of these questions must be answered in the affirmative: there is an end of the *nebular hypothesis.*

The detection and measurement of double stars was regarded by Sir J. Herschel as an object of subordinate importance to the discovery and examination of nebulæ. In sweeping, therefore, in parts of the heavens where nebulæ were expected, at least for the first time, little leisure was allowed for any minute examination of stars; but when the same sweeps were repeated, or where nebulæ were thinly scattered, stars down to the sixth or seventh magnitude were seldom dismissed from the field without a careful and repeated scrutiny, whether by the application of circular or of triangular diaphragms, with a view of increasing the distinctness and sharpness of the image, or by varying the magnifying power as far as the condition of the atmosphere would allow. It is by the application of high magnifying powers, when the quantity of light is sufficient, that we are enabled most effectually to separate very close double stars*; but it is only when the air is perfectly tranquil and undisturbed that such an application is practicable; for, as much as we increase this power, so much we increase the disturbance. During the magnificent nights which frequently present themselves at the Cape, particularly during the cold season, from July to October, the definition of the twenty-feet reflector was so perfect, that powers as high as 1200 could be employed without destroying it.

The catalogues of double stars observed by Sir J. Herschel, in his northern surveys, are six in number, and include 3346 stars; his southern observations extend that number to 5449. This enumeration does not include double stars which had been seen and recorded by former observers, and which were carefully re-observed and catalogued with those which were new. The greatest number of these were included in Struve's two

* An increase of magnifying power increases the apparent distance of two stars without increasing their apparent disks: the disks of close double stars, therefore, which for less powers appear as one, become separated when their apparent distance is thus magnified.

great northern catalogues, and determined with the usual care and precision of that great astronomer; others were such as were identified, when identification was practicable, with objects described in Mr. Dunlop's catalogue of 253 double stars; a small number with those of M. Rumker. Extensive as is the collection of double stars which has thus been made, it is far, however, from being complete; for, though the angles of position and distances of all stars which appeared double in the course of the sweeps were invariably measured with as much accuracy as the circumstances, frequently hurried and unfavourable, would allow, yet there is reason to believe that a very considerable number of the closer double stars, namely, of such as are within a distance of 2″ from each other, may have escaped detection. But even allowing for these and other deficiencies, whether arising from the rapidity of the survey or from other causes, by which the total number of double stars recorded in the catalogue may have been diminished, Sir J. Herschel is disposed to consider the southern hemisphere as less rich in such objects than the northern, and particularly in the last six hours of right ascension. The several numbers of such objects which we find recorded in his catalogue for the four quadrants of R. A. are 542, 625, 604, and 452, respectively, showing a deficiency of nearly one-fourth of the average number in the last of the four, though it was, in reality, more carefully scrutinised than the other three; partly because it came under review in the winter months, from July to October, which are best adapted for observation, when the nights are long and the air generally in the most favourable state for clear definition and for the application of high magnifying powers; partly because a similar deficiency of nebulæ* in the same quadrant, left much greater leisure for their minute examination. In sweeping these barren and monotonous regions of the heavens, a more than ordinary vigilance was necessary to prevent the access of sleep, which, from the elevated position of the observer, was not without considerable danger of broken bones. A single entry from his Journal very forcibly expresses the impression produced by these long and weary nights of unrewarded industry: — 'July '24. 1835. I begin to think I shall never again see another 'close double star. It is wonderful how entirely devoid of those 'objects are all the late sweeps, and *that* in the finest picked 'opportunities for detecting them. It is a remarkable feature. '*Eo ipso notantur, quia non videntur.*'

The distances and angles of position of double stars observed

* Their numbers in the four quadrants are, 704, 376, 352 and 272, respectively.

by the twenty-feet reflector were subjected to re-examination by the seven-feet equatorial, whenever the magnitude of the satellite or other circumstances rendered it practicable or desirable. We find a record of more than 1000 such micrometrical measures, distributed over 417 double stars, the measures having been generally repeated, and in some cases for more than once, whenever a suspicion of their accuracy or indications of the relative motions of the component stars rendered such a repetition necessary. The results which it afforded were entitled to much greater confidence than those given by the reflector, partly from the character of the instrument itself, and partly from the facilities which it allowed for the repetition of the process on the same night as often as was deemed necessary for obtaining a mean result of a satisfactory nature.

The comparison of the results given by the two instruments showed considerable discrepancies in the estimation of angles of position. Assuming the values given by the equatorial to be generally correct, they differed from those given by the reflector sometimes as much as 2° 6′ in excess, and sometimes as much as 1° 1′ in defect, fluctuating through all intermediate amounts, but being *always the same, or very nearly so, for the same angle of position.* Thus it was +2° 3′ for an angle of position 0°; zero for 90°; −1° 1′ for 130°; +1′ for 170°; +2° 6′ for 210°; +1° 2′ for 270; and so on increasing from thence continually, until we complete an entire revolution. By projecting the differences thus observed upon a chart of engraved squares, an interpolating curve was constructed, and the values which it gave for all intermediate points were found, upon trial, to be sufficiently accurate to enable Sir J. Herschel to convert generally the results given by one instrument into those which would be observed by the other, without any residual difference more considerable than such as might be referred to the accidental errors of a hasty or imperfect observation. This very remarkable discordance, which he has also noticed in his northern surveys*, is probably attributable, not so much to defects in the instrument as to a *systematic bias* in the human eye, by which its judgment of the parallelism of the wire of the micrometer and of the line joining the star and its satellite is affected by the position of the eye itself. It is well known that all observers have some *personal equations*, of small amount generally, but considerable in some cases, by which they err in their estimate of parallelism and of distance, as well as in their appreciation of identity of time. Even the two parallel images of the same straight line do not appear parallel if viewed one

* Memoirs of the Ast. Soc. vol. v. p. 20.

with the right eye and the other with the left; and when it is considered that in the equatorial we look upwards, and downwards in the reflector, we shall probably be justified in referring to this remarkable fact in the physiology of vision for an imperfect explanation of a discrepancy which would otherwise appear to be inexplicable. No similar or other correction was required for the purpose of reconciling the measurements of the distance of a star and its satellite, whatever was the difference of their magnitude.

It is not to be denied that sources of error such as those above noticed, referrible as much to imperfections in the eye as in the instrument, are not a little calculated to shake our faith in instrumental testimony, and in the conclusions founded upon it, more especially as affecting the determination of angles of position; but if the results of observation be fully and faithfully recorded, and if the construction and condition of the instrument employed be accurately described, it will rarely happen but that all errors which are either constant or follow a regular law, whatever be their origin, may be discovered, as in the case under consideration, and the proper correction applied. It is ignorance, carelessness, and want of integrity alone which can make the results afforded, even by the worst instruments, absolutely valueless. The scrupulous accuracy and truth with which Sir J. Herschel has recorded his observations, the careful details which he has given of every circumstance which could affect their correctness, whether arising from the condition of the instrument, from the state of the weather, from hurry or want of care in the observation, from errors in the use of the means at his command, which subsequent experience enabled him to correct, or from the endless variety of other causes, whether foreseen or unforeseen, which widen so greatly the interval between success and failure; the faithful transcript, in fact, which the work before us affords of all that he believed essential to form a correct estimate of the weight and value of every result which he puts down, cannot fail to form the most important element in the confidence with which they will be regarded by future observers who may be destined to review his labours.

It is rather for astronomers of another age than for those of his own that this great work has been undertaken, and they alone will be able to form a just estimate of its value: it must form the basis upon which they will found their operations; the epochal record which will make their results not merely absolute, but comparative. Motions of stars or other bodies, or other progressive changes, which necessarily escape notice in one observation, or which are so small as to be merged in the

possible instrumental or other errors of those which are only separated by a short interval of time, become considerable by their accumulation in the lapse of ages. A change of 6″ annually, such as the proper motion of the remarkable star 61 Cygni, would become manifest to the rudest observations in a very small number of years; but if its amount was $\frac{1}{2}$″, like the proper motion of *a* Andromedæ, instead of 6″, it would require twelve times as long a period before the same effect would be produced. Thus, if the interval which separated the first and last observations had been 4 years, the accumulated change would have been 24″ in one case, and 2″ in the other; and if the possible error at each observation was 1″, and if both of them were assumed to be in excess or both in defect, the extreme possible error in one case would be $\frac{1}{12}$th part of the whole, whilst it would be sufficient to absorb the entire effect of the change in the other, and leave its very existence undetermined. But if the interval between the first and last observations had been 40 years instead of 4, and their possible errors the same as before, the limit of error in the first case would be $\frac{1}{120}$th, and in the second $\frac{1}{10}$th of the whole, thus determining the value of the second of those changes to considerable, and of the first to extreme, accuracy.

The least consideration, however, of the principle of this process would show that much of its efficiency must depend upon the confidence which can be placed on the accuracy of the first observation, whether dependent upon the credit of the observer or upon the fulness of the details, both of the instrument employed and of the mode of employing it, by which its probable errors may be estimated: in making the second and last of the two with which it is required to be compared, it may naturally be presumed that every advantage has been taken of the most refined resources of modern science and art. The reputation of Bradley, and a thorough examination and knowledge both of his instruments and methods, were as essential elements as the remoteness of their date, in the use which was made of them by Bessel, in his *Fundamenta Astronomiæ*, in deducing the most important constants in our astronomical corrections: and it was the identity both of the instrument and of the observer, and a perfect confidence in both, which made the comparison of the observations made in youth and old age by the elder Herschel the basis of so many remarkable discoveries.

Double stars were divided by Sir Wm. Herschel into four classes: the first class includes those whose distance does not exceed 4″; the second those in which it ranges from 4″ to 8″;

in the third from 8″ to 16″; in the fourth from 16″ to 32″. It is only under peculiar circumstances that it was thought necessary to notice those double stars whose distance is greater than 32″; and their number is found rapidly to decrease as their distance increases. Struve has increased, within the same limits of distance, the number of these classes from four to eight, subdividing the first of them into three, the first comprehending those very close double stars whose distance is less than 1′, and which can only be separated by the best telescopes, under circumstances the most favourable for such observations. It was Mitchell, the deviser of the celebrated Cavendish experiment, and the constructor of the apparatus made use of for that purpose, a philosopher of great sagacity and of the most varied attainments*, who first called the attention of astronomers to the strong *a priori* evidence of the physical connexion between such stars which is afforded by their extreme vicinity to each other. If we suppose 4000 stars, which exceeds the number of those which are visible to the naked eye in our latitudes, to be distributed fortuitously over the sphere of the heavens, it is against probability, according to the doctrine of chances, that any two of their number should be found within the distance of 1′ from each other; again, if we should take the number of stars, as far as the fourteenth magnitude inclusive, to be 1,000,000, we should find, upon the same hypothesis, that it is against probability that more than forty-eight binary combinations should be found amongst them within the distance of 32″ from each other, and not *one* of that number within the distance of 4″, or in the first of the four classes which Sir William Herschel has adopted: if, therefore, we should suppose the number of double stars within those classes and limits of magnitude, to be 1000, we should be justified in concluding, in conformity with this result, that not more than 48 of those combinations are such as a mere fortuitous distribution would have formed, the remaining 952 being due to arrangements implying some physical connexion of the stars which compose them; whilst, therefore, we may presume that the first class of combinations is merely optical, the stars which severally compose them belonging to different orders of distances, in the second it originates not in merely optical but real proximity, and is maintained by the agency of the same laws of mutual attraction which we

* Phil. Trans. 1779, art. 67. p. 284. An Inquiry into the Probable Parallax and Magnitude of the Fixed Stars from the Quantity of Light which they afford us, and the particular Circumstances of their Situation.

recognise in our planetary system: it being assumed that in all such cases, differences of apparent magnitude are referrible either to differences of the real magnitude of the component stars or of the intensities of their intrinsic brightness.

We are not left, however, to the theory of probabilities alone for the proofs of the nature of the connexion which commonly subsists between the members of a binary or ternary system of stars. In the list of 560 stars, whose proper motions have been assigned by Argelander, we find 41 of their number which are recognised as binary systems, where the distance of the component stars does not exceed 32″; in 40 of their number, the *satellite*, or smaller star, when they are not equal to each other, has the *same* proper motion with the primary, and may be considered, therefore, as a member of the same system, and inseparably connected with it. The only combination, in the whole number, whose members may be presumed to be independent of each other, and therefore only optically connected is δ Equulei, the proper motion of whose primary, amounting to 0″·308 annually, is not common also to its satellite. Again, of 27 double stars, in the same catalogue, which are distant from each other from 32″ to 7′, we find 13, at least, including 40 Eridani, with a proper motion so large as 4″·08, which are physically connected with each other; of the remaining 14, 5 are not sufficiently determined; whilst there are 9 others, including those considerable stars, α Aquilæ, Pollux, α Lyræ, and α Andromedæ, whose members are only brought into apparent proximity to each other by the effects of perspective, inasmuch as the proper motion of the large star does not extend to that which, under other circumstances, we should be justified in considering as its satellite. It thus appears that the proportion of double stars which are physically connected, diminishes rapidly as their distance, at least beyond 32″, increases.

To the double stars of the southern hemisphere, which are not visible, or too near the horizon to be easily observed in our latitudes, it was not possible to extend the same test of the nature of the connexion subsisting between them, inasmuch as their proper motions are generally either unknown, or very imperfectly determined. The magnificent double star α Centauri forms an exception to this remark: the stars which compose it are of the first and second magnitude respectively, and large of their class. Professor Henderson* has assigned to them a *common* proper motion of 3″·58 annually, and a *common* parallax of nearly 1″. Of all the known systems of the heavens, it

* Henderson, Memoirs of the Astronomical Society, vol. xi. p. 61.

is therefore the nearest to us, the parallax assigned by Bessel to the almost equally remarkable system of 61 Cygni being not more than one third of this amount. A distance of 21″ had been assigned to the component stars by Lacaille, in 1750; and it has been variously estimated by subsequent observers. The changes in its value, which Sir J. Herschel observed during his residence at the Cape, gave indications of a rapid orbital motion; whilst the small amount of the corresponding changes in the angle of position seemed to show that the plane of the orbit which it describes passes not far from our own position in space. The absence of such an orbital motion in bodies not more distant from each other than the planet Uranus from the sun, would have been a fact subversive of all our conceptions of the universality of the law of gravitation.

A comparison of observations of the positions of double stars, at an interval of less than twenty years, enabled Sir William Herschel, in two of the most remarkable of his memoirs *, to establish, beyond doubt or controversy, the nature of the connexion, at least in many cases, subsisting between them: he showed that they were revolving round each other in various periods, some of which were shorter than those of the remoter planets of our system. That their orbits, also, were ellipses described under the influence of the ordinary law of gravitation, was a conclusion which could not fail to be suggested at the time the discovery was made, and which the further progress of observation has fully confirmed. It is a problem whose solution presents greater difficulties in practice than in theory; for smaller errors in the measurement of the distances of the two stars than the most favourable observation can always avoid, are fatal to their use generally in the determination of the elements of the orbit; whilst those which affect the observed values of the angles of position, arising from the bias of the eye, and other causes both general and special, are still possibly, even under the most favourable circumstances, so considerable, as to affect the results, when the planes of the orbits are not much inclined to the visual line, with a danger of enormous errors.

A very striking and instructive example of the uncertainty attending such investigations is afforded in the work before us. In the celebrated memoir of our author on the investigation of the orbits of double stars †, we find a calculation of the elements of the orbit of γ Virginis: it is a system of two nearly equal stars of the fourth magnitude, which were observed by Bradley,

* Phil. Trans. 1803 and 1804.

† Memoirs of the Astronomical Society, vol. v. pp. 38. 193.

in 1718, as completely separated, and which appeared to him to be situated in the line passing through α and δ of the same constellation. By the aid of this very distant observation, as well as of a more than usually complete succession of other measures, by Tobias Mayer in 1756, his father, Struve, Dawes, South, and himself, he was enabled to assign for its orbit an ellipse of very great eccentricity, with a period of nearly 513 years, and which appeared to represent the past observations with more than usual accuracy. It was further predicted, that its perihelion, or *periastral*, passage would take place at the beginning of the year 1834, when the stars would be moving round each other with an angular velocity of 60° or 70° per annum, and be so close together, as to be nearly, if not altogether, inseparable but by the finest telescopes. It was soon after this critical period of its announced movements that he arrived at the Cape of Good Hope: its position, however, being near the Equator, and seen over the sandy and arid plain between the observatory and Table Bay, no favourable opportunity for observing it occurred before the following December: it was then seen as a single star; and it was not before the middle of the year 1837 that a sensible lengthening, arising from the separation of the two stars, was observable, and an angle of position determined. It then appeared that the periastral passage had been delayed for nearly two years beyond the predicted time; and a revision of the elements of the orbit, founded upon a very careful discussion of all the observations, down to as late a period as 1843, has shown that its orbit is an ellipse of nearly the same eccentricity, but of much smaller size than that which was first assigned for it; that its period is only 182, instead of 513 years; that the orbits first and last determined, though essentially different in position and magnitude, were nearly coincident throughout the portions of them described in both cases from the first of Sir William Herschel's observations in 1781, down to those made in 1835. But whilst the observations of Bradley and Mayer, combined with those which preceded the second of the above periods, seemed to point out the selection of the larger of the two ellipses as most nearly representing them, those which followed it have rendered necessary the adoption of the smaller: thus presenting 'a curious example, and by no means the first 'in the history of the progress of discovery, where of two possible 'courses, each at the moment equally plausible, the wrong has 'been chosen.'

It furnishes also a lesson which is full of interest and instruction, as inculcating a becoming diffidence in the sufficiency of our materials for determinations of this delicate and difficult nature,

even when derived from sources apparently most entitled to credit: for it appears, from a careful discussion of all the observations which have been made of this remarkable double star, that some of those which are worthy of the highest consideration, from the well known accuracy and scrupulous good faith of the observers, are neither reconcileable with the results of theory, nor with other and nearly cotemporary observations. We are thus compelled, as it were, to adopt the conclusion, that there are some sources of error, in the determination of angles of position, whether referrible to defects in the eye of the observer or of the instrument employed, which are calculated to throw no small degree of doubt and uncertainty upon the conclusions which are founded upon them: it is a defect which nothing short of a long accumulation of observations from different observers, which are found to be consistent with each other, can ever effectually remedy.

If we suppose the stars to be distributed uniformly around us within distances less than the space-penetrating power of the telescope by which they are observed, we should not only see all the stars which the field of view can comprehend within its range, but also determine, by the comparison of the numbers of those seen in different directions, the relations of the profundities in space to which they severally extend; for the cones, whose vertex is the eye, which bound the fields of view of a telescope extending, wherever they are directed, to the extreme limits of the stars in the system, will include within them conical spaces, and, therefore, in conformity with the hypothesis from which we started, numbers of stars, which are proportional to the cubes of their lengths. It will follow, therefore, that the cube roots of the numbers of stars which different fields of view exhibit to us, will be proportionate to the profundity in space to which the stars severally extend, and, therefore, to the distances of those parts of the boundary of the sidereal system in which they severally terminate. It was for this reason that the process of numbering the stars in such fields of view was called *gauging* the heavens by Sir William Herschel, and every such enumeration a *gauge*. If such gauges, therefore, were taken in every part of the heavens, or uniformly distributed over them, they would furnish a series of measures by which the form at least, if not the actual range, of the bounding surfaces of the Milky Way, if such be the system to which all our stars belong, might be completely defined and marked out.

The assumptions, however, upon which these conclusions are founded cannot be admitted without very material limitations: it is quite certain that the stars are not uniformly distributed

within the boundaries of the system to which we refer them; and it is also very generally admitted that no telescope has hitherto been brought to bear upon it sufficiently powerful to reach its remotest portions. We find, in fact, stars collected in clusters or grouped in masses of the most varied forms, combinations, and numbers, in every part of the heavens, whilst the intervening regions present every intermediate gradation, from extreme fertility to absolute barrenness. Sir J. Herschel, in the southern hemisphere, has noticed 51, out of a series of 2229 uniformly distributed gauges, where no star, or one only of the fifteenth or sixteenth magnitude, is to be found; thus indicating the existence of numerous porosities or vacuities of greater or less extent in the great system which they form. And even in the luminous band of the heavens, where the stars are found in their greatest condensation, we find the most extreme variations in their numbers: in some places, and those of considerable extent, they are much too crowded to be reckoned; in others, as in the Great Coal-sack and elsewhere, they fall below the average *plenitude*, which a comparison of all the gauges throughout the heavens would afford. It would appear to follow, therefore, that if we are to make use of such gauges, in whatever regions of the heavens they are taken, as our basis for measuring the lengths of the axes of the conical spaces embraced in our fields of view, which are included within the limits of the great system whose form we are seeking to determine, we must not be guided so much by the numbers of stars in particular gauges, as by the average result of those which are given by the immediately surrounding regions. But even such precautions would be useless, if the telescopes which we used were not sufficiently powerful to show all, or nearly all, the stars which are included in each field of view; or, in other words, if the extent of the conical space into which it penetrated did not reach the limits of the system which is under our examination. In many parts of the Milky Way, Sir William Herschel found that the plenitude of the gauges increased with the increase of the power of his telescopes, and saw no apparent limit to this augmentation, the nebulosity, or suspected nebulosity, of one telescope being resolved into stars by the superior power of another. The regions of the galaxy whose limits were thus apparently inaccessible to his forty-feet reflector, he has pronounced, on one occasion, to be *fathomless**; thus appearing to abandon, partially at least, the views of an opposite character which his earlier gauges and examinations of the constitution of our sidereal system had induced him to form.

* Phil. Trans. 1818, p. 463.

The gauges which were made by Sir J. Herschel in the southern hemisphere were distributed pretty uniformly over the surface of the heavens, being taken upon successive meridians distant ten minutes and upon parallels distant 1° 30′, from each other; an average of fifteen or sixteen being taken upon each meridian: their results show that the distribution of the southern stars, as had been shown by Sir William Herschel with respect to the northern, has a marked and systematic reference to the Galactic circle: if we take the poles of this circle, which are situated, one in 47^m R. A. and 116° N. P. D., and the other in 12^h 47^m R. A. and 64° N. P. D., and divide the hemispheres around them into zones of 15° in breadth, we shall find the average gauges, or number of stars in each field, in the successive zones thus formed as we recede from this circle towards its south pole, to be 59·06, 26·29, 13·49, 9·081, 6·62, and 6·05 respectively, whilst the corresponding numbers to the north are 51·28, 23·47, 14·46, and 7·71, omitting the two last, of which no sufficient records are given. Nothing can be more striking than the correspondence of these numbers, and the rapidity of their decrease as we recede from the plane of greatest condensation, where the gauges are found to reach an average of seventy-four stars to a field: it is sufficiently remarkable also, that the law of distribution which is thus shown to prevail, considered apart from some irregularities, which are rather local than systematic, is not very different from that which would arise from an equal distribution of stars in the space comprehended between two surfaces nearly parallel to the plane of the Galactic circle.

If, instead of comparing the rates of decrease of the total number of stars which appear in the gauges as we recede from the Milky Way, we proceed to class them according to their magnitudes, we shall meet with results which tend greatly to confirm the views which we have just stated respecting the general form and constitution of this system: if the comparison be confined to stars of the first seven magnitudes, we find them, apart from some local irregularities, almost equally distributed in *all* directions, with no discoverable tendency to condensation towards a central plane; for stars of the eighth or next inferior order, this tendency is hardly sensible: it is clearly manifested, though not large with those of the ninth magnitude, more so with those of the tenth; it reaches, between its extreme limits, a ratio of nearly three to one with stars of the eleventh magnitude, but becomes most marked and decided with those of the inferior orders, attaining a ratio of nearly 15 to 1, for stars of all magnitudes, in receding from the Galactic circle to a parallel at the distance of 60°. We shall state the conclusions which

seem necessarily to follow from such comparisons, in the words of Sir J. Herschel: —

'1st. That the larger stars are really nearer to us (taken *en masse*, and without denying individual exceptions) than the smaller ones. Were this not the case, were there really among the infinite multitude of stars, constituting the remoter regions of the galaxy, numerous individuals of extravagant size and brightness, as compared with the generality of those around them, so as to overcome the effect of distance, and to appear to us as large stars, the probability of their occurrence in any given region would increase with the total apparent density of stars in that region, and would result in a preponderance of considerable stars in the Milky Way, beyond what the heavens really present, over its whole circumference. 2dly. That the depth at which our system is plunged in the sidereal stratum constituting the galaxy, reckoning from the southern surface or limit of that stratum, is about equal to that distance which on a general average corresponds to the light of a star of the ninth or tenth magnitude, and certainly does not exceed that corresponding to the eleventh.'

The first of the two methods adopted by Sir J. Herschel for the purpose of determining accurately the relative magnitudes of stars, is named by him 'The method of sequences.' It is an extension of the naked eye comparisons which his father was accustomed to make, by which a star was directly compared with one or two others which appeared to be exactly or nearly of the same lustre, so as to enable a future observer to satisfy himself whether any change or none had taken place since the first observation. In this method, however, we effect the same object, and much more, by including all the more conspicuous stars, or, in fact, all that are visible to the naked eye, in a series descending in the inverse order of their brightness, with numerical values attached to them extending as far as two decimal places, the integral whole numbers being those which designate its order in the common classification. For this purpose, a succession of stars, on a perfectly clear night, was picked out by actual inspection of the heavens, from the largest visible to one of the fourth or fifth magnitude, and noted down in a list, in a vertical column, leaving larger or smaller intervals, according to the best rough estimate that could be formed of their difference of magnitude: these intervals were then filled up, as far as practicable, by stars in an unbroken chain of downward gradation, placing each newly-added star, by actual comparison with its neighbours, in its proper order, until it was no longer possible to insert fresh stars with certainty between the members of this series.

From the forty or fifty *primary* sequences which were formed by this process, a series of *corrected* sequences were deduced,

in which the stars were arranged in an order embodying the united evidence which they afforded: and again, by the partial or entire combination of several such corrected sequences, a *normal* sequence was formed, in which all the stars which admit of mutual direct comparisons, and those only, are arranged in the precise order of their magnitudes. To the stars in this list we assign, first, the magnitudes in the catalogues, and then proceed, by successive processes of interpolation,—which are not capable of being very shortly described,—to obtain a series of numerical values, proceeding in the order of the magnitudes which observation has already assigned to them. Again, by the introduction of the numerical values of the stars, thus determined, into the several corrected sequences, we are enabled to assign, by a similar interpolation, numerical values to the stars included between them, which were not previously assigned; and inasmuch as the same stars will frequently present themselves in several sequences, we get a final result by taking the mean of all the values thus given, which tends more and more to make the succession of numerical values approximate to a correct representation of the succession, at least, if not of the real magnitudes of the stars to which they are severally assigned.

A catalogue of stars arranged by the 'method of sequences,' by giving to each of them its proper place, within very small limits of error, in the order of succession of their magnitudes, would enable all future observers to detect with great readiness and certainty, any variation which was sufficient to disturb it; it would become, therefore, like the catalogues of other elements, a fixed and permanent record, by which their past and present conditions might always be compared with each other.

But, though a catalogue thus formed would present the stars in the order of their magnitudes, it would by no means follow, as a necessary consequence, that the numerical values which it assigns to them would increase in the same proportion as their brightnesses diminish, or that any relation beyond that of greater or less would exist amongst them. The fact is, that we know little or nothing of the principles upon which the original classification was founded: we find the same number attached to every star from Sirius to Spica, though, photometrically speaking, the first is probably six times as bright as the last, and we may fairly presume that a similar vagueness prevails in every other part of the scale. It is obviously impossible altogether to obliterate the effects of this indetermination in the real signification and value of the fixed numbers of the scale, however carefully the interpolation of the numerical values of the stars which are included between them, may be made; but

it is no inconsiderable step in advance to be assured at least that they correctly express *succession*, if they fail to express *gradation*. It was with a view of ascertaining how far this second object was attained, that Sir J. Herschel instituted a series of photometrical observations on the relative brightnesses of stars.

We shall not attempt to describe the apparatus which he made use of for this purpose. It has much in common with that which Steinheil of Munich was employing for similar observations, at the same time with those of our author, and when circumstances made it impossible that any communication could exist between them. A glass prism is used to receive and deflect the light of the moon, by total reflection at its base into a direction which is coincident, or nearly so, with that of a star, with which it is required to be compared: the light thus deflected is received upon a lens of short focus, from which it emanates as from a star: and by removing the lens to a sufficient distance from the eye, by the arrangements of the instrument, the artificial star thus formed, and the real star under comparison, are brought into immediate apposition with each other, and are viewed simultaneously by the two eyes, as of perfectly equal brightness: the distance of the lens from the eye is noted, and the same process is repeated with another star, and the distance of the lens is similarly noted: it will then obviously follow that the brightnesses of the artificial star in the two cases, and therefore, of the two stars with which they are severally equalised, will be inversely proportional to the squares of the distances of the lens from the eye: thus, if such distance be in one case one foot, and in the other two, the quantities of light emanating in the two cases from the artificial, and therefore from the real stars, or, in other words, their magnitudes, will be in the proportion of one to four.

The results which were given by this method for the same night, when the circumstances were favourable, were consistent and satisfactory: not so when those of different nights were compared with each other; for it was found that no formula was competent to express the relative light of the moon for its different elongations from the sun. The illumination also of the ground of the sky on which a star is seen projected, greatly affects the impression produced by a star upon the eye, and forms another element of difficulty in the attempt to convert comparative into absolute photometric measures. Many of these difficulties, as well as others, which, in very bright moonlight, affect comparative as well as absolute measures, would be got over, as suggested by Sir J. Herschel, by using Jupiter as the standard luminary

instead of the moon and in her absence; and he expresses his regret that the idea of such a change had not occurred to him when it might have been serviceable.

The comparison of the photometric measures afforded by the astrometer with the numerical values of the magnitudes given by the method of sequences, would seem to free the latter from much of the arbitrary character which they might otherwise be suspected to possess. If we take the light of *a* Centauri as the unit of our photometrical measures, and *a* Orionis as the unit of our conventional magnitudes, and if we form an interpolated curve where the values of the numbers of the first series are *ordinates*, and those of the second *abscissæ*, and if we denote generally the first by y, and the second by x, we shall find them almost exactly represented throughout both series, as far as they proceed in common, by the remarkable equation

$$(x+\sqrt{2}-1)^2 y=1.$$

If we should suppose, therefore, the numerical values which are conventionally assigned to the stars, by the method of sequences, to be increased by $\sqrt{2}-1$, or 0·4142, the *new scale of magnitudes thence arising will represent the distances, from our system, of the respective stars to which they are ascribed, on the supposition of an intrinsic equality in the light of the stars themselves.* Such an alteration in the scale of magnitudes would leave their order of succession, the only object of practical utility to which it is applicable, altogether undisturbed, and would otherwise produce so little alteration in the habits or language of astronomers, as hardly to deserve consideration. In such a scale of conventional distances rather than of magnitudes, *a* Centauri would become the unit of both scales, and would be considered as the normal star of the first magnitude, whilst *a* Gruis would become that of the second, *κ* Orionis of the third, *χ* Hydræ of the fourth, and *δ* Volantis of the fifth. A similar examination of the stars of the northern hemisphere has been partially executed by Sir J. Herschel since his return from the Cape, with a view of connecting them, their magnitude and light, by the same law: the correspondence between them was sufficiently complete, for all stars included in common sequences which attained a considerable altitude in both hemispheres; it was less so, as might have been expected, for stars which were low in one series of observations, and high in the other; their position in the scale of magnitudes being lower, the less their elevation above the horizon.

The ring of Saturn and the orbits of his satellites were sufficiently open during the years 1835, 1836, and 1837, to present

a very favourable opportunity for observing them. Bessel had determined the elements and perturbations of the sixth satellite, which is much the largest and most easily observable; those of the others were almost entirely unknown. The observations of Sir J. Herschel, for which his instruments were peculiarly adapted, have supplied this deficiency, more or less completely, with respect to all the others, except the interior and smallest of all, of which only one very doubtful observation is recorded: it is the most important contribution which has been made to their theory since the period of their first discovery.

The satellites of Saturn have been sometimes designated by the order of their succession from the centre, and sometimes from without, the sixth satellite of one astronomer becoming the second of another, and similarly for the other satellites: in order to avoid the ambiguities arising from this practice, a source of frequent error and mistake, Sir J. Herschel proposes to give them specific names, and which he naturally sought for in the alliances of the venerable Deity to whom they owe allegiance. 'As Saturn, however, devoured his children, his family could 'not be assembled around, him, so that the choice lay among his 'brothers and sisters, the Titans and Titanesses. The name of 'Iapetus seemed indicated by the obscurity and remoteness of the 'exterior satellite, Titan by the superior size of the Huygenian; 'whilst the three female appellatives, Rhea, Dione, and Tethys, 'seem to class together the three intermediate Cassinian satel-'lites. The two minute and interior ones seemed appropriately 'characterised by a return to the male appellatives, Enceladus 'and Mimas, chosen from a younger and inferior, though still 'superhuman, brood.' The less legitimate descendants of Jupiter, for whom a higher destiny has not been already secured, might advantageously supply a similar nomenclature for his satellites: whilst the obscure attendants of Uranus and Neptune might seek for their designations in other and less conspicuous members of the heathen mythology.

The length to which this review has alreaded proceeded prevents us noticing two remaining chapters of this work on the Comet of Halley and the Solar Spots. The facts which are disclosed, particularly in the first of them, are so remarkable, and the speculations to which they give rise are so full of novelty and interest, that we propose to make them hereafter the subjects of a separate notice: it would be impossible, without extending this article to a very unreasonable length, to do any justice to their importance.

Sir J. Herschel has long occupied, in the estimation of his countrymen, the first place amongst our living astronomers and

philosophers; and the publication of the work before us cannot fail to add to the security and permanence of the rank which he holds. No other work, in later times, has embraced so wide a field of labours, or one which had previously been so little cultivated and examined; he has left it, after reaping an ample harvest of discoveries, not in a state of barrenness and exhaustion, but capable of yielding, to those who bring to bear upon it instruments of equal or greater power, and apply them with equivalent perseverance and skill, a rich and certain return for their exertions. The decade of years which has already elapsed since these observations were made is sufficient, where changes are in progress, to make the more considerable of them manifest by their accumulation, as well as to give additional accuracy and certainty to the measurements which he has recorded, where no such changes have taken place: but, unfortunately, those of our southern observatories, which are in active operation (for that of Paramatta is absolutely dormant), have no adequate instrumental means at their command for such an undertaking. The Cape observatory is furnished with excellent meridional instruments, which are applied to an excellent use by Mr. Maclear, one of the most useful and indefatigable of our astronomers, in the formation of an accurate and comprehensive catalogue of southern stars, a work of almost indispensable use and importance: but the further advancement of stellar astronomy requires equatorial instruments of great optical power, furnished with clock movements and every other appliance, like the Northumberland telescope at Cambridge; or that of Mr. Cooper, of Markree; or that of Sir James South, at Kensington; or that constructed by Frauenhofer at Pulkowa, in order to subject double stars and other objects to a constant re-examination, more particularly in those cases where the existence of orbital movements is either known or suspected. The prosecution of these researches, however, even with these additions to such establishments, would still be incomplete, in the absence of reflectors of equal power with that which Sir J. Herschel employed. But the public is still in ignorance of the methods employed by himself and his father for preparing and polishing their mirrors; and it would require a combination of the acquirements of the astronomer and the artist, as in their case and that of Lord Rosse and Mr. Lassell, in any person who shall attempt to use them.

This great and truly national work was undertaken and completed by Sir J. Herschel entirely at his own expense. He received no public aid, and the little that was offered, we believe, he declined. The late Duke of Northumberland, a liberal encourager and patron of science, offered him a large sum towards

the expenses of the publication of his labours. It was accepted in the same spirit in which it was offered; not with a view of lessening the burden which he had undertaken to bear upon his own shoulders, but for the purpose of adding to the number and finish of the elaborate engravings of nebulæ and other objects of interest which it contains, and of its gratuitous distribution amongst public institutions and men of science. The engagement, which the noble proposer of this offer did not live to complete, has been fulfilled, as could not have been doubted, by the excellent and munificent nobleman who inherits his name and honours.

Since the above observations were placed in the hands of the printer, we have received an extract from the 'Proceedings of 'the Royal Irish Academy,' containing an account of the present condition of the Earl of Rosse's great telescope by the Rev. Dr. Robison of Armagh. It is impossible to estimate too highly the new views which it opens to us of the constitution of the heavens. With a power of 830, it completely resolved the great nebula of Orion, as well as all the other nebulæ to which it was applied, displaying, in some cases, spiral and other arrangements in them which open a wide field for the most interesting speculations. It showed the extreme stars in the profoundest parts of the Milky Way of a notable size and brightness; thus appearing not only to prove that it is not fathomless, but also that the telescope possessed a space penetrating power which is much greater than is reconcileable with Olber's hypothesis of the imperfect transparency of the celestial spaces. It is the dawn of a new era in sidereal astronomy.

ART. VI.—1. *I Lutti di Lombardia.* Di MASSIMO D'AZEGLIO. 12mo. Firenze: 1848.

2. *Austrian Assassinations in Lombardy.* By MASSIMO D'AZEGLIO. Edited by FORTUNATO PRANDI. Translated from the Italian. 8vo. London: Newby, 1848.

3. *Il ventidue Marzo, primo Giorno dell' Indipendenza Lombarda* (a daily newspaper). Fol. Milano: 1848.

4. *Lombardy, the Pope, and Austria.* By GEORGE BOWYER, Esq., D. C. L. &c. London: Ridgways, 1848.

WHEN the ministers of the Allied Powers, relieved from the fear of Napoleon, — thanks chiefly to English blood and English money — were at last allowed, in 1814 and 1815, to sit

down with a light heart, if not with a tranquil conscience, to allot the *square miles* of territory, with its thousands of *inhabitants*, of which their masters had become possessed as deliverers, and of which they were going to dispose as owners, a few statesmen raised their unheeded voices against that ancient abuse of force, which alone seemed dictating the new arrangements. Napoleon could scarcely have done worse. In vain was it urged that every principle of justice and policy required the restoration of an independent Polish nation — that language, race, religion, character, rendered it impossible for the Belgians ever to amalgamate with the Dutch, or the Italians with the Austrians — that Spain and Sicily had merited, at our hands particularly, to be preserved from the selfish cruelty of the Bourbons — that the elder branch of that family, with its traditions, its bigotry and its sure reactions, would never be permanently accepted by the French, on whom it was forced by conquerors. All this was urged in vain. The pacificators of the world relied on their bayonets, on their police, and on the support which they expected from each other in virtue of the Holy Alliance. Germany required a little management; and the fathers of their people in that country adopted the advice of old Guido da Montefeltro to Boniface VIII., —

> 'Lunga promessa con l' attender corto
> Trionfar *ci* farà nell' alto seggio;'

and they acted accordingly. Constitutions and free governments were lavishly promised; but when the fulfilment of these promises was claimed, the sovereigns met their subjects with an altered countenance. At one time popular claims were parried with the dexterity of low attornies and the coolness of swindlers; at another, put down with the fierceness of banditti. An assembly of despots at Frankfort reduced the weak sovereigns of Germany to the condition of vassals; and the detestable tribunals of Mayence proved themselves the worthy successors of the imperial torturers of Ratisbon.

As often as those, who had foreseen and foretold the consequences of this conduct, have reminded its advocates of their blindness, the latter have deemed it a sufficient answer to say, that Europe has *enjoyed* four and thirty years of peace. 'Peace has 'lasted thirty-three or thirty-four years.' We may be allowed to ask, what are the signs and fruits of peace? Has it been peace in France, where, since 1814, the country has witnessed only a succession of revolutions — the flight of Louis XVIII., his second restoration by foreign powers, the dethronement of his successor, the expulsion of his line, the transfer of the crown to an elected

dynasty, the fall of that dynasty, and the proclamation of a republic? Has it been peace in Spain, where, in spite of the ferocious proceedings of Ferdinand VII., a wild democratic constitution had to be overthrown by that very French nation, which, when most unable to maintain its own freedom, allowed itself to be made the oppressor of that of others — and where, after all, the order of succession to the throne has been changed, and a constitutional monarchy, or at least what is meant to be such, established? Has it been peace in the Netherlands, where Holland and Belgium have been separated? — in Poland, where the last vestiges of its nationality have been drowned in the blood of her children? — in Italy, where their attempted revolutions have outnumbered their years of peace, and where for every boasted month of peace there has been more, far more, than one illustrious victim?

In the mean time what was done or doing from one end of the Continent to the other, towards the improvement of the condition of the people? Were they won over to loyalty by the blessings of paternal governments? Were they less taxed? Were armies less numerous, or the police less active? Was the press more free, and men of letters and liberal opinions more encouraged, or even more safe from persecution, than before? Were judges made independent? Was education, in any proper sense of the word, forwarded, and the necessary steps taken to secure to future generations the blessings of civil and religious liberty?

These are questions to which the present state of Europe is an all sufficient answer. In too many places the benefits of peace have not got beyond the mere absence of dangers from without, by fire and sword and hostile armies. Yet surely the name of peace would not be so blessed were its natural fruits negations only. And, when nations were said to be emancipated, something more than a feeling of national independence should have marked the difference in their conditions under the two systems, — honourably distinguishing their condition, such as it had become under their new or native princes, from what it had been under the French. Unhappily, in some cases, there was not even the pride of national independence to fall back on. Those who originated these evils by their political arrangements, have not the virtue to confess their error: 'it is, forsooth, 'the whole of civilised Europe which is to blame, not they: 'Europe ought to have been loyal, peaceful, happy, and satisfied; 'if she is not, it is her own fault.' That there have been great faults somewhere, either mismanagement or misconduct, is now self-evident. And, in this alternative, we always prefer, with

Burke, to presume in favour of the people against their governments: the one is changed so much more easily than the other. In the present instance, it is true that even those who had some knowledge of the feelings of discontent prevailing on the Continent, have been surprised at its extent and intensity. They were not prepared for hearing not only that France and Prussia, with most of the minor German States and Italy, were in a state of revolution, but that Vienna itself had determined on Austria being no longer the model of oppressive and tyrannical governments. It was not surely for want of precautions that Metternich and Sedlenytski were obliged to fly from the capital of the country which they had governed without control for so many years. They had never modified, or held out the slightest hope that they would ever modify, their system under any circumstances. We see the consequence; and trust that governments to the end of time may profit by the example. The weight of public indignation descended on that system and it was annihilated without a struggle.

The effect of such portentous news on Italy would always have been great. Upon this occasion it was prodigious,—owing to the spirit of nationality lately awakened by the Pope, as well as to the state of irritation which the conduct of the Austrians in Lombardy had excited over the whole Peninsula. The Italians had two great sources of dissatisfaction; either of which has been, ere this, as it ought to be, a cause in itself of mighty political revolutions: foreign usurpation, and bad government. It is true that only a small part of Italy was under the direct sway of Austria: but it was by Austrian power that the other Italian governments were directed and upheld—and were known and felt to be so. 'In 1816 the king of Naples was prohibited, 'by engagement, from conceding a constitution to his subjects. 'Austria has extracted a treaty to the same effect from the king 'of Sardinia, and from every prince in Italy. . . . . The sure 'instinct of despotism instructs the Austrians that were there a 'square mile south of the Alps, clearly independent and con-'stitutionalised, Lombardy is gone. The Neapolitans having 'nevertheless set up a constitution in 1820, Austria immediately 'suppressed it by force of arms. Again Austria interfered in '1821, in Piedmont. In 1831, and again in 1832, with the 'same object and the same result, she bore down upon the 'Papal States: Italy is thus in effect nothing better than a 'Cisalpine Austria. Its ordinary policy is Austrian. . . . . The 'native governments are everywhere enslaved and trammelled 'by Austrian agents. . . . . It is Austria which makes out the 'catalogue of proscriptions, when what she calls order is re-

'stored. It is Austria which assumes the office of jailor to the 'other states, and claims the custody of their victims in her 'dungeons.'—(*Ed. Rev.* lv. 376.) So much for foreign domination. As to bad governments,—the badness of those of Italy was so notorious, that we have no occasion, we believe, to adduce a word of proof. In some parts of Italy the governments were worse than in others: but they were all bad; and, as we observed on a former occasion, 'on the whole it may be truly 'stated that there is no corner of Italy which is not qualified for 'a much better government than it enjoys.'—(Ib. 388.) The Papal government had, in those times, 'raised itself to the bad 'eminence of being decidedly the worst and weakest of all the 'other governments in Italy, the least disposed to satisfy the 'reasonable requests of its subjects when preferred as humble 'suitors, the least able to resist their just demands when insisted 'on by arms.'—(Ib. 378.) It is to the bad faith of the late, as much as to the honesty of the present Pope, that Italy owes the first prospect of regeneration, on which she can rely.

The Austrian invasion of the Papal States in 1831 was all but causing at the time a general war; indeed, it was prevented only by the great powers—Austria, France, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia—changing into an European intervention the intervention which Austria had undertaken by herself and for her own objects. The five powers, after the usual amount of protocols and conferences, addressed, in May 1831, a note to the Pontifical government; which, 'although indefinite, as might 'be expected, and imperfect in its terms, nevertheless, on some 'points was sufficiently clear. It demanded the creation of a 'central board, charged with the revision of all the branches of 'administration, to act as a council of state and consist of the 'most distinguished citizens. It required also that a provincial 'and communal council should be established upon the principle 'of popular representation; that a new civil and criminal legis-'lation should be introduced, more simple and in some con-'formity with the knowledge of the age. Lastly, the secular-'isation of employments; in other words, that laymen should 'not be altogether excluded by law from all affairs of the 'least importance.'—(Ib. 379.) His Holiness promised to follow this good advice; but, emboldened by the connivance and countenance of Austria, he so completely forgot his promises, that he would appear to have absolved himself from the performance of every one of them. We have no space to enter into particulars: but shall content ourselves with assuring our readers that the government of Gregory XVI. became worse than that of any of his predecessors, and that nothing but the

fear of Austrian bayonets and French acquiescence kept the subjects of the Pope from attempting to dethrone a sovereign priest, in whom they saw no signs of either honesty or religion.

To Pius IX., his successor, the praise cannot be denied of being an upright and just man, as well as a pious and sincere Christian. He had witnessed and, as far as he could, had alleviated, before his elevation to the throne, the oppression which crushed the Papal states; and he was aware that a deep abhorrence of the head of the church, not only in his temporal but in his spiritual capacity, was assuming a more determined character every day. He could not conceal from himself that the cause of all this was principally the political faithlessness which we have just described; and he at once resolved to act honestly, as others ought to have done before him. Accordingly, with great prudence, with great caution, and with great singleness of purpose, he endeavoured to carry out the suggestions made to his predecessor by the five powers in May 1831, and to clear the tiara, if he could not clear his predecessor, from the charge, but too well proven, of having wilfully broken faith with the people. The present Pope did neither more nor less. He neither deserves blame as a rash innovator, a radical reformer, a firebrand, and so forth, nor the extravagant praises which have been lavished on him as having been of himself the regenerator and liberator of Italy: he is a plain honest man, who most probably did not see the consequences of his honesty, or, if he did, said to himself 'fiat justitia ruat cœlum.'

There are Italians in this country who had an opportunity of expressing, in 1831, a deliberate opinion on the consequences likely to flow from the execution of the reforms recommended in the note of May. Their opinion was, that by joining in the recommendation Austria either was blind or meant to pursue and urge a very different line of policy from what she had hitherto pursued and urged. Since it was easy to foresee, that such improvements at Rome could not fail to produce a most salutary effect on the rest of Italy. Austria, on her part, lost little time in removing whatever doubt Italian politicians might be feeling on the course of her future policy. She aided and abetted the late Pope in breaking his word: and by so doing she proclaimed to Italy and the world that she would neither improve her own administration nor allow other Italian powers to improve theirs. What was foreseen in 1831, took place as a matter of course in 1847. The sovereigns of two of the best administered Italian states, Piedmont and Tuscany, determined on following the steps of Pius IX. They wisely resolved that there should be no room for invidious comparison, when

the condition of their subjects and that of their neighbours should come to be considered side by side. Austria put herself, as of old, at the head of the stationary faction which would hear of no change; and which was as ready now, as in former times, to stir up all passions, lay hold of all instruments, and go all lengths, at whatever risk to their own honour or the public good. The imbecile and cruel Bourbon who still sits on the throne of Naples — the Duke of Modena, Francis V., the worthy son of Francis IV.*, — and the libertine crack-brained Duke of Parma, took the Austrian side. From that moment, and for the first time after some hundred years, there was in Italy, not only a nation oppressed on the one side and her foreign oppressors on the other, but there were princes on the side of the nation. It was a gigantic stride towards the deliverance of Italy, and the country is indebted to Pius IX. for it. He it was who broke up the petty holy alliance of Italian signors.

No part of the Italian people was more keenly alive to the difference between a national and improving government and a foreign despotic oppression, than the Lombards and the inhabitants of the other provinces immediately subject to Austria. Whilst they themselves were left under the harrow, under the galling and insulting rule of the steady and unswerving Viennese *bureaucracy*, they had now only to look over their border — and they would see the subjects of the Pope, of the King of Sardinia, and of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, governed by Italians and rapidly advancing their political condition. It does not follow because the Papal States had been worse governed before than Lombardy and Venice, that Lombardy and Venice were governed well. They who felt where the shoe pinched were of a totally different opinion; and we hope our readers will agree with us in thinking that four or five millions of dissatisfied people are more likely to be correct in the appreciation of a government which they have detested for years and against which they have repeatedly risen, than our travelling gentry; who, without knowing much of the language, very little of the manners and feelings, and nothing at all of the parochial, municipal, and customary laws

* It was of him that we had occasion to speak many years ago in the following terms: — 'The secret strings of the Austrian police are 'in the management of the false and ferocious Duke of Modena .... 'who has declared by proclamation that in cases of treason legal evi- 'dence would not be deemed necessary for conviction.... He is a 'perfect specimen of the Italian princes of the 15th century.' (*Ed. Rev.* vol. lv. p. 376. and 387.) Those, who have had the misfortune to know both, say, that the father was in every respect better than the son.

of a country, offer themselves, nevertheless, as witnesses on the merits of its institutions and its administrative system.

There is no nation more disposed than ourselves to treat with contempt the opinions that foreigners venture to express on our government and social policy: while there is none more disposed to pass judgment on those of foreign states. A foreigner paying us a flying visit and judging only from appearances, might have been inclined to think that Great Britain was wantonly and wilfully risking her happiness and liberties by the Reform Bill; or putting her landed as well as commercial interests in needless jeopardy, when she repealed her corn laws, threw open her ports, and with all the zeal of a recent convert denounced restrictions upon trade. Where abroad could we hope to find a person competent to sit in judgment upon the actual state of Ireland—on the degree to which the present generation is responsible for it—on the nature of the evil and the nature of the cure? M. von Raumur did not find a few days in Dublin sufficient for the purpose. The opinions that we hear daily repeated by our tourists, touching the excellence of the Austrian government in Italy, carry the same weight as the opinions of a foreigner speaking of England, her government, and her domestic politics.

To make the grievances of the Lombards known, we cannot do better than translate a part of their recent manifesto to the European nations after the expulsion of the Austrians from Milan.

'The Austrian government levied immoderate taxes on our 'property, on our persons, and on necessary articles; it ex- 'torted from us the means by which alone it was saved from 'that bankruptcy, to the brink of which it was brought by 'its bad and dishonestly administered financial system; it 'forced on us shoals of foreigners, avowed functionaries and 'secret spies, eating our bread, administering our affairs, judging 'our rights, without knowing either our language or our 'customs*; it imposed on us foreign laws, inextricable from 'their multiplicity, and an intricate endless system of proceed- 'ing in criminal cases, in which there was nothing either 'true or solemn, except the prison and the pillory, the execu- 'tioner and the gallows; it spread round us ensnaring nets of 'civil and ecclesiastical, military and judicial regulations, all

* Count Hartig, for many years Governor of Lombardy, a clever man, and one of the best specimens of Austrian authorities, was the cause of frequent mirth by his macaronic Italian, of which he was extremely vain. We shall have occasion to speak of him presently in his character of Austrian High Priest, empowered to absolve the Lombards from their sins.

'converging to Vienna, which alone engrossed the monopoly of 'thought, of will, and of judgment; it forbade the development 'of our commerce and our industry, to favour the interests of 'other provinces and of government manufactures — the specu- 'lations of Viennese oligarchs; it submitted our municipal insti- 'tutions, the boast of our country and the proof of national good 'sense, to a petty, harassing control, conceived for fiscal pur- 'poses, and tending only to fetter us; it enslaved religion, and 'used her as the instrument of its ignoble fears; it deprived 'even public benevolence of its free course, making it subject to 'administrative interference, and turning it into an engine of 'government. It was after endless difficulties, and only after 'having recourse to the lowest precautions, that private in- 'dividuals were permitted to help the public wants, and preserve 'from contagion and corruption the poor abandoned to them- 'selves in the streets, in their hovels, or in prison. It seized 'the property of minors, by forcing guardians to invest it in 'public securities, which were to be dealt with arbitrarily and 'mysteriously by secret agents of the government; it subjected 'the liberal arts to the most vexatious restraints; it persecuted 'native knowledge; it raised the most ridiculous objections, and 'the most odious difficulties, against printing or importing 'printed foreign books; it persecuted and entrapped our most 'distinguished men, and raised to honour slavish understandings; 'it systematised the sale of conscience, and organised an army 'of spies; it encouraged secret informations, and made suspicion 'the rule of its proceedings; it gave the police full power over 'liberty, life, and property; and threw the patriot into the same 'prison with the forger and the assassin.'

A nation which can prefer such a bill of indictment against a government has, surely, abundant reason to get rid of it; and there can be no doubt, but that the millions of inhabitants who bear witness to the truth of these charges, and are putting every- thing in peril in support of them, are worthy of belief, spite of a few witnesses to character. Among Englishmen, those most capable of forming an opinion are not backward in coming for- ward in justification of the Lombards. We find the following testimony in a pamphlet which has just reached us, the last among those enumerated at the head of our article. The writer is Mr. Bowyer, a gentleman who has lived twenty years in Italy, and who, by education, by birth, and by social position, is eminently entitled to a hearing:—'It is, indeed, the fashion,' he observes, 'with some people to say, that Lombardy was well governed by 'Austria. What would those persons say to being governed in 'the same way, by the brutal force of foreign military despotism?

'Austria might, indeed, without difficulty have governed Lombardy well. The Lombards are a remarkably peaceable, well-conducted people, and of an easy disposition. But they were ruled at the point of the bayonet. Civil rights they had none; and every man held his personal liberty and his property at the discretion of an inquisitorial political police, and subservient or corrupt magistrates. Even the amusements and daily habits of the Italians were subject to a strict and pedantic discipline. But it is not necessary to dwell on specific grievances. Are the Italian feelings of nationality entitled to no respect? True, the Italians have never, in modern times, been united into one state. But what then? Is community of language and literature nothing? Is community of traditions and history nothing? And is community of race no bond of union? The Italians feel as one nation; and there are few Englishmen who do not sympathise with them, and cordially desire their deliverance by their own valour from their foreign masters.' (Pp. 21, 22.)

The first public symptoms of the unanimous feelings of the Lombards, subsequent to the declared division of the rulers of Italy into those who were for and those who were against improvement, openly appeared on the new Archbishop of Milan taking possession of his see at the beginning of September, 1847. Upon this occasion the armed police were let loose on the people, who had given no other provocation than by singing hymns in praise of Pius IX. That the population of the Lombard and the Venetian provinces was uneasy and dissatisfied could, of course, be no secret. The students at the Universities of both Pavia and Padua had become particular objects of dislike to the Austrian officers, who attacked and murdered them in a cowardly manner. Meanwhile the authorities of every description addressed petitions to the government; from which every government but that of Austria would have taken timely warning. On the contrary, it continued to irritate as well as injure, and took issue with the public on every trifle. The people, by wearing a hat of a singular shape, or a waistcoat of a peculiar cut, by dressing the hair or the beard in a certain manner, reduced the police to despair. The moment an edict was published against any remarkable fashion, another was universally adopted. This was no sooner suppressed than a third followed, then a fourth, and so on. These are trifles no doubt; yet the agreement on both sides, by the nation and the government, not to consider them as trifles, but as symbols of grave import, ought to have opened the eyes of the Austrians, and shown them their true position.

The unanimous feeling of the Milanese was soon exhibited in a more alarming form. In order to injure the revenue, lottery tickets were no longer bought, and smoking was given up. From the resolution to abstain for a time from this offensive habit the most deplorable consequences ensued. In detailing these events we shall follow the account drawn up by M. d'Azeglio: knowing him to be a truthful, upright, and honourable man, utterly incapable of stating, not only what he does not believe, but what he has not good ground for believing to be strictly correct in every particular.*

On the 2d of January, 1848, no one was to be seen smoking in the streets, except either a few persons who were not aware of the determination taken, or the police. The smokers were hissed. Towards evening the soldiers began to insult and ill-use the mob. The mayor of Milan, Casati, who had filled the office for several years — and this proves that he was anything but a dangerous revolutionist, or the government would not have allowed him to have occupied so long a situation of that influence and honour — remonstrated with the soldiers on their violence; whereupon, pretending not to know him, the satellites of government actually arrested him, and took him prisoner to the Direction of Police. The corporation repaired thither in a body to protest against the conduct of the soldiery and the arrest of their mayor, who was then set at liberty. Casati is now at the head of the provisional government of Lombardy. He was brother to the Countess Confalonieri who died of a broken heart at the condemnation of her husband and the brutal treatment which she herself received from the late Emperor of Austria, on the occasion of her throwing herself at his feet to beg for mercy. On the 3d, not only was a report spread among the soldiers that a conspiracy to murder them had been discovered, but a printed handbill was circulated in addition, of a kind calculated to rouse their worst passions. Our readers are aware of the severity of Austria, as of all

* The English title of the translation is somewhat startling when compared with the original. The editor, M. Prandi, who has for many years lived among us, and who has never missed an opportunity of pleading the cause of Italian nationality with as much effect as moderation, has foreseen the shock which would be caused by the strong expressions, 'Austrian assassinations.' He has, in consequence, begun his preface by stating, in explanation, that the author's original title and meaning could not be fully rendered, except by the one which he has substituted; and which, he says, 'is equally suitable to 'the contents of the narrative and to the feelings of the author.'

despots, against unlicensed printing: the very fact, therefore, of the police of Milan never having even attempted to trace the printing of this document, in order to enforce the law, is of itself sufficient evidence of its origin. To encourage the valour of the troops, six cigars were distributed to each soldier, and an unusual allowance of brandy. In these circumstances, under the double excitement of supposed wrongs and injuries, and of cigars and brandy, the soldiers were permitted to go about in parties of thirty or forty, without officers, insulting and annoying the peaceful citizens. Towards evening these licensed bandits drew their swords, and fell indiscriminately on the unarmed inhabitants who chanced to come in their way. In this manner they murdered sixty-one persons,—six of whom were under eighteen years of age, five more than sixty, and one (a councillor in the Court of Appeal, and a particular supporter of the paternal government of Austria) seventy-four years old; forty-two persons received a hundred and thirteen serious wounds. In the list of the wounded are reckoned only those who were taken to the hospitals: of the others we have no account. As a specimen of the manner of proceeding in this business, we shall relate the circumstances attending one or two cases of slaughter. A number of persons, pursued by dragoons on horseback, took refuge in a public house, 'the Foppa.' The dragoons dismounted, left their horses at the door, and twenty-five of them having entered the house, they put to death eight persons, namely, the innkeeper and his son, one Castelli and his daughter Theresa, seven years old; Swirmer, a journeyman; Porro, a tailor; De Lorenzi, a ragman; and Canziani, a porter. They then plundered, ravished, and committed all the excesses that a licentious and unrestrained soldiery were formerly wont to perpetrate in a fortress taken by storm. As the workmen of a coachmaker of the name of Sala were leaving their factory, forty soldiers issued from a neighbouring barrack, attacked them, killed one, and wounded twelve.

Our readers must not understand that because officers were not at hand to check this butchery, they were therefore indifferent to what was going on. By no manner of means. Before the massacre began, orders had been sent to the hospitals to prepare beds for the wounded; a precaution not taken, however, out of kindness to the inhabitants who were about to be cut to pieces; for—and it is a fact which, as d'Azeglio very properly observes, could hardly be believed, except on evidence which leaves no room for doubt—some of the unhappy wretches who were wounded were taken to prison, *where their wounds were left undressed.* This brought on mortification, of which two at least

are known to have died, whilst others narrowly escaped with their lives.

Of all the Austrian authorities, not one was to be found to repress these disorders. The mayor, Casati, presented himself, accompanied by a large number of respectable inhabitants, to Count Fiquelmont — the nobleman, who afterwards for a short time filled Prince Metternich's place — and remonstrated against these abominations. Fiquelmont, who had been sent to Milan from Vienna on a special mission to soothe the Italians, told the mayor that he had only power to propose arrangements, but not to order them; and the utmost that he and the governor — who was present at the interview, and wept — could undertake to do was to go to Radetsky. They learned that he had gone to bed, after having given a banquet to his officers, to celebrate the soldiers' victory. He replied to Fiquelmont and the others: 'The *injured* troops cannot be restrained; if the municipal 'authorities answer for the *tranquillity* of the inhabitants, I will 'keep the soldiers in their barracks for eight days!' General Walmoden was the only man of note among the Austrian authorities who had the honesty to condemn such infamies; and to tell the soldiers that, if they thought themselves justified in asking satisfaction from the Milanese, they ought to have given them arms first, and then fought them fairly, and not have turned assassins.

In any other country it might have been expected that the government would have taken measures to prevent such occurrences, and to protect its unarmed citizens from the violence of its troops. Not so in Lombardy. The Emperor was made to sign a letter to the Viceroy of Lombardy, the pith of which admitted of no mistake; — 'I perceive that there is in the Lom-'bardo-Venetian kingdom a faction inclined to upset the political 'state of the country. I have done all that was necessary for the 'happiness and satisfaction of my Italian provinces. I am not 'inclined to do more.... I rely on the known bravery and fidelity 'of my army.' This was, in so many words, approving what had happened — threatening worse for the future — and taking away all hope. It is not wise to push a nation to extremities. If Englishmen have a difficulty in understanding how successfully a police may co-operate with a soldiery in provoking a revolution, a fact or two may explain this.

The Austrian police in Italy has acquired a disgraceful notoriety all over Europe. Pellico*, Maroncelli, and Andryane — of whose important work, translated and condensed by the inde-

* Edin. Rev. lvii. 476.

fatigable M. Prandi, we are happy to see a second edition lately published — have so thoroughly exposed to public indignation the horrors of Austrian prisons and the scandal of their superintendents, that we could scarcely have thought it possible that there was anything left for ingenuity and cruelty to add. But the last moments of this terrible institution offer specimens of its jealousy, injustice, and barbarity, beyond what was hitherto suspected; and of which we challenge the admirers of Austria to find the parallel in the history of any other state. Proof in these cases can seldom be got at: the evidence is carefully destroyed; and would have been so doubtless in the two cases, which we are about to cite as evidence of the rest, but for the suddenness of the surprise.

It has been already mentioned that the authorities of every grade had joined in calling on the government to adopt measures for alleviating the grievances of which the populations of Lombardy and Venice complained. A gentleman of the name of Nazzari, deputed from the city of Bergamo to the Central Government at Milan, had the courage to act as, in his position, the law expressly directed him to act; and he most respectfully petitioned government to take these grievances into consideration. The petition was utterly disregarded. For that we were prepared; but not for a despatch by the Viceroy of Milan (Dec. 13. 1847), such as has been found among the papers in the public offices at Milan, after the Austrians had been expelled. After giving the most minute instructions to the governor of Lombardy, Baron Spaur, how Nazzari's petition is to be defeated, the Archduke concludes in the following words: 'Lastly, with reference to Nazzari's conduct upon this occasion, 'I think it necessary that he be secretly subjected to severe '*surveillance* by the police, and you will be pleased to give the 'requisite orders to the aulic councillor, Baron Torresani:' — a Tyrolese by birth, for many years Director-General of Police at Milan.

Now what can be said of a government which requires deputies to be sent to it, especially charged to petition; and which, on the petitions being presented, not merely leaves them unheeded, but submits the person who has been so entrapped, to the severe *surveillance* of the police? Governments which employ spies for such vile purposes have been known and execrated before; but we believe there is no instance in the world of the government itself having encouraged its subjects to come forward by asking for information, and then turning round upon them, and treating them as suspected persons, for having obeyed its call.

After the publication of the letter of the Emperor to the Viceroy, the Austrian police at Milan arrested a great number of persons, banished several, and obliged others to fly the country. Among the latter was M. Cesare Cantù, an author well known over Italy by his writings. On reaching the Piedmontese territory, he published a short but very interesting account of the persecutions of which he had been the subject for many years. He was not aware, however, of a punishment of a most cruel and perhaps unique species, that the government had just inflicted upon him. Among the papers in the offices of the police at Milan has been found a despatch by Torresani, dated the 26th of Dec. 1847. It also is addressed to Baron Spaur, and was forwarded to the Minister of police at Vienna, who fully approved of its contents. Torresani represented that although Cantù was undoubtedly disaffected, yet it would be impossible to prove it; and that the best way of destroying him would be to publish in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* an article — of which Torresani enclosed a sketch in his letter — obscurely hinting that Cantù was an Austrian spy, who endeavoured to compromise his friends, and sell them to Austria. 'By this means,' ends the worthy Director of Police, 'he will be placed in the pillory.' It is not only the right, it is the solemn duty of a nation cursed by a government like this, to do its utmost to overturn it. Those who can undertake its defence, after they know its nature, cannot complain, if they are looked upon as its accomplices.

At the point to which things had now advanced, the only remaining question was one of expediency and time; that of right was settled. It was the right of the Lombards to free themselves from a government which not only was not the protector of the people under its sway, but was their greatest enemy: it was their duty not to attempt it rashly, to bide their time and wait till events afforded them a reasonable probability of success. The proclamation of a republic in France hastened the crisis. From the moment that royalty was abolished in France, it was manifest that that country would not allow Austria to hold her Italian provinces on easy terms. The unexpected event of a revolution at Vienna brought the crisis actually to a head. Had the Austrian authorities acted with common prudence and common honesty even at the eleventh hour, Lombardy and Venice might not have been lost to the Austrian family, however inevitable might have been their separation from the rest of the monarchy. But the viceroy had fled and the governor gone away: leaving the police and the military behind, who acted with their usual bad faith and brutality. Shortly before the revolution at Vienna, Milan had been placed entirely at the

mercy of the police: and one of the last orders sent from Verona by the viceroy (but intercepted by the patriots), was an order proclaiming martial law. At the same time two letters were also intercepted from the Archduke Rainer, the viceroy's son, which are worth mentioning, to give an idea of the feeling of the writer. He had been born at Milan; and, as well as his brothers, would not have failed to lay great stress on this circumstance in case their quality of *Italians* could have been turned to any advantage in claiming Lombardy for themselves. The letters are dated from Verona, the 19th and 20th of March, and are addressed to his brother the Archduke Ernest for his information and for that of a third brother, Sigismund, to whom they were to be forwarded. In the first, Rainer, after ridiculing all the promises of the emperor, and making fun of the national guard (only four hundred) at Verona, adds: 'It is said that the 'people have been fired upon on the Piazza San Marco at 'Venice, and five persons killed. *No harm.* . . . . The post 'has not arrived yet from Milan. If anything has happened 'there, I hope that *at least five hundred Milanese have been 'killed on the spot.*' On the 20th the youthful prince proceeded: 'Captain Huyn has just arrived from Milan on his way to 'Vienna as messenger. He has seen the harm done to that 'city up to eleven o'clock on the evening of the 18th. Our 'twelve-pounders must have made some fine holes in the Bro-'letto. Huyn did not know the conclusion, as F. M. (that is, 'Field-Marshal Radetsky) sent him off when he was certain of 'victory. . . . . *All the prisoners were to be shot, not excluding 'Casati and the Duke Litta,* who are said to be of the number. 'Martial law was sent yesterday to Milan, and to-day at two 'o'clock it will be put in force. This is the only way. The 'Milanese deserve it all. *I hope a good number of them have 'been slaughtered.* The soldiers will have shown little modera-'tion: *so much the better.*'

Whilst these letters were inditing and notwithstanding the flourishing accounts of Captain Huyn, the Milanese had risen and were successfully fighting with the troops. Our space does not permit of our giving more than a very brief account of that memorable contest. It seems that on the 18th of March the news arrived of the events which had occurred at Vienna. The Milanese, left almost without a government, went to the town hall to ask that the political prisoners should be set at liberty, a national guard armed, and a provisional government chosen to prevent anarchy. The corporation made ready to wait on the only authority remaining, the vice-governor, O'Donnell; but as the people, unarmed, were on their way to the government palace,

the troops fired. The troops were at once disarmed, some killed, and the governor seized and prevailed on to sign an order granting a civic guard and the reorganisation of the police. This order neither Radetsky nor the director of police would obey. More than that; in the evening the military rushed into the town hall, and carried off as prisoners above three hundred persons whom they found there, and who on the faith of the order of the vice-governor had gone to enlist as national guards. During the night all who could procure arms did so, whilst others erected barricades. Those who had no fire-arms to defend the barricades with, provided themselves with all sorts of missiles to throw on the soldiers from the roofs of houses. The enthusiasm was universal. The military, being masters of the gates, prevented any assistance from coming in to Milan from the country; but they were unable to take the barricades defended by a few men, not more it is supposed than six hundred. Some of these did such execution with their rifles as deterred the gunners from advancing to fire the guns; as many as seven in succession being picked off as fast as they were stretching their arm to apply the match to the touch-hole. This passed on Sunday the 19th of March. The following day the people no longer remained on the defensive, but attacked and carried a number of places held by the troops. On the Tuesday their success gave them boldness as well as more effectual means of offence, — in arms taken from the soldiers whom they had killed or made prisoners. A government was immediately established, and a committee of war; one of whose first acts was to refuse a three days' truce proposed by Radetsky. This was a wise and noble determination; it proved at once that the moral courage of the leaders was equal to the spirit of the people and the greatness of the occasion. On Wednesday the fight grew more and more desperate: the citizens, protected by the ingenious contrivance of a moveable barricade, advanced deliberately towards one of the gates, Porta Tosa, and carried it at length after the most gallant efforts. A communication with the country was now opened. Another gate was seized soon afterwards, and the main body of the soldiers driven from every point into the castle. By this time the issue of the struggle was decided; and at half-past two o'clock in the morning of Thursday, the 23d of March, 1848, the Austrian armies withdrew from the city of Milan; into which, we are convinced, they will never enter again as masters, happen what else may.

This is a good beginning for Italy, — an achievement of which she may well be proud! — the expulsion, by the unarmed and peaceful citizens of a comparatively small town, of about sixteen

thousand troops well armed, well disciplined, and well appointed with everything requisite for war. Where all must have behaved so well, it would be invidious, and most probably unjust, even had we space, to particularise either men or deeds. It was a national movement. The respected and illustrious names that took the lead, both during the contest and afterwards, when the time was come for civil virtues to assume the severe responsibilities for which so much daring valour had only cleared the way, fill us with hope: And we rejoice to see that all classes have acted together from the first with equal patriotism, cordiality, and discretion. The munificent support which has poured in from all quarters in aid of the financial necessities of the state during its infant fortunes, is another happy omen. In these days, a revolution must be so necessary as to be unavoidable, before it will be backed by those who have anything to lose by it, and therefore anything to give to it. We have here a test. Let all who criticise the revolt in Lombardy consider the numerous offers of hundreds, five hundreds, thousands, nay, several thousands of pounds sterling, made by individuals who have lived hitherto retired and apparently indifferent to politics: but who now, on finding that they are about to have a country, have come forward zealously in its cause. The number of citizens slaughtered in the streets of Milan exceed three hundred and fifty, and among them more than thirty women. This is a remarkable proportion, whether owing to the energy with which, we are told, even women threw themselves into the fray,—or owing to the savage outrages committed by the Austrians, of which also we have heard. The persons more or less wounded exceeded eight hundred and fifty. We shall not repeat particulars,—which will render for ever the name of Radetsky detestable,—because they are too revolting to be repeated: But what can civilised warfare say to the iniquity of carrying off as hostages those whom he had seized by treachery, and afterwards ill-treating them,—giving such brutal orders as caused one of them, Porro, to be murdered? These gratuitous barbarities are ruinous to Radetsky and his masters. They have made the chasm deeper and wider; and have increased a hundredfold the difficulties of an arrangement, of which none more than the Austrians and Radetsky, if they have but common sense, must see the necessity for their own safety. But Austrian statesmen seem bewildered. After what has passed, we should have supposed that not one of them could dream of it, or ought indeed to wish to reconquer Lombardy and Venice. Of all men living, they should be most aware, first, of the impossibility; and next, that, if it were possible, it would be a fatal possession.

They seem, however, to be of a different opinion: one of them, Count Hartig, has made himself the object of European ridicule by publishing a sort of amnesty for the Italians! This is even more preposterous than if Louis Philippe were to propose to grant forgiveness to Lamartine and the other Parisian criminals of Feb. 24., in case only they would reinstate him on his throne. If the Austrians will content themselves with doing what is obviously for their own interest, as well as that of Europe,—that is, if they will concentrate their forces to save what they can out of the wreck of their broken empire, they may reckon on the moral support and sympathy of their ancient friends, and of some, perhaps, who never were their friends before. But they must make up their mind to give up all their Italian provinces 'for a consideration.' And, as we advise them not to hesitate a day in undergoing this painful operation, on the other hand we as strongly recommend to the prudence of the Italians not to forget their proverb, 'Al nemico che parte fa ponti d'oro.' It is the interest of both parties to stop the war,—a war from which not a single advantage can accrue to either side, which an immediate arrangement might not secure to them; whilst by its prolongation evil must, and evil only can, arise.

We firmly believe that M. Prandi is only repeating the sentiments of every Italian, when he says: 'The Italians are resolved, 'if possible, to recover their independence by their own exertions, 'and in conjunction with their princes; but if they cannot in 'this manner attain their object, there are no steps which they 'will hesitate to take, even to the proclamation of a republic and 'the hazardous acceptance of the assistance proffered by the 'French.' It is the interest of Austria, as well as of Italy, to settle their differences without the intervention of third parties; to have a strong government and a powerful state on the south of the Alps; and to make every effort to secure the independence of such a government and consolidate its institutions. We offer this advice to both parties, with the confidence of lookers-on, who certainly are not indifferent to the issue of the contest, but who as certainly are in nowise biassed by selfish motives. Lord Palmerston expressed the real feelings of this country on the subject when on the 6th of June, he said in his place in parliament, 'The 'British Government, though connected by ancient alliances and 'associations of amity with Austria, cannot but feel the strongest 'sympathy with the people of Italy in their efforts to gain a 'free constitution.' We hope and believe that the Italians will trust to the solemn declaration of an English nobleman, invested with a high and responsible office, rather than to wicked and absurd inventions whether coming from republicans or from the

agents of the enemies of Italy (for, Italy has enemies out of Austria), who attribute to England and to her government feelings hostile to Italy. No honest Italian of common sense can for a moment doubt that of the powerful nations in Europe, we alone feel a sincere and disinterested sympathy in the success of the Italians.

The determination, almost unanimously adopted by the Lombards, by the Venetians, and by the populations of the other provinces which have risen against Austria and Austrian influence — to unite with Piedmont under a constitutional king — is a proof of great political good sense on the part of the inhabitants of those provinces; and one which promises well for Italy in her new career. The attacks heaped on Charles Albert with the view of discrediting him, and thereby preventing this most desirable arrangement, are most of them calumnies. But, even if they were not so, the practical question now is, — what is best for Europe, for Austria, and for Italy, under existing circumstances. There is a great deal, we admit, in the past conduct of the Prince of Carignan of which we disapprove, at least as much as those can do who seek to use it for the purpose of embarrassing by far the wisest course which it is at present open to Italy to pursue. We must add, however, that he has given so many proofs of repentance for the past, and so many securities for the future, that if a man can ever win back his way to forgiveness in private life and confidence in public, Charles Albert has entitled himself to the benefit of these presumptions. For ourselves, if once the foundation is laid of a good government in the north of Italy, we are satisfied that the happiness of future generations will be a very sufficient apology — and that as such history will accept it — for our having made use of the best instruments which were at hand at the present moment. It is undeniable, that an old, royal, and now constitutional kingdom in Piedmont, with a flourishing exchequer, a happy and contented population and a brave army, affords the nucleus round which a powerful state can be concentrated in the north of Italy. To bring accusations of ambition and perfidy against Charles Albert — himself an Italian prince — because he has assisted his countrymen in getting rid of their foreign oppressors, is to make an unfair and cruel use of the contradictory, and so far unfortunate, position in which he stood. His alleged ambition principally affects Italy. If Italy adopts it, that fact should remove our fears for it, supposing the charge be true. Besides, his alleged perfidy may, after all, have been a choice of evils, and the least: for what was the alternative? An Italian prince ought to be ambitious of freeing Italy from a foreign yoke imposed upon his countrymen by

force of arms. It was force, and force only, which first made and has since kept the Italians subject to Austria: and force delivers them. As M. Prandi says, undoubtedly expressing the feelings of all his countrymen, who have cherished them for years: 'the Italians have every reason to detest the treaty 'of Vienna, as well as those who made it; and they will cer- 'tainly not neglect the opportunity which Providence has at 'last granted them, of trampling it in the dust.'

The King of Sardinia does not possess his kingdom by the right of the strongest, but by the free will of his subjects, the Genoese included: whose conduct has of late been admirable, in spite of many mischievous attempts to make them swerve from their loyal and patriotic path. These eminently shrewd and practical men are well aware that it is more for their interest as Genoese and as Italians, to form part of a kingdom, along with Venice, than to constitute a republic at Genoa,—rivalling Venice, tearing Italy to pieces, and leaving it at the mercy of any foreigner who may be tempted to interfere in its unnatural hostilities. Thus much history has taught them: for the rest they must trust to Providence, to their own wisdom, their own courage. Suppose Charles Albert to be raised by the politic necessities of to-day to the throne of the united kingdom of Lombardy and Piedmont, neither he nor his successors can hope to reign there long, unless what may be necessity to-day shall have become by to-morrow choice. On his part there must be firmness, and justice, and liberal opinions, and government by law: On the part of his subjects, there must be union among themselves, confidence in their new institutions, moderation in the use of their new franchises, and a loyal attachment to the sovereign under whom they are beginning one of the noblest of all experiments — the object of so many hopes, so many fears — a free Italian state.

ART. VII.—1. *Oxford University Statutes.* Translated by G. R. M. WARD. Vol. I. 8vo. (With a Preface on University Reform.) Pickering: London.

2. *The Constitutional History of the University of Dublin.* By D. C. HERON, Trinity College, Dublin. Dublin, 1847.

THERE is one advantage possessed by the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge which cannot be taken away from them, and which most powerfully affects the minds of all who reside there. These institutions are a great historical growth. They have their roots in the past, and are associated in the English mind with the very constitution of the country, nearly as much so as the Municipalities and the Church, the Parliament and

the Throne. Hence comes that power in them to resist change, which to foreigners often appears a mystery. Hence, also, their congeniality with the political system of 'old England,' and their aptitude for producing conservative statesmen; who, whatever their measure of insight into the present, are utterly remote from that theoretic and unpractical character which would disown relationship with the past. It is not wonderful that our Academicians should be fully aware of their advantage, and correspondingly proud of it.

It is nevertheless to be duly borne in mind, that this very position has exposed them to evils of the first magnitude. For a century and a half together they were in part the battle field, in part the prize, of combatants in whose strife religious bigotry and political animosity alternately preponderated. Laws were imposed on them by the victor; and to the present moment they continue under the chains which a polemical spirit first devised and riveted. Learned institutions, subjected to such treatment, may possibly grow, and even be vigorous, within a narrow prescribed circle of thought; but they almost necessarily become degraded from the high place to which it should be the honour of a great and truly national university to aspire. They cease to lead the intellect of the country. New science is generally uncongenial to them; and grows up rather any where else. At least this is true of more than one important branch of it. Should it endeavour to establish itself within strictly academical precincts, it is encountered by all sorts of suspicion and misgiving. 'Will it not prove unsafe? May it not undermine our creed? 'Is it really wanted? We go on very well as we are; let us 'leave well alone.'—Such are the whisperings or secret influences, unknown perhaps to individual academicians, which banish speculative and fruitful thought. But elsewhere it finds a welcome from Hope and Faith. Where the heart is allowed to cry out for light and truth, where the intellect uses its full activity without troubling itself about consequences, there will new science set up her home. Under these circumstances, a most undesirable schism between the Old and the New must be the result. Can it be denied that such is the present position of England and her Universities?

Into this state we have been brought by a series of historical events, for which the present generation has no proper responsibility; so far, therefore, none of us can be blamed. But we do become blamable, when we neglect to learn from the experience which has accumulated since our ancestors went wrong: And in this day a calmness of judgment may fairly be expected of *us*, which, in the heat of contest and crowd of immature thoughts, was unattainable to *them*. The leading reformers were men to

whom we are exceedingly indebted; and it is not our intention to disparage them, in this respect or any other, in comparison with the other men of their day:—far from it. But they were generally called on to act, while their own views were still very crude; and the enmity which they excited turned them into a political party, whose first object became *self-defence* rather than *truth*. Their mode of self-defence too generally consisted in endeavouring to gain the favour of the sovereign, and by his aid take to themselves, as far as possible, all places of influence in Church and State. Whatever excuse each party may have had in the conduct of the other, we cannot now shut our eyes to the fact, that their mode of proceeding was not one which in tranquil times could be justified, or which at any time could tend to promote truth. While disclaiming infallibility, they acted on the assumption, that their convictions might fitly be made the law for all others. As individuals they may have had much modesty, but as a political body, they could not have had less, had they been confessedly infallible: their creed was enacted as a law of thought or limit to speculation, and has been so continued down to this day.

To do this in any other branch of knowledge than Religion, would be universally regarded as monstrous. To nail down an astronomical or medical creed on the institutions where those sciences are studied, is a thing no longer conceivable to us in Europe, and is suited only for the longitude of China. If a man were to leave money by will for inculcating the theories of Tycho Brahe and of Galen, there is even a possibility that a Lord Chancellor might overrule it as immoral. The offer of a professorship in physiology or therapeutics, accompanied by a test of medical orthodoxy which was for ever to regulate the teaching, would be resented by any man of spirit as a high insult, even to his good faith; while all would see the absurdity of dictating to our teacher, and thus re-producing our own errors. To demand subscription of the learner, if less outrageous, would be still more ridiculous. But since England was a nation, Religion has never been treated with the impartiality and calmness, which in *less* important subjects we are agreed in demanding.

Men were imposed upon by the fallacious notion, that what is so important should not be left to chance, but must be enforced by law. We have now unlearned this doctrine. We understand that the working of consecutive intellects is no matter of chance, but follows a law of steady development; and though it is any thing but infallible, yet it is far more remote from chance than the convictions of an individual; or than the possession of party power, which enables men in different coun-

tries to enact different systems of orthodoxy. In deference to others, even the magistrate now confesses his religious fallibility, and leaves off persecuting. Yet another fallacy was bequeathed to us from the Romanism against which we were protesting; namely, the assumption that religion and philosophy are contrasted, in the *one* being fixed and unchangeable, the *other* mutable and progressive. This is one of the great primitive falsehoods on which Popery is based; but plausible as it may sound in conjunction with the idea of a living judge of truth and an infallible church, it is in harsh and obvious discord with doctrines which have been established by a recent reform. Truth is, of course, unchangeable, in philosophy as in religion; while men's notions about the truth change in religion as well as in philosophy. Grant that apostolic doctrines are a final unalterable law in religion; grant that they are first principles, which may not be called to account and cannot be strengthened: it is not the less certain that divines thought differently on the question,—'What is (Apostolic) truth?'—in the thirteenth century and in the sixteenth. There *was* a great change of mind in the English Church between these periods, as great as any which ever took place in the schools of philosophy; so that, as a fact, the distinction between fixed religion and progressive science is altogether imaginary. Since our notions of religion are liable to imperfection, it is our duty to take every possible security that their changes may be changes for the better; in other words, that our schools of Religion should imitate our schools of Science.

The Reformers themselves, whatever their actual conduct, shrank from enunciating any thing so improbable, as that they were at all less fallible than the church against which they had rebelled. The nineteenth article of the Church of England asserts that the Churches of Christ may err; and declares by name, that 'the churches of Jerusalem, of Antioch, of Alexandria, of Rome, have erred, not only in their living and manner of ceremonies, *but also in matters of faith.*' This is a full disclaimer of infallibility; and we can, therefore, only look on it as indicating a secret distrust of the strength of their position, that members of the Church of England, as of other churches, persist in erecting the opinions of their predecessors into a permanent creed. For what can be more self-condemning than, because of the unsoundness of individual judgment and of the extreme importance of going right, to enforce on others a system of doctrine which we know and avow may prove to be wrong?

But we must not be too severe on the policy or consistency of former times. Where religious controversy has been unavoidably mingled up with state affairs, several ages must pass

before parties can trust one another for fair play, especially if there is no powerful neutral to act as arbiter. Mr. Grote has some excellent remarks on the growth of constitutional morality within the Athenian people from the time of Kleisthenes (vol. iv. p. 205.) which admit of striking application here. As it is a hard thing for one political party to adhere to the forms and processes of a Constitution, when it feels morally certain that its opponents will not; so those, who would perhaps have been willing to have truth inquired after as impartially in Religion as in Philosophy, were deterred from it by distrust of their adversaries. 'If we 'do not fix our opinions upon the nation, they will fix theirs,' was the secret argument. 'If we let these novelties get ahead, 'their authors will fill our seats of teaching, and will prepossess 'the rising generation: *they* are not searching for truth, but 'only eager to establish their own opinions; if in our simplicity 'we allow them freedom, they will use it to set up an unjust 'supremacy over us.' A dim feeling of this kind actuated the most upright and single-hearted of those who directed against their opponents the external weapons of punishment or exclusion: — weapons which error can * wield as powerfully as truth, and which by universal consent have been long proscribed in every thriving philosophy. Let past generations have this excuse; we have it no longer. It seems impossible to consider the character of modern society and the steady progress which middle-aged men have witnessed, and not see that the times are ripe for the abolition of all those academical tests, which have ceased to have even a shadow of argumentative support.

First of all, the State is now become a neutral body, — the more competent to discern all unfairness in any religious party, from her very indifference towards polemics. The Crown and Parliament sincerely desire the universities to be morally pure,

* A long and amusing list might be made out of the errors and contradictions into which public bodies have necessarily fallen, when they have undertaken to decide dogmatically concerning truth. If the Parliament of Paris, its University, and its Sorbonne would appear in it pre-eminent over all others, it is only because they were the most powerful of all when decisions of this kind were most in fashion. The various rises and falls in the academical fortune of Aristotle might have been a warning of itself. Yet, on the contrary, Sir Robert Howard closes his reflections upon the subject by saying: 'Thus his name grew almost sacred in universities; and Queen's 'College in Oxford (1685) yet shows a kind of testimony of venera-'tion by reading Aristotle upon their knees! and those that take 'degrees are sworn to defend his philosophy.' What ground can there be for expecting theology to fare better? Nor has it done so.

intellectually eminent, and spiritually good; they no longer wish to make them tools of politics: but every party and interest in the State would naturally seek to stipulate for some security against their being tools to their opponents. Can we imagine a more desirable state of things for a wise and learned body than this? Those who can sincerely and devoutly profess that they love truth more than their own opinions; that they love their own opinions, only because they conceive them to be true; that they desire no favour for them, believing that in a fair field they must win the day — have now a powerful and impartial arbiter from without, to guarantee them against their only fear. Next also, the body of the people is comparatively apathetic concerning mere opinion, and disposed to judge of all doctrines by the fruits of their professors. Any practical movement towards Rome would, no doubt, excite some public exasperation; but this (whether right or wrong) is so far from putting a difficulty in the way of rescinding academical subscriptions, that it even adds a new proof of its needlessness, at least in that direction. If Protestantism cannot stand its ground against Romanism in the Universities, from the moment that no subscriptions are demanded of any one, and though the nation from without is warmly sympathising with it, it follows that Protestantism of the kind, which the system is supposed to be protecting, cannot be worth the cost. In this, as in other matters, the public at large looks to the general marks of goodness in clergymen; and if it finds ministers grave and tender, simple and pure-minded, meek, unassuming, charitable, it accepts and supports them, whether their system be High Church or Low Church, or whatever is highest or lowest. Some may applaud this; some will grieve over it: but in any case it is eminently favourable to the scientific independence and quiet truth-seeking of the Universities; and is an advantage which was unknown when the present system was enacted. But, lastly, in those times no philosophic school had arisen to show how truth ought to be searched after. Philosophers reasoned as loosely as they observed. Science still doated on assumptions, and did nothing but make deductions; the lessons of Copernicus and Galileo were not yet learned. Nor, until disgusted with the turmoil of polemics, Boyle, Willis, Wren and their contemporaries, had founded the Royal Society, was there a commencement among us of impartial continuous inquiry. By working at subjects in which the heat of passion was (as far as might be) eliminated, the human mind learnt and taught right methods of investigation; so that under training of this description, all educated men have now obtained a clearer insight into the just principles of controversy; — what proceedings

are fair and to the purpose, what disingenuous and adapted to conceal fallacy. The tools, moreover, for the theological explorer, have been sharpened and multiplied. Languages have been more deeply penetrated, ancient manners and philosophy have been brought into new light, history has been cultivated with brilliant success: by all these causes numerous disputes have been cut away, and the points really in debate stand out more distinctly—if only the combatants are allowed to see with their own eyes, allowed to look at both sides of the shield before they fight about its inscription.

Thus we have every ground for hoping, that in case the Universities were allowed to prosecute the study of religious truth with the same freedom and on the same conditions as philosophical, it would produce no explosion of evil passions: but, on the contrary, might lead to a decorous, earnest, and well-defined course of inquiry, establishing whatever deserved to stand, and modifying or overthrowing whatever failed to abide the test of pious and cautious learning.

Need it here be added, that then only can their opinion on these momentous subjects have influence over the Legislature and the Nation? The Universities have now no theological judgment of their own: we have only to read the Act of Uniformity, and we know what they think, without asking them. If no learned and good men, but mere dunces, pedants, and profligates, had crowded the colleges for the last 180 years, we should have exactly the same testimony as at present to the reasonableness and truth of the Thirty-nine Articles. But as soon as University-men are no longer *ordered* to believe, then their unanimity, considered as evidence, will be as valid a presumption as the agreement of astronomers or chymists; and the Universities will assume at once, as authorities in divinity, that superiority and 'pride of place' which their most dutiful sons are naturally desirous that they should hold.

The real aim of all who wish them well, and at the same time understand the true interests of mankind, must be, to fill the Universities with religious and able members. But the division of men into capable and incapable—much less into religious and irreligious—has never been effected, even approximatively, by the imposition of a creed. Of two persons, one of whom submits, and one refuses, to subscribe, we know nothing in favour of the former, but something in favour of the latter: namely, we see that the latter has a regard for truth, while not even that can be inferred concerning the former. There can be no more complete answer to the claim of such imprudent controversialists, as insist on attributing a superior religious tone to the system, than the

undeniable fact that, in a past generation, whole shoals of lazy self-indulgent persons, gluttons, drunkards, and what not;—and even in the present, no small troop of the worldly-minded and the intriguing, the proud as well as the mean-spirited;—have managed to pass the ordeal of the Thirty-nine Articles. We use them simply as witnesses to contradict this extravagant pretension. On the other hand, it is manifest that every test of this nature involves an imminent risk of shutting out the very men whom an intellectual institution should eagerly covet; men of sensitive conscience, of active searching intellect, averse to plod on in a prescribed routine of thought, but resolved to give room and air and light to growing and independent thought. 'It would be a clever arrow,' said the Spartan, 'to kill the brave men only!' It would be a cleverer creed, to hit only the irreligious. They stoop, and it passes over their head. Whatever may be fancied to the contrary in the theory of the closet, the experience of life abundantly proves that the religious are essentially a body unaffected by human laws and definitions; who make a fragment of nearly every outward society, but fill up the ranks of none. Other things, however, being equal, that university which offers the least premium to insincerity, is likely to have the most deeply grounded and most vigorous religion.

It cannot be denied, and ought to be proclaimed, that the existing system does offer a very strong temptation to insincerity. For the character of the temptation is not such as besets us in ordinary life; where, if a man should covet an office which he knows he is unfit to fill, and, by false representation should gain possession of it, he is soon exposed. In an energetic state of society, his unfitness is presently manifested; and the shame, perhaps expulsion, which awaits him, is a wholesome corrective to any such dishonest tendencies. But when a legislator artificially connects with office or rank certain supposed qualities and conditions, which have no real or natural connexion with the character to be maintained, so that by one momentary word of profession all difficulties are permanently overleapt—then the temptation to tamper with our convictions becomes intense. In lecturing on Thucydides or on Newton's Principia, no deficiency will be felt from the speaker's imperfect belief of the University Test Articles. He may doubt whether Christ carried his flesh and bones with him into heaven, whether the baptism of infants be most agreeable to his ordinance, whether the old fathers did not look only for transitory promises, whether the Athanasian Creed ought thoroughly to be received, whether the good works of heathens are not pleasant to God, whether the Church hath authority in controversies of faith;—and many other topics beside,—

yet he will not be a less able lecturer, nor in any respect whatever less honourable and honoured in his position. Under these circumstances, to refuse to sign the Articles because he does not believe some of them, is apt to appear a hypocritical and morbid fastidiousness. The scandal of subscription only begins when a man's differences reach to such a height, that he is unable to attend the ordinary ceremonies of the church: — so relaxed has public opinion become under the influence of evil custom.

In such a state of things, it is evident that there *must be* a great amount of practical insincerity; and in believing that there is, of course we do not hold academicians to be more corruptible or corrupted than other men; but merely to have in them the same elements of human infirmity which, under similar circumstances, have always generated disease. No one will imagine that a law to exact subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles from every member of parliament could do anything but, on the one hand, produce hypocrisy in a considerable number; and on the other, drive away some score of what are called impracticable people. There is no reason for believing in any other result in the Universities. Nor is this all. Young persons are induced to sign the Articles, by being told that it only means that they are *not* conscious of *disbelieving* them! and thus from the beginning they are trained to the art of evading solemn declarations. The having ever required such subscriptions from mere youths, distinctly shows the fanaticism or hollow-heartedness with which the system was devised. Its authors evidently were far less anxious for veracity, than to stop men's mouths from denying the doctrines thus mechanically established. But again *, Paley's theory of subscription still has its advocates,

* In what sense are articles to be subscribed? Paley and other casuists treat the supposition that any legislature can ever have expected the consent of ten thousand men, and that in perpetual succession, not to one controverted proposition, but to many hundreds, as difficult to conceive. His conceit for extricating us from the dilemma, by informing us that a subscriber to the Articles 'must be 'first convinced that he is truly and substantially satisfying the legis-'lature of the 13th Elizabeth,' is a condition to the full as difficult. Surely, the real imposer of the Articles upon every successive generation must be understood to be the successive legislatures by which, for the time being, the Articles are maintained — not the legislature by which they might happen to be at first imposed. In whom the right of judicial interpretation has been in the meantime vested by the supreme authority in the state, in case their meaning should be disputed, is another question. Mr. Ward protested before the University of Oxford (1845) against there being any other interpreter of the sense in which he was to subscribe, except the Ecclesiastical Court by whom he might be examined.

even on the Episcopal Bench; and historically, it has so much foundation, that it probably will never be quite exploded: though it cannot be received without undermining the simplicity of truth. Great indignation has been felt against certain views of interpretation, which have of late years found favour in the new Oxford school. No prudent person will defend them; but it may be doubted whether Mr. Ward's judges were all so free from the sin of insincerity, as to be the right persons to condemn him. Ingenious schemes for evasion are not confined to one school. No living divine quite fits this bed of Procrustes; all feel it pinch somewhere — except those who are guiltless of all scholarship and independent thought. The existence of so many sharply contrasted parties among subscribers to the Test, is strong *primâ facie* evidence that the Articles, Homilies, and Liturgy are composed of violent extremes, the whole of which no human mind ever believed at once. At any rate, the intense opposition — not in detailed opinion merely, but in entire spirit — between different schools of English Churchmen, proves the utter failure of this legislative attempt at uniformity. Nor is it any reply, to say, that 'the abuse of an enactment is no argument against its use:' for that is to assume that these enactments *have a tendency* to secure agreement. A Test, however, can be no guarantee of faith, but of profession of faith only; and this it demands under circumstances calculated to produce insincere profession. Accordingly, that it does succeed in this direction there is all the ostensible proof which the nature of the case admits. It certainly does not exert a prophylactic power on Churchmen, so as to repel those youths who are *about to disbelieve.* Nor can it preserve any of a bold and controversial turn from falling into disbelief of some of its propositions, except by stifling that degree of thought and inquiry which are necessary conditions to any thing worthy of being called belief. Thus its total tendency is towards hypocrisy or apathy; and as these are its natural results, they ought rather to be called the use than the abuse of the Test. Its only other possible result is to exclude conscientious men; — men who cannot be silenced from without, and who ought not to be dreaded within.

There are, moreover, other reasons of great cogency, which make it *à priori* certain, that exactly the most active minds will be most likely to bruise themselves against these barriers. That indeed is always true in cases of this kind: but we have here especially to consider that the Articles and Homilies form a peculiar circle of thought and belief, which arose in great vigour in the sixteenth century; at which time some of the most versatile intellects, familiar with all the science of the age, could range

freely within their bounds, and yet be conscious of no confinement. Meanwhile, can it be assumed that their religious views were so purely dictated by the only Inspirer of absolute truth, as to stand in no relation at all to the moral and metaphysical speculations then current? No one has ever yet claimed such a place of eminence for them, and the very idea is quite preposterous. We must presume (until the most convincing proof is offered to the contrary) that there was a pretty close connexion between their philosophy and their formal creed, on the part of the Reformers and their contemporaries. But, since that time Physical science has been created, Morals have assumed a positive and independent form, Metaphysics have been revolutionised, and History in a manner re-written. Nothing short of infallible wisdom in the compilers of Articles which touch on so many delicate and profound matters, could prevent a frequent conflict between the fixed creed and a philosophy ever moving on. Yet we need not here *infer*. The test required is in itself a confession of instinctive alarm. The barrier is not set up for nothing. 'If the subscription be rescinded,' cry its advocates, 'the colleges will 'presently be infected with diversities of opinion.' Here is an avowal that the formularies contain much, which, at least in the existing state of philosophy, cannot sustain itself without artificial and illogical aid. Is it love of truth, or zeal for party-power, which so values a constrained and superficial agreement?

To seek for such an agreement by such means, even if it could be attained, would imply an enormous over-estimate of purely intellectual conclusions — as if religion were seated in the logical understanding. But, the whole glory of Christianity is confessedly moral, not intellectual; and (with whatever partial inconsistency) Christian churches have on the whole acted upon this conviction. The Church of England has never attempted to press the Thirty-nine Articles on the laity; not even for attendance at the communion-table. It never claimed the test from those who act as patrons to livings, or appoint to deaneries and bishoprics as ministers of the crown. The Head of the church does not subscribe the Articles at the coronation. The most important functions of civil life, which need a religious spirit for their performance quite as urgently as a grammatical or mathematical lecture can, are carried on by persons whom the church never dreamed of subjecting to test articles. This has perhaps arisen in no small measure from mere prudential policy; but prudence, when it shuns to be unjust, often reaps the rewards of justice. Supposing that the laity could have been forced or cajoled into submission, no spiritual end would have been gained by it. Of this, the generation which had seen

the nation change backwards and forwards as its sovereign changed, must have been well aware. But, as we were saying, the intellectual assent of the mind, even when sincere, to a creed however orthodox, can be no guarantee for religious sentiment. If the Thirty-nine Articles are true, then the devils believe every one of them and tremble. The influence of early education notoriously determines most men's early creed, without any reference to their better or worse character. It is not the believing under authoritative tuition, but the believing by personal and spiritual insight, which gives to faith its transforming and motive power. Moreover, the propositions which, when believed intensely and practically, mould the whole character into our highest idea of religion, are not such as are controverted among thoughtful men, and concerning which intellectual disagreement can be apprehended. To extract the Thirty-nine Articles out of the Four Gospels requires no little ingenuity; since, at first sight, it is difficult to conceive that they are parts of the same system. A preference of things spiritual to things material, of the favour of God to that of man, of noble self-sacrifice to prudent self-indulgence, the love of good men rather than of great men, of knowledge rather than of gain; and many other — sentiments, not propositions — are the elements which distinguish better from common minds. Yet if all these were framed into a creed, to exact subscriptions to it would still be ridiculous: for it is not the confession of the intellect, but the daily, cordial avowal of the heart that we need; and it is the *intensity* of these sentiments which has in every age constituted the true hero, saint, and martyr, not the being able to subscribe sincerely to Nicene, Tridentine, Augsburghian or Anglican formularies.

Nor could any cure be found in merely modifying the Thirty-nine Articles and the other tests. Not to dwell on the endless controversies which must at present arise from the attempt, — the new restrictions, like the old, would involve the unendurable assumption, that one inquirer may mark out to another the limits of his freedom. No infallible pope can desire more: since even in the Romish Church there is professedly ample room left for diversity; the ruling power dogmatically announcing that 'all 'reasonable latitude' is conceded. Indeed, from their internal controversies the existence of considerable freedom may be inferred; and they might appeal also to the union of the controversialists in the same religious ordinances, as an exemplification of the charity which animates their contests. — But surely we are not to be dazzled by these false lights. He who judges for others within what limits their researches shall be bounded, can exercise despotic

power over their consciences and intellects. Any thing may be enforced under the pretence that it is a *fundamental* truth, if he who imposes it is the sole judge of its being fundamental. And this in fact is the only form which religious despotism can assume, as long as human thoughts outnumber the sentences in the established formulary. For, narrow as it may be, yet within its limits the infinite activity of intellects of immense vigour, however unprofitably exercised, may roam up and down: *siccâ spatiantur arenâ.*

It would perhaps have been impossible so long to support a system which has no principle whatever to stand upon, had not a confusion been introduced between Tests for Co-operation and Tests for Truth — a point which appears to be of sufficient importance to deserve to be enlarged upon. For practical purposes, a certain amount of agreement between parties who are to co-operate is often essential; and he who is to take the lead — as a prime minister in a cabinet — dictates to his subordinates on what points they must be unanimous, and what are open questions. So in the case of a missionary society — which is formed by persons espousing the same general system of doctrine — it is, for the most part, not merely expedient, but necessary, to have a substantial agreement of opinion among the committee and secretaries. But, in all such cases, to object to an individual as unsuitable for co-operation, is neither to question his moral and spiritual worth nor to prejudge his studies by pre-constituted averments. Expediency, and not truth or personal goodness, is the matter inquired into; and expediency avowedly shifts from year to year. Even with the same prime minister, the leading principles of a cabinet alter with the times; nor does this necessarily imply either change of opinion or dishonourable compromise in any of its members. In a missionary society, indeed, it is not imagined that any change of circumstances can arise which should seriously alter the quality of the directing body: but still, as its end is action, not contemplation and research, the necessity of the case makes its exclusiveness uninvidious, and enables the parties to disown unworthy thoughts of those whom they reject. Something of the same kind too, we allow, applies to the practical working of a Church — that is, in regard to the relation between a pastor and his congregation. Notwithstanding that the Church of Ireland has been established upon an opposite principle, yet a certain adaptation of the pastor to the congregation is essential. And, as the office of teacher exists for the sake of the taught, it is justly expected, that, in case of a vacancy, such a pastor should be looked for, as will be likely to obtain the confidence of his flock. Whatever

their creed, he, if he is to do them good, must not be in rude and general collision with it: if they are Anglicans, so must he be; if they are Romanists, he must be a Romanist; and so on. Of course the right process is, to look out for a man who has previously and spontaneously professed such or such opinions; not for one who, in order to obtain the office, may be willing to make profession as required. This is the theory of the cure of souls—and no fault can be found with it, so considered; since if the congregations of the Church of England were as unchangeable in opinion and feeling as the Thirty-nine Articles and the Liturgy — if, in short, its formularies always and necessarily represented the mind of the laity, then the imposition of them on the parochial clergy, though it might be lamented as an unpleasant necessity, could not be reasonably condemned.

But the material thing is, that the test articles imposed on the Universities, whether upon their lay or clerical members — not being parochial clergy — have no such aim of adapting man to man. These institutions, by their essential nature, are directed towards the pursuit of theoretic truth. Examiners in the schools, Public Professors, and much more Masters of Arts in the University at large, could obviously co-operate for every scientific purpose, without any other religious agreement than that which is implied in being religious and conscientious men. Those who are called on to teach (if, to simplify the argument, the Divinity Professors be here excepted) have to deal with an unresisting material in their pupils. An unorthodox clergyman might find his church deserted, and his position turned into a sinecure: but an unorthodox teacher of classics or mathematics is in no such danger. And this it is which enables universities to be Catholic, if they understand their high calling, in contrast to practical societies, which are all necessarily Sectarian. The former are peculiarly ennobled by being devoted to advance and perfect knowledge; the latter proceed *from* established results, and, as institutions, have no power or business to search for truth at all. They are, therefore, inferior in dignity to the former, as the hand is to the eye.

In proof that religious unanimity is not essential to academic co-operation, there is no necessity for referring to foreign Universities: we can appeal to present and undeniable fact at home. By reason of the strong division of religious parties, one against another, within our own Universities, no such unanimity exists in them. Individuals often sit side by side there in the discharge of academic functions, who have in no practical sense religious sympathy at all, nor any power of co-operating, out of the Universities, in the simplest religious affairs, as, for instance, in distributing

the Bible, or regulating a parish school. If it were true that special religious agreement were needed for academic co-operation, a fixed creed would not be the remedy; or rather, we see it is not a remedy. In fact, it inflicts the greatest amount of mischief with the least advantage. But in case a close agreement of religious opinion were so far really necessary, a distinction would need to be made between ordinary academicians, and those who have practically to administer the system; and it would become the duty of the highest authorities in the University to select men for office with a due reference to their religious principles, just as political principles are regarded by a political cabinet. But every body must perceive that such an arrangement (except where it might occasionally be used for capricious injustice) would, in the existing academic world, become altogether a dead letter; nor do we expect that any one within the Universities will be of opinion that the Thirty-nine Articles would be really enforced, in case the separate Colleges were at liberty to dispense with them. This is only another phase of the fact, that agreement in those Articles is in no practical sense needed for University co-operation. They cannot constitute a centre of union for higher purposes; and they are not wanted as a centre of union for this.

In what has hitherto been said, all consideration of the Divinity Professors has been excluded: it would appear, nevertheless, that there is not only no reason for giving to them less freedom than to others, but a peculiar impropriety in doing so. Their duty is not to preach and exhort, but to lecture; they do not address the conscience and the sympathies (as their main and proper business), but the intellect; and if a hearer were ever so much persuaded that the lecturer was in error, it need not offend his conscience to hear him. For a learner, however, so confidently to decide against his teacher, is neither very amiable nor very common; nor is a University system to be devised with a reference to such infirmities in pupils. The same considerations then apply to professors of Divinity, as of Physiology. The person who is invited to occupy the teacher's chair should not be subject to dictation. Where is his superior in knowledge? — who can decorously claim to enact conclusions for him? Nevertheless, it is evident that the existing system implies that every thing was settled for ever by *somebody* three centuries ago; yet who the somebody was, nobody can truly say. But surely we have a right to know something more — something, for instance, of the title and qualifications of this great unknown. Besides, unless it is to be presumed that the Church formularies are absolutely perfect, there ought always to be some individual or

some collective body in presence, competent to suggest and originate improvements; and from no quarter could proposals to this effect come so gracefully and acceptably as from the Divinity professors, in case they were unfettered.

Although fixed articles—as such, and everywhere,—are open to the gravest objections, we are entitled to deal with the case of the Universities separately from that of the Church. *All* questioning of a person's creed is impertinent and injurious in a University; but that this is far from being true in regard to parochial duties, we have already shown. Not that a screw of the nature of the Thirty-nine Articles, is a proper instrument for the information wanted. It is only because, hitherto, the same measure has been dealt out by the hand of power to the Universities and to the Church, that people are apt to treat of them as institutions to which the same principles necessarily apply: whereas any changes which may be needed in the one or in the other, will be found often to depend on totally distinct considerations, and to belong to very distinct agencies. The vulgar identification of the Church and Universities arises from a most important *fact*, which nevertheless must not be rested on as a *right;* namely, the usurpation of the Universities by the clerical order; a revolution which was brought about so gradually by the growth of the Colleges, that the State was long unaware of it: but it has not been* the less detrimental to the intellectual and theological interests, for which alone Universities exist. The connexion has been injurious in another way. On the distinction taken by Adam Smith, a rich Church drains the Universities of its most eminent men of letters; while a poor Church is drained by them. Voltaire had observed accordingly, that a Father Porret was the only professor they had ever had in France whose works were worth the reading: Adam Smith supports this conclusion, by adding that, in England the Church in the same manner, by the temptation of its benefices, was continually draining the Universities of their best and ablest members: 'an old 'College tutor, who is known and distinguished in Europe as 'an eminent man of letters, is as rarely to be found there as in 'any Roman Catholic country.' A connexion which produces such effects, might well be left to natural tendencies, already

* Nor less so to their liberal spirit; no unimportant consideration. 'King William asked Mr. Locke how long he thought the revolution 'principles might last in England.' The philosopher answered—'Till 'this generation shall have passed away, and our Universities shall 'have had time to breed a new one.' 'Many things I disapprove 'in our Universities, where the country gentlemen are educated in 'Toryism by Tory clergy.'—*Horace Walpole.*

strong enough, and not be fostered and pampered by artificial means. The Universities have no interest, as Universities, in bribing their members into the Church. Quite the contrary.

In the eye of the law, the Colleges are at the present day lay corporations as much as the Universities, with no legal difference but this — that the Universities are classed under the title, of civil bodies; the Colleges, of eleemosynary. They are strongly contrasted, however, in point of fact. It may be true that it was formerly sought to impress an ecclesiastical character upon both: but, what has been the difference of the result in the two cases? The attempts of Archbishops Arundel and Laud* to establish their metropolitan right of visitation over the Universities, are encroachments known only to historical inquirers; while the fact, that Colleges 'were considered by the Popish clergy, under 'whose directions they were, as ecclesiastical or at least as 'clerical corporations,' is a fact as significant and prejudicial, even now, as at any former period.

When we remember that our Colleges are Roman Catholic foundations, we can understand how it came to pass that fellowships were originally connected with holy orders, subject here and there to an exception for civil law. At that time, too, literature was thought to be the peculiar province of the Clergy; and for a Fellow to take orders, was little more than at present to profess that all his studies should be consecrated by a religious spirit. In this respect, the Reformation left the Colleges unreformed. The policy of raising as few questions as possible with Henry VIII. on such a subject, will account for any degree of compromise or silence in the first instance. Afterwards, propositions with this aspect were so mixed up with further measures, or the danger was so great and the Church had been so stripped already, that we can easily conceive how for the next hundred years other visitors, besides Ridley under the Protector Somerset, may have regarded a direction to 'convert 'some fellowships appointed for encouraging the study of

* Blackstone went no farther (*Comm.* i. 471.) than to '*incline to* '*think* that the general corporate bodies of the Universities of Oxford 'and Cambridge must be ranked among lay civil corporations.' Huber (*English Universities*, ii. 44.) assumes that the decree of the privy council in favour of Laud's metropolitan right of visitation had decided the point of law. But Wooddeson (lecture 18.) necessarily concludes that the proceedings by mandamus in the King's Bench against the University of Cambridge, in the cases of Dr. Bentley and Lord Hardwicke, are inconsistent with the foundation of the privy-council judgments in favour of Arundel and Laud. There is now no doubt upon the subject.

'divinity to the study of the civil law,' as being the signal of 'a 'design to drive all civility, learning, and religion out of the 'nation.' In this way for various reasons, some good and some bad, the Roman Catholic system by which Fellows of Colleges were assumed to be ecclesiastics was retained, and has been brought down to our own times, into another age and as it were another world. For how unlike are our times in all the actual diversities of our Protestantism and in the boundless range of modern science! How unlike, too, if, from the point of view in which the two periods are compared, we consider by what class literature is most vigorously cultivated at present; and to what a height an out-of-doors opinion has shot up, against which public bodies must shortly learn that they can make only a little longer stand than private persons.

The time has come when the changes wrought by the Reformation elsewhere, ought to be allowed to penetrate into the College system. In our wish to see the exclusion of laymen taken off, we are far from thinking that the interest of either divinity or religion would be in consequence discouraged. On the contrary, in case the Colleges were thrown open, they would soon be seen training up within their walls a higher theology and more of it: while the Church would be saved the scandal of a certain number of nominal clergymen, whose fellowships are in truth their only call. The two classes will of course run into each other: but it is very desirable that society should recognise a diversity, where nature has established one—the difference between the efficient working minister and the efficient student of divinity. There ought to be room somewhere for the distinction, without having recourse to pluralities and non-residence. Objections might be raised, on opposite grounds, against admitting this distinction into the Ordination Service: And, perhaps, it may be difficult to convert our cathedral establishments into schools of theology, as Cranmer desired in his time and as Mr. Gladstone is desiring now; though there was no absolute necessity for their becoming what Cranmer had the foresight to predict they would become. All, however, will agree that the proper place for a school of theology, as well as of every other science, is a university. We beg to add, the more open, the more proper. If, on the one hand, we cannot think it reasonable that a student of divinity should anticipate and prejudge his studies by subscribing to articles and by entering into holy orders, while professedly still a student; yet, on the other, we admit that a college fellowship — the most appropriate of all provisions for every class of students — will never be better bestowed than on students of divinity. Deans and Chapters

should represent the more advanced period of successful study. The reward of great divines when they were members of the Established Church, ought to be considered as having been prepared for them beforehand in the stalls and dignities of our state-cathedrals. We deprecate their retiring on a living. On the contrary, we would sell every college living and endow more fellowships with the money. The most melancholy thing that can possibly happen to a parish (and it is scarcely less melancholy to himself) is the arrival of a senior fellow as its incumbent. A work lately published under the title of '*Speculum Episcopi*,' gives an equally unfavourable picture of a university bishop. This need not be, and should not be. For we know of no place where the proper qualifications for a bishop might be more naturally looked for, than among the church members of a well constituted university.

Whether the same person can properly fill two or more situations will depend on the time which each may require, and on the nature and compatibility of their respective duties. The severest members of the Church of Scotland for instance — those who were bent upon drawing the line concerning pluralities with the utmost strictness — never suggested, in the case of a clergyman accepting a professor's chair, that an objection could arise, except when the clergyman was beneficed. But a singular difficulty has been introduced for the embarrassment of English clergymen, by the specific language of their ordination service. If, on ordination, they expressly engage for parish duties or for the equivalent relation of a church and congregation, and solemnly undertake to set aside all worldly cares and studies, how can they reconcile such an obligation with the habits of a college fellow, and the pursuits of a man of letters, a schoolmaster, or tutor?

In the ordination of deacons, the bishop asks:—

'Will you diligently read the Scriptures unto the people 'assembled in the church where you shall be appointed to 'serve?' And again:—'It appertaineth to the office of a dea-'con, *in the church where he shall be appointed to serve*, to assist 'the priests in divine service, and to read holy Scriptures in 'the church, . . . and to preach.' In the ordination of priests, the bishop says of the priests:—'Ye are called to teach, pre-'monish, feed, and provide for the Lord's family, &c. . . . . The 'church and congregation *where ye must serve* is Christ's spouse 'and his body.' Again:—'Will you then give your faithful 'diligence always so to minister the doctrine and sacraments 'and the discipline of Christ, as the Lord hath commanded, '. . . . . so that you may teach the people committed to your

'charge with all diligence to keep and observe the same?' Again:—'Will you be diligent in prayer, and in reading of 'the holy Scriptures, and *in such studies as help to the knowledge* 'of the same, laying aside the study of the world and the flesh?'

At first sight, these engagements would appear to be too precise and unconditional to admit of any question. But, on the other side, it is still more unquestionable, that exceptions to the universality of this engagement have been always openly sanctioned both by ecclesiastical and common law. The thirty-third canon (1603, A. D.) on titles for orders, after reciting, that 'it had been long since provided, by many decrees of the 'ancient Fathers, that none should be admitted deacon or priest, 'who had not first some certain place where he might use his 'function,' reduces the restraint to a mere security against the ordaining bishop being made chargeable with the maintenance of a pauper priest. For it goes on to expressly declare, that to be a fellow in some college in Cambridge or Oxford — or a master of arts of five years standing, living of his own charge in either University — is a satisfaction of this proviso; and Gibson remarks, that, from frequent entries in the acts of ordination, a fellowship appears to have been all along a title by the law of the Church of England. To the same effect, statutes for enforcing residence on benefices, from the reign of Henry VIII. to our own times, contain positive exemptions for scholars formerly under forty, now under thirty, years of age, abiding for study at either University — for fellows residing in college according to statute — and for professors and public readers. As late as 1 & 2 Vict. c. 106. s. 28—30., in the act for prohibiting spiritual persons holding benefices from farming or trading, the business of a schoolmaster is *nominatim* excepted and reserved to them. Now, the Ordination Service must clearly be read in connexion with the canon and the statutes, *in pari materiâ:* And, taken together, it is impossible to say that it can ever have been intended by the legislative authority of either Church or State, to prevent fellows of colleges from being ordained upon their fellowships, or even benefieed clergymen from carrying on the business of a schoolmaster.

At the same time, there is something startling in the terms of the Ordination Service. The language of public engagements ought to correspond as faithfully with the extent and character of the obligations entered into, as lawyers have taken care should be the case with the engagements of private persons. Nothing ought to be expressed more strongly than is understood; nothing promised, which is not to be performed. Burnet tells us, that 'the most considerable addition which was made

'in the "Book of Ordinations" (1550) was the putting questions 'to the persons to be ordained, who by answering these made 'solemn declarations or sponsions and vows to God. The first 'question, when one is presented for orders, is, *Do you trust that 'you are inwardly moved by the Holy Ghost to take upon you this 'office?* To which he is to answer, *He trusts he is.* It has oft 'been lamented that many come to receive orders before ever 'they have seriously read over these questions, and examined 'themselves, whether they could, with a good conscience, make 'the answers there prescribed. . . If it were well apprehended, 'the heat that many have to get into orders would soon abate.' So wrote the good bishop upwards of a hundred and fifty years ago. We cannot be surprised, therefore, at hearing now that there are scrupulous persons in the Universities who have been casting about for some explanation by which they can more satisfactorily interpret some parts of their ordination vow, or better reconcile apparently conflicting duties. A feeling of this has led to a modern theory, on which great stress has been laid, — that a Tutor has the undergraduates of his college for his parishioners; and we are told by some tutors, that unless they are allowed to account themselves *pastors* to their pupils (or, we might almost say, *father-confessors* — so intimate a right of catechising is claimed), they will feel it opposed to their ordination vow to hold the place of Tutor at all. There could not be a broader acknowledgment of their false position; for they are ordained not on their tutorship, but on their fellowship. If the theory is worth any thing, every theological Fellow, not every Tutor only, is a parish priest to the young students: while, in fact, the presence of undergraduates not on the foundation (who are the great majority in almost every college) is an accident not contemplated in the Statutes, and wholly unconnected with the statutory command to take Holy Orders.

Revert to the state of things out of which the Statutes arose, — And what do we find in a college? Sometimes twelve Scholars, twelve Fellows, and a Head: so that we might have thirteen pastors to minister to twelve youthful parishioners. Sometimes the scholars are fewer, and a part of them may be old enough to be ordained themselves. In short, this whole system of *clerkship* is manifestly opposed to the genius of Protestantism, and to the Reformed Episcopal Ordination Service. The remedy for the false position of the Tutors is not to be found in the after thought of a theory which cripples the Universities for their proper intellectual ends, but in rescinding the College Statutes which constrain the Fellows to take Orders.

When shall we learn that the interests of conservation and

reform alike require that every institution should be made as effectual as possible for its proper purpose? And that what ought to be 'the two eyes of Greece,' do not exist to be merely out-works of the State-Church — seminaries for the exclusive training of its ministry and for the early shepherding of its fold? Blackstone informed his Oxford audience, when he read them his Commentaries as lectures, that their 'Colleges were 'founded for two purposes: 1. For the promotion of piety and 'learning by proper regulations and ordinances: 2. For imparting assistance to the members of those bodies, in order to 'enable them to prosecute their devotion and studies with greater 'ease and assiduity.' The Colleges, therefore, are means to ends: and we desire nothing better than that every regulation and ordinance concerning them — compulsory Orders among the rest — should be tried by their tendency to advance these ends.

That the existing system is far from being as favourable to such high objects, as they are capable of being made, is undeniable. To say nothing about non-resident Fellows, and resident Fellows not Tutors — who look upon their fellowships as only so much income, and are of no use at all for strictly academical purposes, — nearly every clerical tutor is distracted between two professions, and is unable to make up his mind to give his whole strength to literature. Few of them, indeed, would feel it respectable to avow this as the intended object of their lives. Many are glad to get a little parish, or at least a lectureship, in order that their clerical pretensions may not be quite in abeyance; while those, who are mere tutors, satisfy their consciences in part by the theory just alluded to — in part by the hope that in a few years' time they may marry, and retire to proper ecclesiastical pursuits. As they take their post at an early age, have to lecture on many miscellaneous subjects, and find their time cut up by the routine of college business, even the most energetic minds labour under extreme disadvantages. Besides which, in aggravation of all other difficulties, the prohibition to marry (the remains, in this light, of a bygone superstition) robs the University of her ablest sons, long before they have reached their prime of intellect and attainment. By enforcing ordination on the Fellows, now that the colleges have become supreme over the University, not only is the field of Arts but half cultivated (because, as we have said, the clergy, who have undertaken the duty, seldom dare devote themselves to it with the exclusiveness which it requires), but the *Theological* faculty itself also is starved. In the first place, the highest talent is drained off from it into the Arts; but next and chiefly, men of genius feel (if they do not know) that it is impossible for

any human intellect to compose theological lectures which shall not be dead and formal, as long as this department is estranged from the active and overflowing science of the age. Scholars are painfully aware that neither Theology, nor any of its branches, has flourished at Oxford or Cambridge for many years: and it is easy to see that it *cannot* flourish while tests are imposed and Fellows made clergymen by compulsion.*

In what we have written, we have been desirous of looking at the subject, solely from its academical point of view.

Fixed articles, which forestall conclusions, make the pursuit of truth needless, idle, dangerous; and stultify the position of men engaged in speculation and inquiry. There is not a science of any importance, which is not liable to be stifled by the fear of its coming into collision with authoritatively enacted conclusions. Whether it be astronomy, morals, or biblical philology, ecclesiastical history, or mental philosophy, geology or ethnology, physiology or mythology, we are never *à priori* safe: the sensitive eye is perpetually descrying rocks a-head. It may often happen that there is no real contradiction, as is now the prevailing belief concerning the Copernican system and the Old Testament; yet this cannot be ascertained, unless the controversy is allowed to be fairly fought out. Those who go straightforward after truth, are liable to the imputation of heterodoxy, and indeed of dishonesty, at the hand of others; — who seem to forget that to sacrifice our obligations to truth and God for engagements to man, is a far worse dishonesty — although the latter being a sin committed in secret, no tangible proof of it can be brought before a human tribunal. On the

* Of course an objection will be raised against interfering with Founders' Statutes; but they have been overruled in equally serious matters already, and ought to be so, as often as the change of position in the colleges may make their statutes hurtful to the true interests of the University. Are we asked to name a precedent? There are thirty-six colleges at Cambridge and Oxford; of these only six have been added since the Reformation. Of course, other contemporaneous changes would be necessary, regulating the terms and conditions upon which, for the future, fellowships should be held. It is observed in 'Huber's English Universities' (i. 179.) that it is only by custom that Fellowships are held on, until vacated by a benefice. The Universities are bodies as national in their true vocation, as the legislature itself: and their principles and spirit ought to be equally enlarged. There can be no reasonable distinction in the case of the Colleges, when we consider the relation in which they stand to the Universities, the duties which they have to perform, and the privileges which they possess.

whole, as men are constituted, few can be expected to choose the bolder course, and expose themselves to most unpleasant imputations; the majority will infer, that since they may not follow out the conclusions of science, should it happen to contradict any thing in the formularies, it is wiser not to know too much about the matter. In such a state of things, only those sciences are likely to live and thrive which stand in no relation at all to religion; as Greek and Latin philology, (limited to Pagan authors,) formal logic, (excluding its applications, which are dangerous,) pure mathematics and mathematical physics,—which nevertheless, in the strictest circles, are looked upon as not quite safe, since they accustom the mind to demand proof. Thus the boast, that 'Science is the handmaid to Religion,' falls to nothing; for Religion is so afraid of her handmaid becoming her mistress, that she dares not use her services at all.

In such ways the domination of a fixed creed blights the fruitfulness of our Universities; and—in an age abounding with genius, talent, profound and varied learning, and in a country which is the admiration of the world for practical enterprise and sagacity,—depresses our speculative powers, and drives the highest science away from its natural seats. The cure is simple,—to rescind the test at once; a process which will injure no one, disturb no one in his position, destroy no fixed expectancies, distress no one's conscience; but will relieve numbers who groan in secret, and will set them free for nobler work than has hitherto been allowed them.

Mr. Ward's volume, with which this article is headed, is accompanied by a preface written with much ability, and in the true spirit of a Reformer. He dwells not only on the evil which has occupied us in the present article, but on the constitution of the Colleges and their relation to the Universities. The body of the work contains a careful and accurate translation of the code of University laws compiled under the sanction of Archbishop Laud, as Chancellor of Oxford. It is well known that the object of these statutes was in a great measure to favour the High Church views of the seventeenth century: and naturally no Puritan was appointed to assist in their compilation. The subject was developed at large in this journal many years ago. It is now much better understood by the nation; and Mr. Ward's valuable comments will no longer seem paradoxical or unnecessary.

The case of Trinity College, Dublin, is substantially the same with that of the English Universities. Only the intellectual effect of the monopoly and constraint of an academic test has been more pronounced in the instance of the 'silent

'sister:' while the moral scandal of an interested conformity has been brought out there more distinctly, and made appear more direct and visible to the naked eye. But the worst and most characteristic feature in the diversity, is the aggravated form which the political provocation of exclusion takes. To deny the Roman Catholic dissenter — in other words, to deny the great body of the Irish people — an equality of right, and place, and benefit in their only Irish University, is plainly more impolitic and more unjust than the corresponding case in England: — since it involves greater numbers, greater privations and indignity, and infinitely greater peril. If, on the one hand, there can be no more destructive and suicidal cry than that of 'Ireland for the Irish' — meaning thereby a severance from its connexion with Great Britain: So on the other, there can be no national demand more reasonable, more imperative and immediate — as far as it shall be understood to represent the full right and title of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, share and share alike, to every advantage of emolument and honour which their national institutions can afford. In 1794, the Roman Catholic, who before that had been excluded altogether, was admitted to his academical degree; but not to any place of profit, honour, or authority. The door was opened to him; he mounted the steps, only to learn from a policeman in the passage that he could go no farther. Half measures did not answer with the legislative franchise; they will not with the educational. Nor ought they.

The exposure of this grievance is the principal object of a volume lately published under the title of, 'the Constitutional 'History of the University of Dublin.' This history is soon told. It was founded by Queen Elizabeth 'for the country;' and largely endowed, principally by Elizabeth herself, by James I., and the corporation of Dublin. It was perverted to sectarian purposes by exclusive laws, under Charles I. and his charter of 1637. The little book, which tells us this and a great deal more, is drawn up by Mr. Heron, one of the academical victims of the present system.

There are two sorts of victims under the present system: those who lose college offices by it, but keep their conscience; and those who do violence to their conscience in order to obtain the office. Mr. Heron was of the first of these.

'The practice of "turning for scholarship" was almost the 'first thing (he says) which attracted my attention in Trinity 'College. Attendance at the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, 'according to the forms of the Established Church, is required 'from all candidates for scholarship. The emoluments attached

'to that office are thus directly placed in the way of the Catholics 'of Ireland, as a temptation to renounce their religion. It was 'a question whether the Board was legally justified in excluding 'Catholics from scholarship. In the year 1843, I presented 'myself as a candidate. My answering entitled me to be 'elected, but I refused to take the sacrament, and the Board 'consequently excluded me. I tried the legality of that ex-'clusion, and the question was decided against me.'—(Preface.)

But there is another class of victims: the 'apostates for lucre, 'among those entrusted with the education of the sons of the 'gentry of Ireland.' From before the face of the *insincerity* thus generated, in their case the veil is raised.

'This last is no unfounded assertion. There have been 'many among the Fellows of Trinity College who dated their 'Protestantism from the time when they "turned for scholar-'"ship." The apostacy for scholarship in Trinity College, 'even now, excites but little surprise. Of those who thus con-'form, some remain in their new creed, and even become minis-'ters of the Established Church; others, on the expiration of 'the five years during which the scholarship lasts, return to the 'profession of the Catholic faith, after having profaned with 'unholy lips the Sacrament of the Eucharist. This latter class 'enjoys the nickname of *quinquennes*, from the five years during 'which they were Protestants.'

But there is a third victim from this wretched policy: their country — unhappy Ireland: aye, and perhaps a fourth — the British empire; which, though Ireland cannot rail away the bond, her dissensions may distract, and weaken, and pull down. In the opinions which Mr. Heron expresses upon this point, it may be seen that he represents the better class of Irish Roman Catholics; those who are most aware of the value of a higher education, and those who would most rejoice to see a really United Kingdom.

'Education alone cannot remain a monopoly. . . . No Irish 'manufactures of wool or other commodities are now destroyed, 'that they may flourish in another land. But education is still 'denied, to advance the intellect of the nation. In Ireland 'education among the higher classes of the Catholics is ne-'glected; among the peasants, until very lately, it was unknown. 'Sectarian intolerance blights the land. Two tasks are for 'that statesman to perform who wishes to achieve the prosperity 'of Ireland, and deserve the gratitude of her people for ever:— 'to destroy the last incentives to sectarian animosity, and to 'develop the intelligence of the people. No step could be 'more effectual towards the accomplishment of both these great

'good works, than the opening of the emoluments of Ireland's 'only University to the free competition of all. No step could 'be more effectual towards future prosperity than the removal 'of this check upon the education of Catholics — than the de- 'struction of the last stronghold of intolerance within the island.'

Constitutional equality has been granted. 'Catholic judges 'are on the bench; Catholic magistrates have broken through 'the exclusiveness of the old Irish squierarchy; Catholics fill the 'corporations; Catholics speak and vote in the Parliament of 'the realm; Catholic privy-councillors advise their sovereign. 'Is it not so plain that it is only in Ireland one would have to 'say it, that it is most expedient for the interests of the state 'that those men, permitted to rise through ability to the highest 'stations in the land, should not in their youth receive an inferior 'education? These men should not in their youth be galled 'by sectarian exclusion, and be almost compelled to carry with 'them through life the resentment thus excited at the time of 'their education.' Much depends on marshalling priorities: emancipation surely had best have begun here.

Yet this class is the neglected class. The College of Maynooth has been enlarged. 'Five hundred of the middle classes 'of Ireland are receiving education there, to become the minis- 'ters of its Catholic church.' Grants to the Board of National Education have been liberally voted: and 'four hundred thou- 'sand of the Catholic peasantry are being educated at the 'expense of the state to become worthy citizens.' But upon the principle and spirit on which the University of Dublin is conducted, out of a population of seven millions, only about thirty enter College every year. 'Only one hundred and twenty 'Catholic students, including all the classes, are at present on 'the books of the only University in Ireland. The rest of the 'sons of the Catholic gentry either pass the most precious years 'of their lives in lounging idleness, or are compelled to have 'recourse to the Colleges in France or Belgium, whence they 'return with no sentiments of loyalty towards the government 'which thus exiles them.' Mr. Heron acknowledges warmly the great merits of Trinity College, Dublin, as a place of education. This makes him the more lament that a Roman Catholic cannot go there, except as into an atmosphere of proselytism, or under a sense of inferiority, which forces a majority, so great as to constitute the nation, to stand aloof. 'The system 'of education is grand and comprehensive: but there is one 'fault—the University of Ireland is exclusive, not national; 'it is considered by its rulers to be the Divinity School of the 'Protestant church, not the University of the nation.' We

heartily wish that the Irish Confederation would busy itself with a practical question like this, and not lose its way in the Utopia of repeal, or among the miserable preliminaries of civil war.

The inconsistency with which these — as indeed most — exclusions are applied, is no slight presumption against them. At Oxford, its faithful sentinels challenge the new comer on his first arrival: if he has not the pass-word ready, he cannot enter. On the other hand, the Cambridge authorities have ventured to run the risk of any contamination which the possible presence of a dissenter among their undergraduates may introduce; and the security attributed to subscription is delayed, until the actual taking of the degree. The emoluments of Trinity College, Dublin, with the exception of a few prizes open to competition, are jealously watched as a perquisite of the Established Church. But, since 1794, Roman Catholics have been admitted to degrees there — the relaxation, however, is confined expressly to Roman Catholics: while, one branch of its professorships — that of medicine — is as expressly declared by an act of 1808, to be open to 'Protestants of all nations.' Indeed, one of the professors is at present an Unitarian. On the other hand, the universities of Scotland have no restriction on degrees; Sir Robert Peel has been rector of Glasgow: and it was only the other day that the Scotch Episcopal Church preferred a suit against the University of Glasgow for the recovery of certain exhibitions as having been founded by Snell, an Episcopalian, and obtained a judgment in its favour. The Scotch legislature had imposed its restraints upon another part of the system than that of its bursaries and degrees. It put its shackles on the teachers only: and accordingly, by the Act of Security (A. D. 1707), engrafted into the Treaty of Union, all university professorships are strictly limited to members of the Presbyterian Church by law established.

The object of this diversified legislation has been the same on all hands; — to promote uniformity of faith and secure particular establishments, by giving a preference and predominance to certain opinions: it being assumed by the legislator in every case of preference, that the opinions which he patronises are true, but of that particular species of truth which is all the safer for being protected against equal treatment, comparison, and discussion.

We have spoken above of the price paid for success in these experiments. If England and Ireland appear to have succeeded it is only within the Universities and their charmed circle. For look beyond their college walls. Protestant dissent is prospering in England, with a census of millions annually increasing — while in Ireland, Roman Catholic dissent (for so an Irish Protestant Establishment compels us to describe it) reigns almost supreme.

But in the cases of both England and Ireland, although the legislature has failed in its national object, it has carried out the academic means to which it trusted. The law has been observed within the pales of the Universities. Not so in the case of Scotland. At the time of the Union, the independent legislature of Scotland had a natural jealousy of the preponderating power of its new partner: and its principal care was for the preservation of its rule of faith and church government. These permanent objects were conceived to be sufficiently secured, by stipulating for the maintenance of the Universities, and that the Church of Scotland should retain the monopoly of instruction. What, however, has been the result? The jealous statute has been for many years systematically evaded; and the leading chairs of the Universities of Scotland are at this moment occupied by schismatical professors:— it must be admitted, at the same time, without any injury that we ever heard of, to the complete and correct discharge of all their duties academical.

The Act of Security (1707, c. 5. of the Scottish Parliament), after providing that the true Protestant Religion, contained in the Confession of Faith as ratified by the act 1696, c. 5., with the form of Church Government by Kirk Sessions, Presbyteries, Synods, and General Assemblies, shall remain and continue unalterable, proceeds to declare that, 'in all time coming, no 'Professors, Principals, Regents, Masters, or others bearing 'office in any University College or School within this king-'dom, be capable, or be admitted or allowed to continue in the 'exercise of their said functions, but such as shall own and 'acknowledge the Civil Government in manner prescribed, or to 'be prescribed, by the acts of Parliament: *as, also, that before,* '*or at their admissions they do and shall acknowledge and profess,* '*and shall subscribe to the foresaid Confession of Faith as the* '*confession of their Faith; and that they will practise and con-*'*form themselves to the worship presently in use in this Church,* '*and submit themselves to the Government and discipline thereof,* '*and never endeavour, directly or indirectly, the prejudice or sub-*'*version of the same;* and that before the respective Pres-'byteries of their bounds, by whatsoever gift, presentation, or 'provision they may be thereto provided.' All other tests are absolutely prohibited by a subsequent clause; and there are no other statutes making any alteration on this provision. Indeed, it is declared unalterable; though the position in which the Scotch Universities now find themselves shows the folly of human attempts at perpetuity.

The Test here introduced only applies to teachers. It is to be remarked that, while the framers of this act were so sedulous

for the permanency of its operation, they made one grand omission in its machinery, — in not providing by whom it is to be enforced, or at whose suit the Test is to be imposed. Accordingly, for more than half a century, it has come to be, in ordinary cases, absolutely inoperative; and both in Edinburgh and Glasgow, Episcopalians, against whom the Act was specially directed, have during all that time constantly held chairs in the University without being required to take the Test. In the Edinburgh University, at this moment, the Chairs of Moral Philosophy, Rhetoric, History, Music, Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, and, we believe, the Practice of Physic, are held by Episcopalians — Professor Wilson and Professor Forbes being the two most distinguished names.

No attempt had been made for many years to disturb this tacit burial of the Act of Security, till the divisions which lately took place in the Church of Scotland. Many of the non-theological professors joined the Free Church, and yet retained their professorships; — for instance, Sir David Brewster, who holds the Chair of Natural Philosophy at St. Andrews. On its being sought to eject him in consequence, he denied the *title* of the Presbytery to enforce the act, and they did not persevere. This question, however, has been since brought to an issue, in a recent appointment to the Hebrew Chair in Edinburgh University. The town council, as patrons, appointed a Mr. Macdouall, a member of the Free Church. He was required to take the Test, and refused. The Presbytery of Edinburgh presented an application for an interdict or injunction against his admission; but the court found they had no title. The court however sustained the title of a minority of the council and of the Senatus Academicus, consisting of the principal and professors, to require the signature: consequently Mr. Macdouall has not been admitted.

Of the body of professors in the University of Edinburgh, as now constituted, at least twelve out of twenty-nine do not belong to the Established Church, and at least six were never asked to take the Test. In these circumstances, it is plain that to keep up the Test for non-theological chairs, is merely to continue a system — the original principle of which has been long surrendered — in order that it may be degraded from time to time into an engine of personal or party annoyance. If protection were wished for or required — which it is not — the Test is quite ineffectual, it being only available on application by the patron or the professors. The first, in the ordinary case, will not appoint a party whom he intends to disqualify; the last will not in general be desirous of restricting the limits of their own

freedom. And now that one-half at least of the Presbyterians of Scotland, while they conform to the Confession of Faith, disown the discipline of the Established Church, the situation of the Universities under the Test has become worse than absurd. Mr. Macdouall, who was rejected the other day, holds every tenet in theology which was held by the framers of the Act of Security: yet he is denied admission into a body, into which prelacy has found so ready an entrance.

Our first object has been to observe upon the natural, indeed necessary, effect of tests, especially in places of education: And, to show the reality of the evil, we have also afforded our readers the means of judging of some of these effects experimentally;—we mean, as they are exhibited, one or more, with characteristic variances, in the present state of the Universities of the three kingdoms. The Universities of Ireland and of Scotland are at a point, at which it is quite impossible that they should long continue. The one case is full of danger, the other of ridicule: both are anomalous, discreditable, and unjust. If there should be found to be but one solution for their dilemma—the removal of the Test;—what the irresistible force of circumstances shall have done for them, it may be hoped that the gentler influence of reason and good example may also bring about in behalf of the English Universities. They are the Universities of the past. So much the better. And, we have a pleasure in believing that, unless they are obstinately bent on resting upon past usefulness and past renown, nothing can prevent them from being the universities of the future, with Durham and London in their train.

ART. VIII. — *The Life and Adventures of Oliver Goldsmith. A Biography, in four books.* By JOHN FORSTER, of the Inner Temple, Author of the *Lives of Statesmen of the Commonwealth.* Bradbury and Evans.

ONCE upon a time, in the pretty little village of Lissoy, in the county of Westmeath, barony of Kilkenny West, a young woman, afterwards known as Elizabeth Delap, put into the hands of a little boy 'impenetrably stupid' his first book. 'Labour dire it was and weary woe' to that little boy; but not seemingly an event of much importance to the literary world. The sign-posts to Knowledge are not, however, like those set up before the gates at Versailles, inscribed with laconic magniloquence, 'To Spain,' 'To Flanders.' We creep into the high road, little knowing whither it will lead us,—and we have

a natural curiosity to learn by what humble lanes and crossings our fellow-travellers first emerged into the great thoroughfare. The next glimpse of the small alumnus is caught through the cabin-smoke of the village school, kept by Thomas Byrne, a retired quarter-master of an Irish regiment. It is a glimpse, and no more, still of a little boy, with a manner for the most part uncommonly serious and reserved,—though when gay none more cheerful,—listening to his preceptor's stories, whether taken from the brisk adventures of a soldier's life, or the more bewitching stores of fairy legend; now and then making rhymes; now and then reading such polite aids to reflection as 'Moll Flanders' or 'Jack the Bachelor.' From this raw and dawning twilight we perceive our little pilgrim emerge into somewhat clearer atmosphere,—presenting to us a heavy sickly face, deeply marked with the small-pox, and placed upon the thick shoulders of 'a stupid blockhead,' at the 'superior' academy of Mr. Griffin, of Elphin, in Roscommon. In due time, however, this unpromising specimen of Humanity, put out to Knowledge, begins to evince tokens, erratic and uncouth, of the culture it has reluctantly received. Our little boy is now a lad,—still at school—though no longer at Mr. Griffin's,—at school at Edgeworthstown. He presumes to have likings and dislikings as to the different authors enforced on him. His schoolfellows remember that he was pleased much with Horace, more with Ovid, and that he hated Cicero, or at least did not highly esteem him. His character already assumes somewhat of definite shape. From out the crowd of boys, with their general attributes of coarse, but healthful boyhood, stands distinct a peculiar idiosyncrasy. Our pock-marked, pale-faced, clumsy stripling is noticed as 'sensitive,' over sensitive. He is quick to take offence, quicker still to forgive. He is at first shy and backward; but by degrees he is bold enough to be mischievous—and makes a figure at 'Fives.' He is no longer considered quite a blockhead,—nay, though indolent, he is thought not destitute of talents; but the master thinks more highly of him than the boys. But school closes—College begins—the sensitive, ugly boy is an idle shambling student at Dublin University.

A piece of worldly luck which has befallen his family, has proved to him a bitter affliction. He has a sister who has married above her station. His father has encumbered his means to provide for that sister a dower that may satisfy his pride. And our over-sensitive youth must go as a sizar to the university at which his elder brother had won some distinction, nay, had obtained a scholarship, as a pensioner. A youth of vigorous judgment and resolute purpose,—one exulting in what Erasmus calls *basileâ, athleticâ, pancraticâ valetudine*—a healthi-

ness of mind as of body, royal, athletic, and pancratical,—would have only the more steadily excited himself to rise superior to a meanness of circumstance, which by no means forbade industry its rewards, and genius its career. But our youth — though not the dunce he had seemed to his early teachers — is far from that being 'teres, et rotundus,' from whose surface the shafts of fortune turn aside. This pride of his, so easily offended, is terribly in his way here. He is more sensitive of a condition he feels beneath him (though it would have been difficult to say why, since his father's means warranted no higher station, and his uncle had been a sizar before him,) than eager to establish intellectual claims to respect. And to say truth, difficult would it have been for this lad, so imperfectly educated, to have forced his way into distinction purely academic. 'The popular picture 'of him in these Dublin University days, is little more than of a 'slow, hesitating, somewhat hollow voice, heard seldom and al-'ways to great disadvantage in the class-rooms; and of a low-'sized, thick, robust, ungainly figure lounging about the College 'courts, on the wait for misery and ill-luck.' Hitherto his father has scraped means to supply the niggard wants of a sizar, not without reasonable hope that the son will exert himself, as his brother the pensioner had done before him, and obtain something like independence in the way of a scholarship. But now his father dies—and our lazy, lounging student lives as he can, by small gifts from his uncle, or petty loans from College friends—learning from the last that worst and surest lesson in the Art of Sinking — the practical bathos of human life — viz. to borrow without shame. Yet here — a certain energy, fitful and irregular, but energy still, breaks out — an energy that rivets our eyes to this comfortless picture — that interests us in this unequal battle between Poverty and Man. He does not, it is true, set himself resolutely to work to redeem lost time, and wrest subsistence, by patient labour, from the resources the university offers to its students. But he shuts himself up — he composes street ballads, he runs forth to sell them at the Rein Deer Repository in Montrath Court, for five shillings a-piece. And now comes his reward — he *steals out of the College to hear them sung!*

With pathetic eloquence exclaims the last biographer, whom this stupid child and idle student has contrived to find, 'Happy 'night — worth all the dreary days! Hidden by some dusky 'wall, or creeping within darkling shadows of the ill-lighted 'streets, watched and waited this poor neglected sizar for the only 'effort of his life which had not wholly failed! Few and dull, 'perhaps, the beggar's audience at first; more thronging, eager,

'and delighted when he shouted the newly-gotten ware. . . .
'Gentle faces pleased, old men stopping by the way, young lads
'venturing a purchase with their last remaining farthing: why
'here was a world in little with its fame at the sizar's feet.
'"The greater world will be listening one day," perhaps he
'muttered, as he turned with a lighter heart to his dull home.'
And this poor poet of the ballad singers, this truant student with his morbid sensitiveness — and his pride, no less unhealthy perhaps in the false direction it had taken—still has something, which does not always accompany over sensitiveness, and is very rarely found in company with false pride: He has ready sympathy for others. Those five shillings which his ballads have brought him will in all probability not reach home undiminished. That audience listening to his muse contains many more destitute than himself, and pleasure and pity both unlock the poor poet's hand, and careless easy heart. 'To one starving creature with
'five children he gave at one time the blankets off his bed, and
'crept into the bedding for shelter from the cold.'

It is not to be denied by any one of right principle, that our youth would have been much better employed on the legitimate studies for which he was sent to college, even on the 'cold logic of Burgersdicius, or the dreary subtleties of Smig-'lesius,' than in writing street ballads sold at five shillings a-piece; that his generosity would have been better evinced in paying the loans he had borrowed; and that his sensitiveness would have been more praiseworthy, had it reminded him that he had no right to this looseness of sympathy, while he himself was dependent upon others. It is indubitably wrong, while abridging perhaps the decent wants of some generous benefactor, to indulge the luxury even of doing good. We cannot blame those who take the more rigid view of amiable weaknesses and charitable errors. But good or ill, we describe our student as we find him. And were we to set him up as a model, few we suspect would be his imitators. Thus, then, our very unexemplary sizar scrambles his way through college, making small progress in mathematics, but able, he himself boasts, 'to turn 'an ode of Horace into English with any of them.' And as this is the best he can say of his classical acquirements, so we must suppose them to be far from deep or extensive. He gets into various scrapes, the worst of which is, the aiding and abetting a memorable college riot; and this or the serious admonition it entails, spurs him up into a laudable attempt at self-retrieval. He tries for a scholarship, and actually gets an exhibition. Seventeen out of a fortunate nineteen! last but two on the list. This exhibition brings him in thirty shillings.

'Nunc est bibendum, nunc pede libero
Pulsanda tellus.'

Seventeenth on the list, and thirty shillings in his pocket! it is too much for human nature,—at least, for *that* human nature—to support with dignified equanimity! He gives a dance in his rooms —

'Accipiter velut
Molles columbas,'

a cross tutor, who bears him no good will, pounces upon him and his guests. Caught in the act, the punishment is condign; but considering that both the parties were Irish, and that the offence, in an English university, would have entailed rustication at the least, we are not inclined to be very severe on the exasperated tutor, who knocks down the sizar. Next day the sizar sells his books, leaves his college, lingers in Dublin till he arrives at his last shilling, and then sets off for Cork. His brother relieves him from famine, clothes him, takes him back to the Mater—who to that rude son scarcely deserves the epithet of Alma,—and patches up a hollow reconciliation between disciple and master. At last our sizar takes his bachelor's degree, lowest in the list. And now behold him a man! He is twenty-one! The law asserts that he is arrived at years of discretion. He resolves to prove that the law never more flagrantly indulged in its privileges of legal fiction. The charming biographer before us says, 'this is the 'sunny time between two dismal periods of his life.' Sunny, no doubt, it seemed by contrast to our emancipated sizar, for he often recalled it with a regret that we believe to be sincere. 'If I go, (he wrote in after years,) if I go to the opera, where 'Signora Columba pours out all the mazes of melody, I sit 'and sigh for Lissoy's fireside, and "Johnny Armstrong's 'last good Night," from Peggy Golden!' But whatever sunshine he found here, little sunshine he brought to his mother's cottage. He helps, by fits and snatches, his respectable praiseworthy brother in the irksome drudgery of teacher at the village school; but more often we find him sauntering into the village inn: there, entering with him, we see the scapegrace in full glory, presiding over lesser scapegraces, as thoughtless as himself, at a kind of club, playing whist, singing songs, and parading the scraps and remnants of Latin he has brought home from that Feast of Learning where he sate last at the table. Now and then, in Protean varieties of idleness, we may see his clumsy careless figure bending over the banks of the Inny, the rod in his hand, or the flute on his lips; or hunting otters in the Shannon; or throwing a sledge-hammer at the fair of Bally-

mahon. His friends entreat him to take orders. But this rude creature, so little favoured by the Graces, is not without a strange love of personal finery: the black coat revolts him; perhaps other and better reasons concur in making him set his face against the church. Later in life, he thought himself not good enough to read prayers in a private family. He may have thought himself not good enough to read them to a congregation and to enforce the lesson by example. Nevertheless,—for our vagrant is docile in his own way,—he yields to the wishes of his family; whether he reads for orders is not quite clear; but he certainly applies for ordination, and as certainly is rejected: some say because he is too young, others because he has been too wild at college; one worthy witness believes because he presented himself to the bishop in scarlet breeches! Again, new phases of this disorderly existence present themselves. We see our friend, whom nothing hitherto has sufficed to teach—what at least we desire our sons to learn—in the capacity of a tutor. Poor pupil, what became of thee! Soon lost to that occupation, we greet him in setting out to Cork on a good horse with thirty pounds in his pocket, intent, it would seem, on the El Dorado of America, and returning home without a sixpence on a lean beast, to whom he has vouchsafed the name of Fiddleback, wondering 'that his mother is not more rejoiced 'to see him!'

But what matters the insensible evaporation of thirty pounds, or the metamorphosis of plump horses into skeleton Fiddlebacks? Be it remembered, that our hero has an uncle,—an uncle rarely seen, except in the old comedies,—an uncle precious, placable, inexhaustible. Into those pockets whence thirty pounds have just vanished, the uncle sinks fifty more, and sends off the nephew to study the law. Arrived in Dublin, with that propitiatory offering to Themis, our youth thinks proper to pay his first respects to Fortune,—is allured into one of her temples, called by mortals a gaming house, and the *Diva præsens* benignantly appropriates to herself the sacrifice designed for an austerer goddess. Our unfortunate adventurer this time has some natural compunction: it is long before he owns what has happened. He is then invited back to the country, forgiven (but that of course) by his uncle; stays a few months with his brother, with whom he unfortunately quarrels; and then his friends exert themselves once more to push him on in the world. The project of the law as a profession is, however, abandoned. It seems to be tacitly acknowledged, that a calling, which our social infirmities ordain for the protection of the pockets of others, is little suited to one who can take such poor care of his own. Failing Church and

Law, what is left? Medicine. Again, the uncle opens the elastic purse strings, and, in 1752, our adventurer starts for Edinburgh, as a medical student. There he distinguishes himself highly—as a capital singer of Irish songs. He varies this occupation by some kind of employment (probably as tutor) at the Duke of Hamilton's, where 'he is liked more as a jester 'than companion.' His pride takes offence, and this employment, whatever it be, lasts little more than a fortnight. He visits the Highlands on a hired horse, 'about the size of a ram, 'who walks away (trot he cannot) as pensive as his master.' But if no promising student in medicine, those with whom this strange creature corresponded, must have been aware that under all defects of character there was now clear and distinct proof of something to justify, both in the youth himself, and in his more indulgent friends, that 'knack of hoping' which belonged to his own facile nature. In his letters there are signs of a humour original and exquisite;—evidences of an observation, not deep, perhaps, but keen; a command of style, peculiar at once for chastened grace and for lively ease. The letters were worth paying for;—they generally *were* paid for. Meanwhile, the Law that our medical student had deserted, pursues him revengefully in the shapes of its wonted Eumenides—the bailiffs. With his usual goodnature he has been security for one friend, and with his usual readiness of resource, he meets the penalties of the security by borrowing from others. Thus possessed of thirty-three pounds he prudently leaves Edinburgh, and embarks for Bordeaux. Fortunately he goes on shore at Newcastle on Tyne, and is making very merry with seven men, when in march a sergeant and twelve grenadiers with their bayonets screwed, and arrest him as a Scotch Jacobite; his seven boon companions being Scotchmen in the French service. He remains a fortnight in prison, while the ship sails on without him, and sinks at the mouth of the Garonne. At last, *per varios casus*, our medical nomad arrives at Leyden.

Here, perhaps, attending lectures, and certainly playing at cards, he remains nearly a year without an effort for a degree: he thinks it then time to leave the university, and for that purpose borrows, *more suo*, a small sum from a friend. Whatever the faults of our hero, we have seen that at least he was generous (borrowers mostly are so); he passes a florist's garden and spends the greater part of the loan he has received in purchasing costly roots, which he sends to his uncle. Thus relieved of unphilosophical superfluities, he sets off from Leyden, one guinea in his pocket, one shirt on his back, and a flute in his hand; that flute—we beg pardon for so cursory and slighting a

mention of that flute; what was our friend without it? That flute, dear mischief, had been his solace and perdition. Woe, and thrice woe to any man, constitutionally indolent, with his own way to make in this hard life, who takes to the flute! Slow will be his advance in the world with his fingers on those fatal stops!—that flute, deadliest of all the friendships the sizar had made at college—at every new insult he had received from man, at every fresh disaster he had provoked from fortune—that flute had furnished inauspicious vent for 'blowing off,' what otherwise might have been salutary 'excitement.' It was as much as Ulysses could do, what with stopping the ears of his seamen and having himself lashed to the mast, to save his ship from the Sirens. But when one is not Ulysses, and one carries a Siren always about with one in one's own pocket, shipwreck must be the habitual incident of life! With this flute he then sets off on a tour—the man who had tried in vain to be a scholar, a clergyman, a lawyer, and ought now to be hard at work in qualifying himself for a doctor! Travelling on foot, the flute (*fiat justitia*, for once not all perfidious) opens to him the hospitality of humble roofs. He sees the world to the sound of his own music.

Through Flanders, France, Switzerland, and parts of Italy, he pursues his wanderings, and boasts that 'he examines mankind and sees both sides of the picture.' So at last he fights (or rather flutes) his way towards England, and steps on shore at Dover. No more flute playing now, poor vagrant!—No doors open here to that disreputable Siren. There is reason to suspect (thinks his last biographer) that, on the journey from Dover to London, he attempted a comic performance in a country barn; and at one of the towns he passed (though Heaven knows how, and curiosity would in vain guess where, he is said to have received from some homicidal university the physician's formal authority to slay) he yet implores to be hired assistant in an apothecary's shop.

In the middle of February behold him wandering 'without friend or acquaintance, without the knowledge or comfort of one kind face, in the lonely, terrible London streets.'

Whether he picks up crumbs as an usher; whether he lives among the beggars of Axe Lane; whether he spreads plaisters and pounds in mortars for an apothecary at the corner of Monument Yard; he contrives, however, to elude famine; and we see him at length physician in a humble way in Bankside, Southwark, feeling the pulse of a courteous and credulous patient, and in spite of all entreaties to be relieved of his hat,

hugging it tight over his heart to conceal a patch in the second-hand velvet.

Of all earthly means whereby man can live by the sweat of his brow, there was none which our friend so entirely detested, none for which he was so unfitted, as teaching the young idea how to shoot,—he whose own ideas had hitherto shot up all ways but the right one; yet this was precisely the lot which fate in its malice had always hitherto insisted to obtrude upon him. He could never stretch out those loose, unretaining, awkward hands of his for bread, but what some sinister chance thrust into them the birch and the horn book. And suddenly from the unprofitable employment of feeling the pulses of patients who are more likely to be feed by him than to fee him, he is wrenched aside into that of assistant at the academy at Peckham. 'May I die by an anodyne necklace,' saith he (speaking out of his own heart though in the lips of another), 'but I had rather be under-turnkey at Newgate!' With the most morbid desire that man ever had to be treated with respect, our poor friend sets to work to command it in a way peculiarly his own. 'He plays all kinds of tricks on the 'servants and the boys (of which he had no lack of return in kind), 'tells entertaining stories, and amuses every body with his 'flute.' That accursed flute!

> 'Ille venena colchica
> Et quicquid usquam concipitur nefas
> Tractavit, agro qui statuit *suo*
> Te, triste lignum!'—

But here at length that goal, which those wandering, blundering, luckless feet were ordained to reach, appears dim and distant. Dr. Milner, the principal of the Academy, is an occasional contributor to the 'Monthly Review.' Griffiths, the bookseller, parent of that periodical, dines with Dr. Milner, and meets the usher at the board. Talk turns upon the 'Monthly Review' and its new rival, the 'Critical,' set up by Archibald Hamilton, assisted by Smollett. Publishers have a peculiar instinct for discovering those who can help them. With scent more than canine, under beeches the unlikeliest to the common eye, they detect the hidden truffle. Something said by this thick-set, pale-faced usher, arrests the attention of Mr. Griffiths; he asks to be favoured with a few specimens of criticism. The specimens are sent and approved; the usher leaves Dr. Milner's, and binds himself to Mr. Griffiths for one year; to board and lodge with the bookseller, receive a small salary, and devote himself to the 'Monthly

'Review.' Here, then, this desultory, roving spirit — hitherto one foot on land and one on sea — settles at last. He has found out, as calling after calling has slipped from him, his true profession. Never more will he be indolent now — the gay holiday of life is over. He is to be an author. And so first emerges from all the disguises of unsteady, fickle, vagrant youth, the immortal effigies of OLIVER GOLDSMITH.

Thus far, we have done little more than avail ourselves of the striking pictures which Goldsmith's last biographer has placed before us: Pictures necessary to impress upon our recollection when we come to examine the peculiar characteristics of a writer whose popularity equals his renown. For, indeed, under all these distractions from the regular course of education, the education which made Oliver Goldsmith what he was, proceeded steadfast, uniform, and distinct. From the early stories and rhymes of Thomas Byrne, the soldier schoolmaster, to the wanderings, flute in hand, by the murmuring Loire, Goldsmith was emphatically a writer from experience. What he had seen, what he had felt, that he reproduced. Comparatively with his other gifts, his imagination was not vivid or comprehensive. Not of him could it be said that he 'exhausted worlds and then 'imagined new.' It is astonishing that an author who wrote so much, who skimmed over so vast a surface of reading, should have ventured so little, in his creations, beyond the pale of his personal observation. His favourite characters are notoriously variations of the same forms; most of them, indeed, are but likenesses of the author himself in different positions. Now he appears almost at full length in the Philosophic Vagabond (George Primrose) to tell his own adventures, to utter his own sentiments; now, in a character meant, one would think to be, wholly dissimilar to his own — that of Sir William Thornhill, all which is really natural and interesting, is the *silhouette* of Oliver Goldsmith. In the Mr. Burchell, who is presented to us as the strange gentleman 'who had been two days in the inn and 'could not satisfy the hostess for his reckoning, though no later 'than yesterday he had given three guineas to the beadle to 'spare an old broken soldier that was to be whipped through 'the town for dog stealing;' 'who had carried benevolence to an 'excess when young; whom the slightest distress, whether real 'or fictitious, touched to the quick; who grew improvident as 'he grew poor; who travelled through Europe on foot; who 'still preserves the character of a humourist, and feels most 'pleasure in eccentric virtue; who was fondest of the company 'of children, and was famous for singing them ballads and 'telling them stories;'—in this Mr. Burchell who does not re-

cognise at once the author? And, in proportion as in the other attributes of the character we lose sight of Goldsmith, the character itself becomes artificial and incongruous. Even in his plays, we find our author sitting to himself in Marlow, with a caricature of his own youthful festivities as Tony Lumpkin at the head of the table in the alehouse. Honeywood, who calls his extravagance, generosity, and his trusting everybody universal benevolence, is still more transparent. Again, in 'The 'Citizen of the World,' the Philosopher of China perpetually reminds us of the features of Goldsmith; and, as if that were not enough, he appears *in propriâ personâ* as the Gentleman in Black. By some extraordinary perversion of judgment, there are persons who still believe that Lord Byron depicts himself in his heroes. Though we concede that Lord Byron may, in his earlier poems, have depicted heroes whom he was willing the world should think like him,—yet if all we know of that great poet, out of his works, were cancelled and forgotten, there is not one of his creations by which we could form the remotest conjecture of what the Poet really was. But every impression of Goldsmith's mind is stamped with a likeness of himself. Where he depicts other characters, he is still felicitous only when his experience is at home. His portrait of a profligate English gentleman in young Thornhill is but a disagreeable and odious caricature; it is the worst specimen of an Irish squireen dressed up as an English squire. But his 'Vicar of Wakefield,' and its ditto the Country Clergyman in the 'Deserted Village,' drawn from his kinsman, (with sundry lively traits of himself in the first,) are not more exquisite than truthful. Characters completed with a fainter genius, but still admirable, such as Lofty and Croaker, were precisely those which our poor poet's life must have thrown constantly across his way; and even in their mouths he puts sentiments all his own.

His conception of character was, in short, masterly beyond praise, wherever it was drawn from the observation, not from the fancy. And it is precisely this which renders his satire so inimitably truthful in the most consummate, though the briefest, of all his works of character, the 'Retaliation.' Goldsmith could never have written a Rape of the Lock; but, in his later days, he could have illustrated Horace with modern examples more life-like than Pope's. It is the same with ideas as characters;—Goldsmith's range was limited. Every one familiar with his writings knows how he loves to repeat the same thoughts, especially the same images, in almost the same expressions. Even in the 'History of Greece' the metaphor used in a 'Life of 'Parnell' is repeated; even a familiar letter to Mr. Hodgson is

embellished with the polished ornaments of 'The Vicar of Wake-'field.' Mr. Prior is right when he says, 'No man seems to 'have written more immediately from himself, or to own less 'obligation to classical sources.' But this praise requires both definition and discrimination. A man who writes immediately from himself, that is, from his own personal experience alone; who does not appropriate, remodel, and recreate the results of his reading and reflection; who does not travel out of himself and live in others, must necessarily have a range narrow and circumscribed. That characteristic proves the defect of imagination (using the word in that higher and comparative sense in which alone it should be applied to so eminent a writer). Shakspeare does not write from himself when he creates Ariel and Macbeth; nor does he disdain to owe obligations to other writers, when he takes plot and incident from novelist, chronicler, historian, and by his imagination infuses its peculiar life into every character which conduces to the plot, or animates the incident. We may detect this comparative want of imagination in Goldsmith's critical tastes. A man of large imagination is always peculiarly susceptible to beauty whatever form it takes; he cannot cripple his judgment to any particular school, though he may reasonably prefer one to another. Gray at once can appreciate Goldsmith, Goldsmith cannot appreciate Gray. In spite of Mr. Forster, we must think that Goldsmith's praise to a Lyrist unsurpassed, and an Elegiast unequalled in modern literature, was as niggard and cold as it could well be; while his indirect sneers at Gray imply unequivocal disdain; and he actually thinks Parnell's 'Night Piece on Death' (which we fear Death has long since kindly accepted) 'might be made to 'surpass all the churchyard scenes that have since appeared.' He clubs Gray up with Hurd and Mason, and, if we believe Mr. Cradock (and there is no reason why we should not), he actually proposes to amend the matchless 'Elegy' by leaving out an idle word in every line, as thus: —

> 'The curfew tolls the knell of day,
> The lowing herd winds o'er the lea,
> The ploughman homeward plods his way;'—

and here, in full career 'to leave Gray and the world to dark-'ness and to me,' he is fortunately stopped; having contrived, by amendments that may rank amongst the most ingenious of his literary efforts, — amendments confined to the skilful omission of three words and the substitution of a fourth,—to strip of every vestige of poetry one of the most poetical stanzas in the English language! Goldsmith's systematic aversion to epithets

is indeed a sign of defect in the imaginative faculty. For the epithet is often (and in no poet more than Gray) precisely that word in a verse which addresses itself most to the imagination of the reader, and tests most severely that of the author. A good epithet is always an image. Shakspeare has a line made up of epithets —

'The gaudy, babbling, and remorseless day.'

Our amender would have thought he rid it of impertinent superfluities by reducing the line to —

'The day!'

The beauties of Sterne, which certainly do not lie most on the surface, and consist in perpetual, indirect appeals to the imagination, appear to have been perfectly incomprehensible to Goldsmith. He spoke with absolute contempt of Milton's prose works; he undervalued the Elizabethan dramatists; and fell into the most prosaic and unimaginative of all possible criticisms upon Shakspeare, whose beauties, he says, 'seem rather the 'result of chance than design, and who labours to satisfy his 'audience with monsters and mummery.'

Having shown what Goldsmith did not admire, it is just to show what he did. And it will be readily seen that what most pleased his taste made the smallest demand on his imagination. In the brief criticisms introduced into a compilation from the English Poets, edited with his name, he says of Tickell's poem on the '*Death of Addison*,' 'this elegy is one of the finest in 'the language.' Of a '*Letter from Italy to Lord Halifax*,' 'that had its harmony been equal to Pope's versification, it 'would be incontestably the finest poem in the language.' Of Rowe's song, '*Despairing beside a clear Stream*,' 'this is 'better than any thing of the kind in our language.' Of '*Cooper's Hill*,' 'This poem, though it may have been exceeded 'by later attempts in description, yet deserves the highest ap-'plause, as it far surpasses all that went before it.' While of the '*Penseroso*' and '*L'Allegro*' he cannot say more than that 'it is certain the imagination shown in them is correct 'and strong; the introduction to both in the irregular measure 'is borrowed from the Italian, and hurts an English ear:' nor of Thomson's 'Palemon and Lavinia' than that, 'though Mr. 'Thomson is generally a verbose and affected poet, he has told 'his story with unusual simplicity, but that it is rather given 'for being much esteemed by the public than by the editor.'

Goldsmith wrote more than two acts of a tragedy, which he appears never to have finished, and, indeed, to have destroyed.

We cannot but think the loss fortunate for his fame. We suspect that tragedy would have been precisely the composition in which, next always to criticism, this great writer would have failed. Master of a pathos, exquisite of its kind, it is the pathos intimately allied to humour, and touching upon the tears that lie nearest to our smiles. Of that depth of thought, that loftiness of conception, which a tragedy worthy his fame would have required, he could not have been capable. With the passions necessary to the elements of tragedy, love and terror, he no where shows himself familiar. The last, indeed, he does not attempt. The former he paints with a delicate but feeble hand, and rather plays over the surface of the passion than throws any light upon its depths. The loves of Squire Thornhill and Olivia, the nearest approach to the graver aspects of the emotion that he has ventured to make, are among the least satisfactory parts of his immortal novel. We suspect the reason to be that Goldsmith was never seriously in love himself.

From the same deficiency of imagination, he cannot paint a bad man with consistency and power. As his good men have always some of his own foibles; so his bad men, with whom he could not identify himself, are little better than sharpers, of whose villany his goodnature seems scarcely conscious.

But it is in the narrowness of his range, and in the close identity of his characters with his own heart and experience, that we are to find the main cause of Goldsmith's universal and unfading popularity. He had in himself an original to draw from, with precisely those qualities which win general affection. Loveable himself, in spite of all his grave faults, he makes loveable the various copies that he takes from the master portrait. His secret is this — the emotions he commands are pleasureable. He is precisely what Johnson calls him, the '*affectuum lenis* '*dominator*' — *potens* because *lenis*. He is never above the height of the humblest understanding; and, by touching the human heart, he raises himself to a level with the loftiest. He has to perfection what the Germans call *Anmuth*. His Muse wears the zone of the Graces.

There is another peculiarity in Goldsmith. Precisely because his ideas are not numerous, he has the most complete command over them. They have all the versatility of a practised company. He can make them do duty alike in a poem, a comedy, a novel, an essay. Like Bobadil, he selects 'but 'nineteen more to himself — gentlemen of good spirit, strong 'and able constitutions, teaches them the special rules — your 'punto, your reverso,' and may then boast, with more truth than Bobadil, that he can make them a match for 'forty

'thousand strong.' Various, in the larger sense of the word, as we apply it to Goethe or Shakspeare, he was not; but he was wonderfully versatile. He always addresses the same feelings, presents the same phases of life, the same family of thought — but then it is in all ways, which are rarely indeed at the command of the same man. Whether you read 'The Deserted Village,' 'The Vicar of Wakefield,' 'The 'Goodnatured Man,' or 'The Citizen of the World,' you find at the close that much the same emotions have been created — the heart has been touched much in the same place. But with what pliant aptitude the form and mode are changed and disguised! Poem, novel, essay, drama, how exquisite of its kind! The humour that draws tears, and the pathos that provokes smiles, will be popular to the end of the world. That these merits imply an extraordinary charm of style, is self-evident. 'The style is the man,' says a French authority; — at all events, the style is the writer. But where in this irregular course of study — where in his college associations or his village festivities — did this man, with his rustic manners and Irish brogue, pick up a style so pure, so delicate? How comes it that in all the miry paths of life that he had trod, no speck ever sullied the robe of his modest and graceful muse? How, amidst all that love for inferior company, which never to the last forsook him, did he keep his genius so free from every touch of vulgarity? What style in the English language is more thoroughly elegant and high bred — more impressed with the stamp of gentleman — its ease so polished, its dignity so sweet? Johnson says that 'Goldsmith was a plant that flowered late.' This is not strictly true. In the earlier letters of Goldsmith, those, for instance, written from Edinburgh, we see (as has been before implied) the same peculiar graces of diction, the same happy humour, with its undercurrent of tenderness, which make the works of his maturity so delightful. On examining narrowly the character of Goldsmith, we find, even in what are regarded its defects, and what served to render him ridiculous in the circles of London, some clue to the enigma of the contrast between the habits of the man and the style of the writer. Goldsmith never, from the period at which he lounged at the college gates as a sizar to the time when his peach-blossom coat attracted the mirth of Garrick, divested himself of the notion that he was a gentleman. This conviction was almost the strongest he possessed; the more it was invaded the more he clung to it. He surrounded it with all the keenest susceptibilities of his sensitive nature. Nothing so galled and offended him as a hint to the contrary. To be liked as a jester, not a companion — to be

despised for his poverty — to be underrated as a sizar — to be taunted by a schoolboy with a question of his gentility — were cruelties beyond all others that fate could inflict. This conviction, and its concomitant yearning for respect, could not influence conventional manners, formed under auspices the least propitious. It could not invest with dignity the stunted and awkward figure; it could not check the lively impulses of a quick blundering Irish temper; but in that best and most sacred part of him — his genius — it moulded his taste to instinctive refinement. Here he was always true to his ideal. There is something to us inexpressibly touching in the jealous religion with which this man, exposed to the rough trials and coarse temptations of life, preserved the sanctity of his muse. The troops of Comus in vain 'knit hands and beat the ground' by the stream in which that pure Sabrina 'commends her fair 'innocence to the flood:' —

> 'Summer drouth or singed air
> Never scorch those tresses fair,
> Nor wet October's torrent flood
> The molten chrystal fills with mud.'

To judge by Goldsmith's early letters, we are inclined to believe that Le Sage was one of his first models in diction. When we read them, with their naïve accounts of his own credulity — the amusing adventures they recite — their mingled simplicity and shrewdness — we seem to be opening a new chapter in the youthful history of Gil Blas. Goldsmith, indeed, was in himself a kind of young Irish Gil Blas, terminating in a Fabricio instead of a minister's secretary and retired statesman. But if Le Sage did really influence his earlier mode of description and his easy views of life, he added in his maturer years the grace of a sentiment and the softness of a pathos all his own. He never attained to that wonderful knowledge of the world, that careless comprehension of external character in its widest varieties, which render Gil Blas the wisest novel that man ever wrote; but with much of Le Sage's polished facility of narrative he combined a command over emotions Le Sage never aspired to reach. He added poetry to the Frenchman's prose,— for Goldsmith was a poet, Le Sage was not.

While the character of Goldsmith tends to illustrate his genius, so, on the other hand, we may find in certain idiosyncracies of the genius the clue to the most remarkable foibles of the character. We have seen how much the range of Goldsmith was confined to his personal feelings and experience, how constantly he was possessed with the sense of his own indi-

viduality. And this consciousness of self, which imparts so indescribable a truthfulness to the happier creations of the writer, gives the appearance of a fidgetty and restless vanity to the man. Goldsmith carried it with him into all societies; and forgetfulness of self is the only secret of social ease. Aware of merit, which he uneasily felt he was not able to make manifest when the pen was out of his hand, Goldsmith was always in Goldsmith's way; to borrow his own line, there was —

'Nobody with him at sea but himself.'

The popular stories of his envy and jealousy we know now to be exaggerated — some of them wholly untrue; but with that candour which almost invariably belongs to over-sensitive men, with whom self is prominent, every passing shade of such emotions, from which minds the kindest and spirits the noblest may not be always free, he was apt at once to betray. He had not, as Boswell opines, 'more envy than other people,' but he talked of it more freely. Mr. Forster says truly, in the course of his temperate but most subtle vindication of Goldsmith in this respect — a vindication evincing very profound acquaintance with some of the most intricate chords of human nature, — 'This free talking did all the mischief. He was simple enough 'to say aloud what others would more prudently have concealed.'

To the same self-consciousness we must ascribe the peculiarities more external. Goldsmith could not think of himself without many causes for distrust. He was aware of his defects of person, of 'his ugly face,' of his brogue, of his deficiency in the conventional manners of cultivated society. 'Too little 'self-confidence,' says Mr. Forster, well and pithily, 'begets the 'forms of vanity.' But how could he be possibly blind to his immeasurable superiority in genius, over nearly all with whom life could bring him into contact? And we must remember, that, at all events, in the earlier stages of his career, that genius was not recognised. He thus entered the social world both proud and bashful. 'Society,' says Mr. Forster, 'exposed him 'to continual misconstruction; so that few more touching things 'have been recorded of him than those which have most awakened 'laughter. '"People are greatly mistaken in me (he remarked 'on one occasion). "A notion goes about, that when I am silent '"I mean to be impudent; but I assure you, gentlemen, my '"silence proceeds from bashfulness." From the same cause pro-'ceeded the unconcealed talk which was less easily forgiven than 'silence.' Grasping at that respect of which he was so tenacious, he resorts to fine clothes to set off his homely person;—to paradoxes in conversation to enforce attention; to give breakfasts

and suppers he can ill afford; he apologises for lodgings beneath his dignity. He is always keeping the hat off his head, to hide some patch on his coat. This sensitiveness, proceeding from intense self-consciousness, is mixed up with the most amiable attributes of his nature, and has subjected even his lavish generosity, his cordial charity, to the imputation of a want of true feeling. There seems certainly some neglect of his nearest kindred, not very satisfactorily explained, and not very consistent with his kindly nature. The household relations with all, are, however, so complicated and so little to be judged fairly by others, that it is both just and prudent to extend to the dead that tacit acquiescence in their mysterious sanctity which we accord to the living. It is too much the fashion to parade a man's Lares in his funeral procession, and to claim them as public property the moment they have left the hearth. Perhaps, however, we may get some clue to a secret that has attracted so much loose conjecture, in the letter Goldsmith himself addresses to his brother Maurice: — 'Dear brother,' he writes, 'I should 'have answered your letter sooner, but in truth *I am not fond* '*of thinking of the necessities of those I love, when it is so very little* '*in my power to help them.*' Distress was so painful to Goldsmith, that, at whatever cost, he must get it out of his way. He will give it the coat from his back, the blankets from his bed, the last guinea in his pocket. In one of the most pleasing anecdotes recorded of him, Goldsmith himself illustrates this sympathy of nerves. He throws down his cards, when playing at whist, runs out of doors, and says, on his return, 'I could not bear to hear that unfortunate woman in 'the street, half singing, half sobbing; her voice grated pain-'fully on my ear, and jarred my whole frame, so that I could 'not rest till I had sent her away.'* Such was his ready tenderness to distress — the pity that gave ere charity began. But if he could give nothing to the distress — if he could not send it away, then he must hide from it, — put it out of his thoughts. The suffering that was present was thus always usurping the juster claims of the suffering that was absent. The beggar or impostor was constantly intercepting the resources of the day from their better channels towards relations, of whose necessities 'he is not fond of thinking.' He cannot bear to write

* Nevertheless we suspect the genuineness of this anecdote: it seems to have escaped Goldsmith's biographers that a very similar story is told, (containing the main idea 'of the voice between singing 'and crying,') of the Black Gentleman, in 'The Citizen of the World,' published many years before the date of the anecdote.

to them and give nothing; and to think of them is a pain to be shunned. But never must we forget, in justice to Goldsmith, that with all his consciousness of self, he was the least selfish of men — that his sensitiveness, if morbid, was at least genuine. He had not that fineness of nerves which permitted Rousseau to leave his friend in a fit in the street, nor that tenderness of disposition which could have dropped his children into a foundling hospital. Like Rousseau, he felt self to a disease; but, unlike Rousseau, the feverish sensitiveness was contagious, and embraced all that came within his reach. Irritable, sore, justly provoked as he often was, he shrunk from inflicting the pain he received. No wound to his vanity, no outrage to his pride, ever made him malignant and revengeful. He did not smile and hate, he writhed and forgave.

Something of Goldsmith's facility to distress is to be found in the boyhood of Schiller. Similar anecdotes are told of both — in stripping themselves of clothing to relieve some more destitute object. Their fates, at the onset of life, were not very dissimilar; but Schiller settled into the firm virtues of manhood — Goldsmith remained to the last with the spontaneous impulses of the child. Schiller, however, had two great advantages denied to Goldsmith. 1st. His genius was recognised early and liberally. Next, he was fortunate enough to make a happy and congenial marriage. But Goldsmith's youth was without renown, and his manhood without a home. If any man ever could have been improved by the domestic influences, that man would have been Goldsmith. Had it been his fate to meet with a woman who could have loved him despite his faults, and respected him despite his foibles, we cannot but think that his life and his genius would have been much more harmonious, his desultory affections would have been concentered, his craving self-love appeased, his pursuits been more settled, his character more solid. A nature like Goldsmith's, so affectionate and so confiding — so susceptible to simple innocent enjoyments — so dependent on others for the sunshine of existence, does not fairly flower if deprived of the atmosphere of home.

We have left our author in his twenty-ninth year, a man of letters at last; an author by compulsion, with 'the hope of greatness 'and distinction,—day star of his wanderings and privations, — 'more than ever dim, distant, cold.' We will leave our readers to trace in Mr. Forster's graphic and instructive pages the process of his apprenticeship;—his taskwork at the review; his quarrels with the proprietor; his translations from the French of the 'Memoirs 'of a Protestant condemned to the Galleys of France for his 'Religion;' his despondent retreat to the Peckham academy; his

return to the town and the pen; 'in a garret writing for 'bread, expecting to be dunned for a milk score;' his hopes of a medical appointment to a factory on the coast of Coromandel; their mysterious frustration; his examination at Surgeons' Hall as mate to an hospital, and his rejection as not qualified; his labours in the Critical Review; and his Memoir of Voltaire: we pass over the delicate and subtle transition marked with fine discrimination by Mr. Forster, from 'authorship by com-'pulsion' to 'authorship by choice;' when 'the Bee' begins to gather honey in a spring yet too raw and premature; when 'the 'Citizen of the World' yet finds the world reluctant to admit him to the franchise; and pause to behold '"the Literary Drudge"' 'as *we* at the club (says Sir John Hawkins in all the pomp of '"his shoes and *staukins*") considered him;' having gained entry to the learned festivities at the Turk's Head, formed his first acquaintance with Johnson, and been presented (if Goldsmith would here allow the epithets to be more than expletives), to 'the gaudy, babbling, and remorseless'—Boswell.—But the Poet had arrived at the foot of the Hill, 'Là ove 'terminava quelle valle.' He might say, with the great pilgrim who had preceded him through the *selva selvaggia*,

> 'Guarda in alto, e vidi le sue spalle
> Vestite già de' raggi del pianeta.'

As yet Goldsmith had never prefixed his name to his publications, and had done comparatively little to make the world aware of the powers he possessed; but Johnson's acute eye had detected, in the anonymous essayist, a master in composition. 'Sir,' said he to the wondering Boswell, 'Goldsmith 'is one of the first men we have now as an author.'

The period of obscurity is passed. Through all the drudgery for bread, works worthy of fame, worthy to make known to the world the name of its author, had been silently accomplished. 'One day,' says Johnson, 'I received a message 'from poor Goldsmith that he was in great distress, and as it was 'not in his power to come to me, begging I would come to him 'directly.' The scene is well known: the arrest by the landlady; the violent passion of the poet; the bottle of madeira on the table, which Johnson corks up; the inquiry into the means by which the poet may be extricated; the production of a novel ready for the press; Johnson's glance at the MS., his perception of its merit, and his sale of the copyright for 60*l.* But this is not all, 'on the very day of the arrest,' says Mr. Forster, '"The Traveller" lay completed in the poet's desk;'

and on the 19th of December, 1764, the first work bearing the name of Oliver Goldsmith, 'The Traveller,' was published.

From this time the author's fame is established: the rest of his career, is, so far as literary achievement is concerned, a succession of triumphs. The effect produced by 'The Traveller' was not instantaneous; but in eight months it reached its fourth edition. His essays were republished in three volumes and acknowledged. 'The Vicar of Wakefield' followed, and though not much helped by friend or critic, reached its third edition in a few months. Poet, essayist, novelist, already; he aspires to the fame of the drama. He had always been a passionate lover of the stage: in the worst hours of poverty, he had contrived to escape from his own life, to that fair illusion on the boards. With much difficulty, humiliation, wear and tear of mind, he at length succeeds in getting 'The Goodnatured Man' upon the stage. On the 29th of January, 1768, that comedy appeared: its success seems to have been equivocal on the stage, and its run limited to ten nights, with an eleventh night a month later for the benefit of Shuter, whose inimitable acting of Croaker saved the play; but it no doubt served to render the author's name more generally known. Its sale proved the interest felt in it by the public. Judicious readers could not but ratify, at least, the praise of Johnson, that 'it was the best 'comedy since the Provoked Husband.' And the profits had a sensible influence on Goldsmith's mode of life. Passing (and alas, passingly) rich, with 300*l.* for the performance, and 100*l.* for the copyright, he descended from his attic story in the staircase, Inner Temple, and purchased chambers in Brick Court: a purchase which consumed the 400*l.* he had received. Thus the increased means were but the prelude to difficulties on a larger scale. Money thus continues to be the necessary object; and for money he writes his Roman History; but it is to his honour, that no necessities can compel him to write for money only. 'The Deserted Village' proceeds with the Roman History: in 1770 that poem appears: Gray hears it read aloud to him, and juster to Goldsmith than Goldsmith to Gray, exclaims, 'that man is a poet!' In 1773 appears 'She Stoops to 'Conquer:' it is received throughout with the greatest acclamations; its effect was signal,—it completed the revolution 'The 'Goodnatured Man' had too prematurely commenced: it annihilated, for the time at least, 'the Sentimental Comedy.'

We are now in the meridian of that fourth subdivision of his life which Mr. Forster has described: — Goldsmith is at the height of his renown. Even his Histories, though really not better than elegant compilations, were regarded with respect by his con-

temporaries. Johnson sets him above Robertson as an historian. What wants our Author? that for which he has pined all his life —the personal consideration he feels to be his due. All the more eminent of his associates had remembered him but as 'little 'Goldy,' and little Goldy they persist in considering him still. We acquit Boswell of all the more unamiable motives for depreciation, which we do not wonder, nevertheless, are assigned to him. But Boswell was evidently utterly unable to measure the genius of Goldsmith, or comprehend that in 'The Vicar of 'Wakefield,' 'The Deserted Village,' and 'She Stoops to Con-'quer,' posterity would venerate an excellence, equal at least to the merits of 'Rasselas,' 'London,' and 'Irene.' The concurrent mass of testimony is too strong to permit us to doubt that there was something in Goldsmith's manner and conversation, that if it did not justify contempt, tended inevitably to his disparagement. And what that something was is sufficiently evident in the uneasy consciousness of self we have referred to. Peculiarities of dress, even if amounting to foppery, are common among eminent men, and are carried off from ridicule by ease in some, or stateliness in others. We may smile at Chatham, scrupulously crowned in his best wig, if intending to speak; at Erskine, drawing on his bright yellow gloves, before he rose to plead; at Horace Walpole, in a cravat of Gibbon's carvings; at Raleigh, loading his shoes with jewels so heavy that he could scarcely walk; at Petrarch, pinching his feet till he crippled them; at the rings which covered the philosophical fingers of Aristotle; at the bare throat of Lord Byron; the Armenian dress of Rousseau; the scarlet and gold coat of Voltaire; or the prudent carefulness with which Cæsar scratched his head, so as not to disturb the locks arranged over the bald place. But most of these men, we apprehend, found it easy to enforce respect and curb impertinence. Many great men are silent, or what is worse, dull in conversation, and are yet not despised for it. The talk of Addison and Gibbon was very inferior to their books. The talent of conversation is one not to be lightly rated; carried to a high degree, it implies and necessitates the possession of many rare faculties. But while the gift proves a clever man, the want of it is no proof of a dull one. 'Conversation,' says Mr. Forster, truly, 'is a 'game where the wise do not always win.' That Goldsmith often talked foolishly, there is sufficient authority to induce us to believe. Indeed, when we consider that two thirds of the conversation among literary men are composed of criticism, and that Goldsmith was, perhaps, the very worst critic that any man of ability ever was, he would only have had to talk much the

same as he wrote in his remarks upon the poems admitted into 'the Beauties of English Poetry,' to have seemed either an envious man or a shallow one. Yet, after all, we have few records left to us of the foolish sayings: on the contrary, most of the sayings which come down to us as specimens of his table talk, when upon persons or things, not books, are among the best in a circle that comprised the best talkers of the age. And we incline to think that his vindicators are not far wrong in supposing that much of what passed for silly, was drollery in disguise. It was not, we apprehend, so much the words as the manner that provoked ridicule. With his acute self-consciousness, Goldsmith was never at his ease in the society of learned wits and sarcastic men of the world. Too well aware of his inclination to levity, he is thus often 'solemn,' as Warton found him. He plays a part in those ungenial circles, and plays it ill. There is a grotesque incongruity about him, that strikes us even at this distance, and through the medium of the tender reverence he commands from us. The peach-blossom coat Topham Beauclerk could have borne away on his well-bred shoulders as an elegant audacity; but it is out of all keeping on the form which Goldsmith himself indignantly suspects has been taken for a tailor's. Mr. Forster says, 'that insensibility was what he wanted most, 'and it is amazing to think how small an amount of it would 'have exalted Dr. Goldsmith's position in the literary circles of 'his day.' This is true; but it is just that we should here discriminate: there are various kinds of sensitiveness. Keen susceptibility to sneers upon honour or assaults on character, is no weakness—it is the noble jealousy of a noble heart; sensitiveness to the perfidy of false friends, affection trifled with, and trust betrayed, is not morbidity — it is the healthful action of a generous nature. But it was not on these matters that Goldsmith's susceptibility was over acute. He could boast that there was not a country in Europe in which he was not a debtor; and he could turn into philosophical merriment the tricks that had imposed on his credulity. Goldsmith's sensitiveness was as to his person, his dress, his manners, his *gentility* — the attention he sought to exact, the effect that he laboured to create; and sensitiveness of this kind can only be characterised as the epidermis of self-love in a state of chronic inflammation.

To have seen and heard Goldsmith to advantage one should have followed him from the Turk's Head — escaped with him from the polished sneer of Beauclerk — the arch malice of Garrick — the imperious domination of Johnson — the affluent resources of Burke — the conceited condescension of Boswell — one should not have sat next him at a table, where he is stopped

when talking his best, by a 'Hush! the Doctor (Johnson) is going 'to say something;' or where politely thanking a pedantic schoolmaster for an invitation he supposes meant for himself, he, the unsurpassed writer of a great age, is crushed with a 'No—no! 'tis not you I mean, Doctor Minor,—'tis Doctor Major there.' One should have seen him presiding over the banquet where he himself was Mæcenas— his gay spirit released from restraint, and the 'two great wrinkles between the brows' smoothed at sight of the happy faces he loved to contemplate;—singing songs, cracking jokes, choregus to that mirth of which he was not, *there*, the victim:—or, better still, one should, like the young adventurer whom he found reading *Boileau* in the Temple Gardens, have crept into his confidence by its open gate of benevolence. Had the biographer before us lived in that day, we are sure we should have received very different impressions of Goldsmith's conversational eloquence. We can well conceive how an admirer so delicate and earnest, would have soothed to sleep the self-distrust, broken the solemn spell of artificial restraint, by the homage of due respect,—have led the frank poet, too happy to 'tell of all he felt and all 'he knew,' to converse of his own early wanderings and light-hearted trials, when the poney walked away with him into the Highlands;—when the Carinthian shut the door in his face;—when he lived with the beggars in Axe Lane, or pounded in the apothecary's mortar. Here, we believe, his talk would have been worthy of his books; full of that experience in which lay his wisdom,—of gentle pathos, and bewitching humour. 'Vates 'caret vate;' the poet wanted the poet's heart to understand, the poet's tongue to speak of him.

But we left Goldsmith at the height of his renown. His likeness is in the print shops—his name in the journals—complimentary poems rain upon him—imitations abound—and the higher the front he raises, the more conspicuous the butt he presents to his relentless friends. In the confession of Johnson, 'the partiality of his friends was always against 'him; it was with difficulty we could give him a hearing.' His necessities increase with his fame and his new dignity, for 'dignity,' says a certain sage, 'requires a great deal to keep 'up!' He pauses from works that yield the fame, to drudge on works that will keep up the dignity. He toils at a Grecian History, knowing, we suspect, as little Greek as a man who has been last at a college examination can well know. He pursues undaunted his way through 'Animated Nature,' with the doubt of Dr. Johnson 'whether he could distinguish a 'cow from a horse'—but with a certainty more strong than the

doubt that 'he would make a very fine book of it.' He forms a plan for a Dictionary of Arts and Sciences, to which he brings but the art of composition, and the science taught in Laputa of extracting sunbeams from cucumbers. But the thick robust form begins to give way, the careless spirits to flag. Cradock, one of the kindest, perhaps because one of the most recent, of his friends, and not knowing him till after little Goldy had become great Goldsmith, finds him much altered; his usual cheerfulness 'all forced.' He suggests a subscription edition of the 'Traveller' and 'Deserted Village.' But Goldsmith's difficulties were probably too great to be met by such relief. 'He rather submitted than encouraged, and the scheme 'fell to the ground.' Amidst these cares he appears at the St. James's Coffeehouse, and, for his comfort, hears read a series of satirical epitaphs upon him; of which Garrick's, the only one preserved, is perhaps a mild specimen: —

> 'Here lies poet Goldsmith, for shortness called Noll,
> Who wrote like an angel, but talked like poor Poll.'

This is the latest tribute offered to the man whose life had been one struggle for social estimation! And the latest effort of the sensitive genius is a characteristic (it is his single) revenge; — the unfinished poem of 'Retaliation.' No trace of malignity embitters this satire; perhaps, as far as it goes, the most perfect in the English language. Kindly and grateful to those who had been kind to him; discriminating in rebuke; blending the happiest praise with the justest blame, to those who had so mercilessly galled his vain, proud, large, loving heart. The hand rests in the midst of that exquisite tribute to the one friend who saw, even in the talk like poor Poll, but 'excess of convi-'viality,'—which gives the surest immortality to Reynolds himself. An old local disorder returns to him, 'brought on by 'neglect,' and 'continued vexation of mind arising from involved 'circumstances.' He arrives in London the middle of March, struggling with symptoms of low nervous fever. He obstinately persists, against the advice of his medical attendants, to dose himself with James's powders; the disease takes root, becomes alarming; sleep deserts him. Yet at times, even in dying, that light uncomprehended spirit can become cheerful; but the cheerfulness, we fear, was on the surface, as it had been when feeling 'horrid tortures' at the supposed failure of his first play, and when, while none 'could imagine to themselves the anguish 'of his heart,' he sang his favourite song. His physician says, 'Your pulse is in greater disorder than it should be from the 'degree of fever you have,—is your mind at ease?' 'It is not,'

answered Goldsmith; and 'these,' says Mr. Forster, 'are the 'last words we hear him utter in this world.' On the 4th of April, 1774, and at the early age of forty-five, Oliver Goldsmith died.

We shall not pursue the more obvious moral to be drawn from the life thus closed. The world satisfies itself too easily when it dismisses the memoir of one of its benefactors with some trite maxim drawn from the errors of genius. In spite of all Goldsmith's faults, we will not dispute Mr. Forster's assertion, 'that he worthily did the work that was in him to do; proved 'himself in his garret a gentleman of nature, and left the world 'no ungenerous bequest. . . . Nor have posterity been backward 'to acknowledge the debt which his contemporaries left them to 'discharge; and it is with calm, unruffled, joyful, aspect on the 'one hand, and with grateful, loving, eager, admiration on the 'other, that the creditor and his debtor at length stand face 'to face.' To what follows we invite a closer attention. 'All 'this is to the world's honour as well as gain; which has yet to 'consider, notwithstanding, with a view to its own larger profit 'in both, if its debt to the man of genius might not earlier be 'discharged, and if the thorns that only become invisible beneath 'the laurel that overgrows his grave, should not rather, while he 'lives, be plucked away. It is not an act of parliament which 'can determine this . . . it must flow from a higher sense than has 'at any period prevailed in England of the duties and responsibilities assumed by the public writer, and of the social consideration and respect that their effectual discharge should have 'undisputed right to claim. The world will be greatly the 'gainer when such time shall arrive; and when the biography of 'the man of genius shall no longer be a picture of the most harsh 'struggles and mean necessities to which man's life is subject, 'exhibited as in shameful contrast to the calm and classic glory 'of his fame.'

These eloquent reflections are pertinent to the subject. Goldsmith, indeed, was one whom, perhaps, no social consideration which the world can pay would have lifted into the personal respect of his associates, or out of the 'mean necessities' which, in his later life, at least, his own improvidence in some degree wantonly created. But the observations apply to a large class, the majority of whom have his just pride without its concomitant foibles, and are exposed to the same harsh struggles, without the same aggravations in their own errors. The evil complained of is patent, and but seldom denied. The remedy, however, is difficult, and admits of too much dispute to allow

us, now and here, to discuss it. We content ourselves with a few passing observations.

That the present pension list, intended as a relief to all the science and literature of the British empire, is miserably inadequate, is incontestable. It is somewhere about half the sum which a country squire, with economy, devotes to the maintenance of a pack of fox-hounds. It may be a question whether there should be any pension list whatever for men of literature and science; there can be none, that, if it is to exist, it should be worthy of the nation that bestows the bounty. It is dangerous to provoke comparison between the salary of the Master of the Buckhounds and the sum apportioned to the aggregate intellect which the Monarchy of Great Britain (in the act itself of the donation) professes to foster or reward. But the principle of a pension list is not one that dignifies the community of letters, nor does it meet the questions at issue. Even in a pecuniary point of view, a sum might often be necessary for a limited period in the production of a particular work, which it would not be necessary to continue for life, and which need not be applied to the mere relief of positive distress, or the support of infirmity and age. Schiller was in the prime of his life, and quite capable of being a bookseller's drudge, perhaps of writing Grecian histories, and works on Animated Nature, when two noblemen, thinking that his genius was meant for other things, subscribed to endow him with a pension for three years, to enable him to do that which he was calculated best to do. It came to Schiller at the right time of his existence. It served, we believe, not only to aid his genius, but to soften his heart. Some help of a similar nature, a national fund, in connexion with the pension list, might not unprofitably bestow.

Perhaps, in any comprehensive system of national education which the conflicting opinions and prejudices of party may permit the legislature ultimately to accomplish, means may be taken to render the Mechanics' Institutes (many of which are fast decaying, and cannot, we believe, long exist upon resources wholly voluntary,) permanent and valuable auxiliaries to popular instruction; and endowed lectureships or professorships, at the more important of these in our larger towns, might be devoted to men distinguished in letters and science, connect them more with the practical world, occupy but little of their time, and yield them emoluments, if modest, still sufficient to relieve them from actual dependence on the ordinary public and trading booksellers.

Perhaps, too, in the point of social consideration, it may be

well to reflect whether it is wise or just that England should be the only country in which men of letters are deprived of the ordinary social honours, which tend to raise literature to its proper place in the estimation of the crowd. Hereditary distinctions (a peerage or a baronetcy) require the possession of a wealth, that it would be absurd to expect in the class of which we treat. Even where the government might overlook such requirement, the author, if prudent, could not suffer himself to do so; and Dr. Southey wisely refused the baronetcy offered to him. But there are honours in this country, as in others, which are not hereditary, and are supposed to be assigned to merit. It may be well to talk of orders and badges as unphilosophical; but if they are objects of emulation, proofs of desert, or symbols of social dignity in the eyes of others, we do not see why literature and science should be excluded from their attainment. They may not elevate the possessor in the eyes of the few; but that is not the question. They may elevate the cultivation of literature in the eyes of the many, and insensibly train the opinions of 'the world' to regard with honour those to whom the state accords the outward distinction it bestows on diplomatists and soldiers. An order created solely for men of science and letters, as has been more than once suggested, would wholly fail in its object. There is no reason why they should be separated from others who deserve well of their country. On the contrary, it is to amalgamate them with their fellow-citizens in honours as in labours that we desire; and to suffer them to rank (where their reputation so entitles them) with whomsoever be the other claimants to social consideration. There is not a city knight who would not jeer at an order consisting only of authors, to whose united rentroll he would prefer even half a dozen railway debentures. If any practical honours ever be accorded to authors, philosophers, or artists, agreeably to the usual principles of an aristocratic monarchy, we fear, strange though it may appear to sages, that they must be honours shared with dukes and earls, ambassadors and generals.

That some abuse, favour, and partiality would attend such distinctions, we readily concede. These attend all honours. But public opinion would operate perhaps more strongly on the class we refer to than on any other in resenting unworthy selection or illiberal exclusion. Briefly, — in a country in which both the constitution and the popular modes of thinking are essentially aristocratic, should those of our countrymen whom foreign nations the most esteem, to whom we ourselves are under obligations of the highest kind, and in whom posterity will regard the loftiest representatives of the age that they adorn,

to be the only men in pursuit of distinction to whom the honours of aristocracy are denied? — the only men living under a monarchy to whom the austere philosophy of a republic is to be applied; a republic, indeed, in which they are admitted to the equality of the old villeins; all equal in being equally shut out from the lists of knighthood; and enrolled in the fraternity of Esaus, who have lost their birthright, but without receiving the pottage.

We must now turn more directly to the very remarkable and delightful biography which has induced this recurrence to an author whose life always interests, and whose books always charm. We know of no man more fit for the task he has undertaken than Mr. Forster. He brings to it a mind habitually critical, subtle, and inquiring; that strong sympathy with men of letters which the life of Goldsmith especially demands; a large practical knowledge of the infirmities and misfortunes, as well as the virtues and solaces of the class, with which kindred pursuits must have made him familiar; an extensive store of general information; a style, not always equal it is true, and occasionally injured by mannerisms not visible in his former writings, but never bald or insipid; often weighty with earnest thought, often coloured with eloquence, animated or touching.

Mr. Forster's 'Lives of the Statesmen of the Commonwealth,' —a work of high merit, and especially so for the qualities such an undertaking most needs,—have habituated him to the difficulties of one of the most difficult departments in literary art; viz., the biography of men with whom the author was unacquainted, and the main facts of whose lives are already generally known. It is no ordinary talent that can make a biography of this kind both interesting and important; give not only a seeming but a genuine originality to materials with which we had thought ourselves familiar; and supply a gap in previous researches of which we were scarcely aware, till the ingenuity which detected the gap had durably repaired it. Mr. Forster has treated the subject before us, on the whole, with a judgment correspondent to the ability. That he is more lenient to his hero than we always are, is natural. The duties of a reviewer are sterner than those of a biographer. But Mr. Forster does not vindicate Goldsmith from all his errors with the violent effort of Mr. Prior; and by candid if guarded admissions, turns aside that reaction from wilful indulgence to rigid justice which Mr. Prior could not fail to create. He concedes all that we demand, though we may have enforced the concessions somewhat more stringently than he intended, when he says, 'It is not an example 'I would wish to inculcate. It would be dangerous to try any

'such process for the chance of another Goldsmith.' What follows is truly said,—and in the patient care with which Mr. Forster follows out his proposition, consists much of the originality and value of his work:—'The truth is important to be 'kept in mind, that genius is in no respect allied to these weak-'nesses, but when unhappily connected with them, is in itself a 'means to avert their most evil consequences.'

It was impossible to write a thick volume on Goldsmith, and not use the facts which others had used before. Facts are open to all men. They are the brick earth upon the common land, from which, by right immemorial, each man may build his castle or his cottage. It is not because one man has used bricks before us, that we are to confine ourselves to mortar and rubble. Mr. Prior has published a letter in which he seems to claim an exclusive property in Goldsmith, and to regard Mr. Forster's biography as a trespass upon his rights. Mr. Forster's reply is complete as to the details upon which Mr. Prior justifies so extraordinary a claim. Upon the principle of the claim itself, it would be idle to waste many words in controversy. The matter lies in a nutshell. Mr. Prior mistakes the whole question at issue, when he compares a wholesale plagiarism from works of imagination, to the adaptation of facts in a work of biography. In the former, the Author creates materials that did not exist before;—he not only discovers the ground, he makes it. In the latter he does but apply to his individual use, what not only before existed, but what the public have a paramount interest in regarding as public property. If any thing belongs to a nation, it is the lives of its great men; if any thing lies out of the pale of a patent, it is historical truth. Fact is always improveable — Fiction not so. Facts belong to science—Fiction to art. Every year some cultivator of science borrows and advances the facts of another. Are we to have no Histories of England because Hume wrote a History of England? or is any new writer of that history to avoid the facts which Hume disburied from the chronicles? Goldsmith himself, in his History of England, takes pretty largely from Hume; but Hume's warmest admirers cannot assert that Hume's rights are invaded. All they can say is, that Goldsmith does not supersede Hume. The only immunity a writer who deals with facts can find against rivals and successors is to do his work so well, that the public will either think all further labour on the same subject uncalled for, or prefer the old work, whatever its defects, to the new. It is open to all the world to write another 'Life of Cicero,' or another 'Decline and Fall of 'the Roman Empire,' and to use all the facts that Middleton

and Gibbon first made familiar to the public. But authors are deterred from the task, not because Middleton and Gibbon have pre-occupied the ground,— but because, in pre-occupying, they have exhausted it. Even in Fiction itself, we fear that an author cannot guard himself from a pretty extensive invasion of what may be regarded as the facts of fiction, viz., the characters the author invents, or the new ideas he calls to life. Let a Corsair or a Childe Harold be famous, and before the year is out, we have Corsairs and Childe Harolds enough to people a colony. They die off;—and the old Corsair and Childe Harold live on — because the original poems are both the first and the best of their kind. If they were not the best, it would not be sufficient to be the first. Many of Shakspeare's subjects were taken before him. But the world leaves it to antiquary and critic to hunt out the crude original. That is the true original —the permanent and standard development of any given idea which improves the most what went before, and cannot be improved by what comes after. It is not in the disinterment of facts, but in the manner in which they take life and colour, that originality consists. Stones are on all the high roads, every man may throw them into the midst of a crowd, but every man is not a Cadmus who by throwing a stone gets rid of the pre-existences useless to his purpose, and retains only those that aid him in building up his city. Had Mr. Forster borrowed infinitely more largely from Mr. Prior's facts than he has done, the mode in which he has selected, arranged, and applied them, would not leave his biography less peculiarly his own. Indeed, we do not know any work of the kind more distinctly original. And, since Mr. Prior provokes the observation, we remember few instances in the lists of literary chivalry, in which the shield of a rival has been touched with more courteous forbearance: — Not till Mr. Forster's self-defence was extorted, had the public been called upon to notice what errors had been corrected, to what anecdotes, marred in the telling, the point had been restored. While obligations were acknowledged with frank respect, blunders were removed with generous silence.

The subdivisions of Mr. Forster's work are philosophical and effective. In the first, he presents to us the childhood, the youth, the desultory adventures, which prepare us for the second — Authorship by compulsion; he leads us on through the Authorship by choice, to the time when labour and inclination, both combined, place his hero where we now behold him, amongst the constellation of imperishable names—'the 'novelist, the dramatist, the poet.'

Without that eternal attempt at stage grouping and stag

effect, by which some of the French writers have distorted the even course of history, our pleasant biographer has quietly contrived to render picturesque and touching all the more interesting positions of the poet. Nothing can be more artful than the pause from ungenial and dreary studies, which invites us to contemplate the poor sizar listening to his own ballads; — or, before we see in full length the snubbed and derided butt of the London coteries, bids us halt to greet Nature, smiling on her darling in the garret of 'Garden Court;' — nothing more impressive for Goldsmith's vindication, than the steady enforcement of those scenes in which, what elsewhere might be warning, assumes the nobler lesson of example — scenes in which distress is met with sunny spirit, poverty endured with manly courage, and labours that startle us to contemplate, cheerfully undertaken by one constitutionally indolent, in the double aim (both noble) of independence and renown.

In the multiform groups, which, at different stages of Goldsmith's life, Mr. Forster presents to our view, we have some reproach to make perhaps, especially in the later portions of the work, that he deals too summarily with certain of the great shapes he invokes, and occasionally treats, with an air too 'eager 'and nipping,' some of the political and incidental events he rather decides than discusses. But a portrait-painter assumes a kind of prescriptive right to use the background as may best set off the figure; and we readily confess the skill with which Mr. Forster has placed his hero in the midst of every circle, in that position he really occupied, while suggesting temperately that which was more his due. One main difference between Mr. Prior and Mr. Forster, in fine, is this, — the first gives us the facts, the last the man: the one has compiled a *mémoire pour servir*, the other has composed a discriminating and intellectual biography.

In the criticisms which Mr. Forster introduces, he betrays the subtlety of an accomplished intellect, and the sympathy of a kindred taste. And it is not a little to his praise that he has contrived to say much that is new upon 'The Vicar of 'Wakefield,' and to point out the graver benefits to society, the moral effect on later authors, which that delight of all ages has indirectly bequeathed. When, after quoting Dr. Primrose's unpretending boast, 'that in less than a fortnight he 'had formed them (the felons of the gaol) into something social 'and humane,' Mr. Forster adds, 'In how many hearts may 'this have planted a desire which as yet had become no man's 'care?' we instinctively turned to the distinguished writer to whom Mr. Forster has appropriately dedicated his book, and

asked ourselves what Oliver Twist may have owed to Oliver Goldsmith.

Here, then, for all else, whether in praise or in qualification, we dismiss Mr. Forster's book to the judgment of the public — a fitting, and, we think, a permanent companion to the works of the author whose career it commemorates: — a gentle but a manly apology for the life, which it tracks through each pathetic transition of light and shadow: written in that spirit of which Goldsmith himself would have approved — pleasing while it instructs us, mild without tameness, earnest without acerbity.

ART. IX. — *Le Moniteur Universel. Journal Officiel de la République Française.* March—July, 1848.

THOUGH the state of the French nation is still such as to render any reflections upon its destiny both premature and hazardous, yet we are unwilling to let a Number of this Review pass away without a few words by which the reader may be conducted from such an introductory sketch of the ascendant party as we offered in April to that unseen and inconceivable consummation which we may have to chronicle in October. We devote a few pages to this task the more willingly because one or two not unimportant facts have really been established during the process of fermentation to which France is still subjected. In our last essay we were necessarily circumscribed by the narrow limits of the case before us. All was then in the confusion and obscurity of a sudden revolution. It was impossible to conjecture what would be the character of the Republic established, what the reception accorded to it by the yet unconsulted departments, or what the policy by which its administration would be distinguished. We could only refer to the past as containing some prognostics of the future; and after introducing the reader to the persons and principles of the party so suddenly thrown to the surface of the waters, we left them inaugurating that authority for which they had so long and so perseveringly struggled. We can now go a little further. A trial of three months has tested the influence, the popularity, and the practicability of the Republicanism which we then described; and, by the aid of the experience which this interval supplies, we can now ascertain some points which we were before compelled to leave undecided; we can characterise with more confidence the nature of the catastrophe itself; and, perhaps, venture with a little less hesitation on conjecturing some of its consequences.

We must go a little beneath the surface in order to judge these matters with that fairness which is due to all. There is no doubt that the actual condition of France might be so represented as to make the Revolution simply accountable for an enormous aggravation of social and political disorder. We need hardly recapitulate the incidents of Parisian life which are depicted in the despatches of each successive day. A city only preserved from plunder by the unremitting vigilance of its armed citizens — a national assembly only protected from the violence of its own constituents by the presence of sixty thousand troops — an immense multitude of workmen maintained in demoralising idleness by the direct pay of the state; — such are the chief points of the picture which is before every man's eye. We might add, too, that the commerce of the country is, for the present, entirely ruined; that the loss incurred by the depreciation of property exceeds even the debts contracted by the late Administration; and that the expenses of the Government and the diminution of the revenue are progressing in a fearful proportion to each other. But it would be both unfair and unwise to confine our view to these inevitable incidents of a revolution, without endeavouring to ascertain what advantages are secured or promised as the eventual results of the convulsion. These social and financial calamities represent but the necessary cost of a revolution, and cannot, of themselves, be taken to prove the prudence or imprudence of the bargain. We paid as much for our deliverance of 1688. After the expulsion of James II. the revenue derived from customs and excise duties fell to less than half its former amount, and the thirteen years of King William's reign do undoubtedly comprise the period when the prosperity of England was at its very lowest ebb. In order to judge the French Revolution aright, we should allow to these incidental evils no more than their due weight in the balance, and should address ourselves impartially to the discovery of the principles which may have been established, the grievances which have been abolished, or the rights which have been secured. We should ascertain, as far as events will permit, the true bearing of the opinions which have been practically developed, and the real influence upon national character which the successes of February may exert. Neither our limits nor our materials are sufficient for the construction of conclusive results on points so important as these; but the evidence already supplied may, perhaps, enable us to estimate more justly than before the value of this great example in the eyes of Europe.

The opinion irresistibly forced upon us at starting is, that the insurrection against the late government was not really a de-

monstration of any true national feeling. It may undoubtedly be argued that this government was without any positive hold on the affections of the people, both from the apathy with which its downfall was viewed, when a single stroke or a single cry might apparently have saved it, and from the ready unanimity with which its extemporised substitute was everywhere accepted. Even those few retainers generally represented in historical legends as faithful to a dying monarch or an exiled dynasty were wanting in the present case. Louis Philippe was out of mind even before he was out of sight; and while the fishing-boat was yet tossing about off Treport in expectation of its royal passengers, every soldier, and statesman, and province, and municipality of France, had transmitted their complimentary recognitions to a half-formed and bewildered cabinet of journalists and *savants*. But though this undeniably demonstrates the instability and weakness of the old *régime*, it by no means proves that it was deserted from pure love of the new; and an attentive observation of events, as they are now occurring, will lead almost inevitably to the conclusion that the unpopularity of the late government was not derived from any deep or general objections to the principles on which it was based, since the opinions of the nation, as now unequivocally expressed, are tending towards the construction of a constitution which, in its operation, cannot differ very essentially from that of the government superseded. The parties who expelled the late government are clearly not the parties who will take their place. If the French people were not the votaries of such a monarchy as was extinguished on the 24th of February, they are at least not the advocates of any such a republic as was proclaimed on the self-same day. M. Louis Blanc has been set aside by an expression of popular opinion far less questionable than that which dismissed M. Guizot.

There are three distinct parties for consideration at the period of the revolution. There were the Republicans — the enthusiastic and probably sincere advocates of a political theory, for the promotion of which they were ready to hazard every thing; the *ouvriers* of Paris — their blind, but willing instruments; and the vast bulk of the nation, which had neither studied the doctrines of the leaders, nor shared in the struggle of the insurgents, and which had to pronounce an opinion upon the catastrophe after all was irretrievably concluded. It is of the greatest importance to observe the course which these parties have since severally taken. The Republicans succeeded to power in the midst of a tranquillity quite as extraordinary as the catastrophe through which they seized it. Within eight-and-

forty-hours of their accession they were favoured with the adhesions, sincere or otherwise, of all the 'notabilities' of the kingdom — Legitimists and Orleanists emulating each other in supporting that provisional authority in which was conceived to rest the hope of France. There can be no occasion to recall the course of events during the last three months. The Republicans have very clearly shown that the numbers and influence of the party were no greater than we conjectured it to be, and that it formed, strictly understood, but an insignificant element in the constitution of the community. They have put in practice, but without success or welcome, those peculiar principles which we expounded. They have been divided among themselves to such an extent, that one section is accused of having appealed, against the other, to those very arms which they jointly wielded against the late dynasty; but these divisions it will be of the less importance to trace, inasmuch as it will become manifest, we think, that the confidence of the nation is given neither to one class nor the other.

We left the *ouvriers* triumphant, planting trees of liberty, extorting illuminations, parading the boulevards, and occasionally breaking a few windows. It is impossible to deny, that if any popular rights were really secured by the revolution, there is every reason to admire the small extent to which popular tumult was carried. If the Parisian mob was unchained for any rightful or necessary purpose, a very good bargain was struck by those who pacified these passions at the temporary expense of a few thousand francs a day. The institution of the *garde mobile* was perhaps the most fortunate device of all. Under this designation some 20,000 of the most energetic actors in the days of the barricades were speedily enlisted on the side of the order they had overthrown; and in this capacity it is undeniable that they have performed both faithful and important service. They have resolutely adhered to that section of the government which was at once both most respectable and predominant. They own the authority of the Assembly, which they have more than once protected, and it must be acknowledged that they act with impartial alacrity whenever appeal is made to them. They suppress Communist processions and Polish demonstrations; they are available equally against M. Louis Blanc and his Socialists, and against M. Sobrier and his Montagnards; they stand as sentries before the hall of the Assembly, and have just bivouacked before the house of M. Thiers. But then it must be remembered that they enjoy a very agreeable license as regards discipline, and receive each the pay of *four* soldiers of the line — advantages

sufficient both to explain and insure a decent pliability of temper. As to their Republicanism, they are certainly engaged in suppressing those political opinions which were developed by the insurrection of February, and are lending their very effective aid to those who have imprisoned their comrades; nor have we any serious doubt that, upon the same terms, they would form a guard of honour for Louis Napoleon, or escort M. Guizot upon a triumphal return.

When we last wrote, the great bulk of the French people were still stunned with the shock of so sudden a revolution. Their first impulse, as we have observed, was to acquiesce promptly, and almost unanimously, in the new order of things, proving very sufficiently by such conduct that they had no sincere preference for any other form of government above a Republic. Any inference beyond this would, we conceive, be unwarranted by facts. If the composition and temper of a National Assembly, elected by universal suffrage, are to be taken as affording any criterion of the popular sentiment, it is most unquestionable that the French people are not republicans in any such sense as the events of February appeared to indicate. The party which fought the battle in the streets, and won it, which expelled the reigning dynasty, and seized the reins of government, is now more faithfully represented by the prisoners of Vincennes and the intimidated *ouvriers* of St. Martin and St. Denis, than by any party or section enjoying the benefits of the catastrophe. The men of the *place publique*—the Ironsides of old republicanism, the Raspails, Sobriers, and Blanquis have been put down with as firm a hand, if not with so good a grace, as in 1832; and even the *doctrinaires* of the party, if we may use the expression, such as Lamartine and his adherents, are clearly without any such share of the public confidence as their ostensible position demands. The Executive Committee, though carefully purged of all ultra republican elements, and scarcely opened even upon M. Lamartine's entreaties to admit the pacified Ledru Rollin, is yet at daily issue with the Assembly; and while we write, among the thousand shapeless rumours which fly across the Channel, is one which announces the impending appointment of a triumvirate, in which the name of a popular *militaire*—General Cavaignac—assumes a most significant prominence. It is as clear as demonstration can make it, that by the temper of the present Assembly is shown the true temper of the French nation, for not only was such assembly elected by universal suffrage—a point of less significance than might at first sight appear—but it only sits from day to day in virtue of the popular support, and if at any particular hour there

was a majority of the people against its continuance, it would infallibly be tumbled into the Seine. It is therefore utterly impossible to describe this Assembly as representing other than the true feelings of the nation in its daily debates and resolutions, and we need hardly recall to the memory of our readers what character these resolutions are assuming. The laws of the Orleanist *régime* against popular tumults have been re-enacted with double stringency, and are enforced with unprecedented rigour, while every vote of the body is directed against those doctrines in virtue of which it was assembled. As far as professions and acclamations go, Republicanism is no doubt triumphant. '*Vive la République*' is echoed hour after hour throughout the hall, and honourable members make profession of *civisme*, as readily and as regularly as a late vendor of infamous tracts used to go before the Lord Mayor and tender an oath that he believed in Christianity. But when it comes to practice, Republicanism, or at least such republicanism as was proclaimed on the 24th of February, is quietly put aside. There is scarcely a single doctrine of the true republican party, excepting the abjuration of a king, which is not deliberately condemned by the representatives of the Republic. Socialism and Communism are scouted and bayoneted; as well they may be, after their precocious development from M. Louis Blanc's 'associations,' to the '*impôt fraternel*' of M. Sobrier, and the '*deux heures de pillage*' of M. Barbès. Popular meetings are forbidden, and the clubs are threatened with dissolution. The 'organization of labour' has been thrown overboard, as a chimerical and dangerous project. The *ateliers nationaux* are to be closed, and their director has been (not prematurely) arrested. The device of absorbing the great financial companies has been condemned, though their existence was stigmatised as incompatible with true democracy. The detached forts have been garrisoned, and, it is said, armed; troops of the line are quartered by thousands in the capital, and bayonets are every night levelled against 'the people,' with far less scruple or ceremony than in the days of Casimir Perier.

The explanation of all this must be, that the republican definition of the term 'people' was totally wrong. Whatever M. Louis Blanc may say, it is quite clear that the great numerical majority of the population (who must surely have some claim to be considered as the people) are ill affected to his 'popular' doctrines. Either the *bourgeoisie* outnumbers the people, or a large portion of the people make common cause with the *bourgeoisie*. This majority may, indeed, have no insuperable objection to republican forms, but with such forms its

republicanism ends. Excepting in the name of the magistrates, there will be obviously little difference between the government of France under Louis Philippe and its government under the something which will issue from the National Assembly. From such considerations it results, beyond a doubt, that 'the people' in M. Louis Blanc's sense of the word, are just as much defrauded of their victory on the present occasion as they were after the three days of July. But to appreciate this allegation more justly we must look closely into the actual circumstances of the case, and we shall then find that this 'people' not only fought with no definite purposes whatever, but that they only conquered at all because a more powerful party stood neutral. Indeed it would be rather difficult so to classify the actual victors of February under their proper denominations, that *palmam qui meruit ferat.* We suspect that such rule would have been best observed by sweeping off M. Lamartine and his colleagues, and surrendering the city to the mobs with the red flag. Certainly MM. Louis Blanc and Albert had no better claim to the prize than M. Thiers or Louis Napoleon, except that perhaps they did rather more to bring about the collision.

The truth is, that the real gymnasiasts of the *place publique* are not — even in the lively atmosphere of Paris — impressed with any vivid ideas of politics. Excitable, and hitherto irresistible, they have been made to serve the purpose of all parties in turn; and events now show that their voices are at the command of the most frivolous and impracticable pretensions. Perhaps even the deliberate and didactic Communists or Terrorists should be distinguished from this huge aggregate of reckless rioters, who have been so thoroughly habituated to pulling down governments at the bidding of others, that they cannot endure to be thrown out of work by institutions of six months' stability. One of the most intelligent observers of these scenes has lately written from the spot that there has only not been a score of fresh insurrections because there was nothing to overthrow. Any throne whatever, whether filled by a Bourbon, a Valois, an Emperor, or a President, would have been upset and overwhelmed twice within any given week, but the force of the flood was spent with comparative harmlessness upon the noisy shingle of the Assembly. It is this circumstance which lends so strange a character to the revolutions of Paris. The parties who plot them are not the parties who execute them, or the parties who turn them to account. It is not that the bulk of the nation is of a temperament so signally mercurial as to require a change of constitutional polity every five weeks, but that precept and precedent have taught the mobs of the

faubourgs that the abolition of a government is a pleasant morning's work, while the middle and sensible classes have become so habituated to such convulsions as to let them take their way and give themselves no concern until the mischief is brought to their own doors. Upon a careful review of this singular history, we shall perhaps be induced to conclude that the utter want in France of any respect for institutions, resulting, not unnaturally, from the events of the last sixty years, is the radical cause of all these evils. The constitutional regards of a Frenchman appear to oscillate between the merest personal predilections and the most transcendental theories of political perfectibility. He is either prostrate before a Bonaparte, or led along by a Lamennais. It never appears to strike him that an institution may be worth preserving, even though the administration may be unpopular. Whatever were the faults of the Orleanist rule, it can hardly, we think, be denied that by the succession, as established in 1830, good political institutions were introduced into France. Louis Philippe may have become personally obnoxious, but so did our two first Georges. The difference between the two examples is, that we maintained our institutions for their own sake and their essential service, while the French allowed theirs to be sacrificed for the satisfaction of an hour's caprice.

We suspect that the great secret of the Revolution lies no deeper than this. No doubt the policy of the last dynasty furnished good grounds for discontent. The government might have been growing too despotical; just as our own, perhaps, in 1761, was growing too oligarchical; only, instead of sending for the Pretender, we sent for Lord Bute. It appears to us, from the sentiments which have evidently dictated the returns to the National Assembly, that there was no real desire in France for any changes which might not have been comprehended in a change of ministry. We do not pretend to adjust the balance between M. Guizot and M. Thiers; it was quite enough to turn the scale, for the occasion, against the former, that he had been in power for more than half a dozen years. Whether France is or is not, at heart, a *centre gauche**, as the saying

* The *centre gauche* in the French Chamber was a party consolidated some twelve years ago by M. Thiers. It originally consisted of a class of politicians who took a middle course between the stern conservatism of Casimir Perier and the extreme liberalism of M. Odillon Barrot. They desired a mitigation of the laws against associations, a little more toleration for political dissent, a little more check upon the personal influence of the king, and a general exercise of clemency

asserts, it was no doubt a *centre gauche* last February; the mischief was, that the really dominant party either did not know their own minds, or were too listless to satisfy them. Instead of making a reform, they let the mob make a revolution. Because they could not immediately secure an extension of the electoral franchise, they permitted a handful of enthusiasts to destroy the two chambers. They shouted for 'reform,' and looked coldly on the efforts of the authorities to preserve order; and the consequence was, that order and authority were both superseded, in favour of a desperate faction bent on altogether different ends. If our legislation of 1831 had been guided by the Bristol rioters, instead of by Lord Grey and his party, we might have been in much the same predicament.

If any consistent explanation is to be given, or conjecture offered respecting the extraordinary course which events have since taken, it must be sought, we conceive, in some such premises as these. The same compound of spite and carelessness which had induced the neutrality of the *bourgeoisie* in the combat, secured also its immediate acquiescence in the results of the victory—not to mention that very little option was left in the first critical moments after the triumph of force over law. But when the elections for the National Assembly permitted a fair and deliberate expression of opinions, the Conservative party struck in with signal effect for the support of their principles, and a body of representatives was returned who might very well have taken their seats under the presidency either of M. Thiers or his rival, but who are clearly altogether disconnected from the party nominally in power. If M. Lamartine could have consented to forswear his politics for those dictated by the Assembly, he might probably have secured an ascendency which was at that moment accessible to any enterprising candidate; but as he was not so tractable, even his temperate and poetical Republicanism was rejected; and it is probably from his clear perception of these facts that his recent conduct must be explained. While he conceived himself to be administering what was not only in name but in spirit a true Republic, he was a moderate Republican, and lent all his influence to modify the extravagance of his colleagues; but now that the nation, as represented in its Constituent Assembly, is plainly animated by

---

instead of severity in the case of political offenders. M. Thiers placed himself at their head, communicated to them somewhat of his warlike disposition, and made them very nearly what we should call a pure Whig party. But there was no kind of sympathy between them and the true Republicans.

no such sentiments as its political denomination implies, he joins hands with his associates in that common profession of political faith by which all minor differences are covered.

The majority of the Assembly is said to be 'Republican, but 'moderate.' This means that the Assembly is not, in any significant sense of the word, 'Republican' at all. The people have come to their senses, or rather, have exerted them. The 'reaction' spoken of implies little more than the substitution of action for neutrality on the part of the great bulk of the nation. They were not, as we have said, Republicans in February, nor are they Republicans now. They may, indeed preserve, and perhaps with some little satisfaction, the outward style and forms of a Republic, but it will be a Republic only in name, and will no more answer to the political model which we delineated in our last number than did the administration of Casimir Perier. The *bourgeoisie*, and they who think with them, are plainly the predominant party in France, and unless they are temporarily overpowered by the *coup de main* of some desperate minority, the *bourgeoise* spirit will characterise all their decisions. It matters very little whether the ostensible form of the constitution be a legitimist monarchy, or a constitutional regency, or a Republic, or an Empire,—the spirit of its administration will be essentially the same, and, unless interrupted by violence or terror, will still oscillate between the *centre gauche* and the *centre droit* of the old *régime*.

It is difficult to predict any thing of such a political chaos as this, without so many limitations and modifications as must almost neutralise the prophecy. There are two grand possibilities — the supremacy of the conservatives and the supremacy of the terrorists. Upon the former supposition, which does derive likelihood from the circumstance that the *bourgeoisie* have been actually self-supported during these last three months, and must have had the fact that they are really the stronger party forced unmistakeably upon their notice, we may either witness a continuance of the present nominal Republic, or we may see a regency upon the recent model, or a king Henry with a new charter. But whichever of these may be the favoured alternative, we entertain little doubt, as we have said, but that the policy of the administration will be in any case materially the same. It is only upon the latter of the two hypotheses that we can conceive the exaltation of such a personage, with such claims, as Louis Napoleon, though at the moment we are writing it actually seems the most probable scene for the ensuing week. But if such a catastrophe as this should really occur, it must be borne in mind that it will be literally nothing but a triumph of

the anarchical party. Louis Napoleon, like Poland, is merely a *bonnet rouge* for the discontented and seditious; and unless he were raised to power, not by a Parisian insurrection, but by a sincere and general manifestation of the army — an event scarcely probable even in France in 1848 — he would speedily be deposed by his constituents after their purpose had been served. It is satisfactory to see that the probabilities are on the side of ultimate order. France can never be an 'Empire,' and it will clearly not be such a republic as was last proclaimed; but it may either be a nominal republic, or, what will be very similar, it may fall under a constitutional regency, or under a legitimist sovereign, with almost equal guarantees for those particular rights which are really and truly demanded. At present confusion prevails, because the precedency of the two great divisions is not definitely settled. There are no parties in the Assembly yet, because the sections of Paris supply an antagonist party to the Assembly entire. Order is yet battling against anarchy; but when the former is finally triumphant, as we doubt not it will be, we shall then see the ordinary parties of civil government, and, as we surmise, in very much their usual form.

From what we have said it would result that the revolution of February was altogether uncalled for, and was, in fact, nothing more than the *coup de main* of an insignificant party facilitated by extraordinary circumstances. Had the people of France, after the 24th of February, thrown themselves heartily into the arms of M. Louis Blanc;—had Ledru Rollin been the adored, and Lamartine the suspected minister; had 'labour' been 'organised,' and the developments of socialism encouraged; had *attroupements* and demonstrations been the legalised expressions of popular will; in short, had such principles as we expounded in our last Number been vociferously and heartily adopted from the mouths of the Seine to the mouths of the Rhone, we should then have been ready to admit that French minds were indeed ripe for a change, and that a necessary revolution had been achieved at a cost not greater than the immensity of its purport warranted. But when we see this new order of things first stigmatised in the persons of its most zealous and thoroughgoing advocates, next denounced by the unequivocal suffrage of the nation, and finally contemned by the deliberate resolutions of the popular assembly, it is impossible to conclude that the catastrophe was the result of any thing but a combination of accidents. The republicans got uppermost in a scramble, but they evidently represented no considerable portion of the community, and have since entirely failed to enlist the national sympathy on the side

of their long cherished projects. The bulk of the French people at first looked on with indifference or acquiescence, next took measures of precaution against their new masters, and are now apparently resolved to restore a state of things which, under some name or other, shall differ in no material degree from the last.

It must be confessed that if this is to be the consummation—and we verily believe it is that which is most desirable—a very small advantage has been purchased at a very great cost. In such a balance-sheet as this, the items of bankrupt merchants, ruined commerce, declining revenue, augmented expenditure, daily terror and hourly tumult tell terribly against the concern. It is difficult to see what principle has been established by the revolt except that which warrants any sect of politicians, however small, in resorting to conspiracy and violence against any institutions however satisfactory to the people at large, and the operation of which was seen to the best effect in the private resolutions of the several clubs, that if the decrees of the National Assembly—an assembly elected by the universal and unbiassed suffrages of the entire nation—should differ in any degree from their own decisions, they would at once march upon it with the bayonet. Beyond this confirmation of a principle, which unhappily needed no such encouragement, we are at a loss where to look for the fruits of the last French Revolution. That it is not to bring about the projects of those who made it has been already decided. The republicans will never have another such chance as they have had and lost. It has indeed extended the electoral suffrage, but so lavishly and recklessly, that (as will always be the case in such an experiment) the implied privilege is utterly lost, and not two-thirds of the population deign to avail themselves of the gift. What increase of civil liberty it may ultimately confer, it is of course impossible to conjecture at such a period of the convulsion as this, but it appears beyond all denial that if it really issues in any such advantages, such a result will be entirely independent of the opinions and parties by which the Revolution was wrought, and can hardly be a compensation for the misery and ruin which it has already caused.

ART. X.—1. *Statistik öfver Sverrige.* [Statistics of Sweden.] By FORSELL. Stockholm: 1844.

2. *Smärre Skrifter.* Af E. G. GEIJER. [E. G. Geijer's Minor Writings.] Stockholm: 1842.

3. *Lund Upsala og Stockholm med et Tillæg om 'den Skandinaviske Eenhed.'* Af C. MOLBECH. [Lund, Upsala, and Stockholm, with an Appendix on 'the Scandinavian Union.' By C. Molbech.] Copenhagen: 1844.

4. *Finnlands Gegenwart und Zukunft.* [The present and future State of Finnland.] Stockholm: 1844.

5. *Das Herzogthum Schleswig in seinen geschichtlichen Verhältnissen zum Königreiche Dänemark und zu Holstein.* Von C. MOLBECH. [The Duchy of Schleswig, in its historical Relations to the Kingdom of Denmark and to Holstein. By C. Molbech.] Copenhagen: 1846.

6. *De la Succession dans la Monarchie Danoise considérée, principalement sous le Point de Vue du droit Public.* Paris: 1847.

7. *Preussische Zustände dargestellt von einem Preussen.* [The Condition of Prussia depicted by a Prussian.] Leipzig: 1840.

8. *Germany Unmasked, or, Facts and Coincidences explanatory of her real views in seeking to wrest Schleswig from Denmark. With an Appendix containing Remarks on the Chevalier Bunsen's Memoir.* London: 1848.

9. *Die wahrhaftige Geschichte von Deutschen Michel und seinen Schwestern.* [The veritable History of the German Michael (German John Bull) and his Sisters.] Zürich: 1843.

10. *Die Religion der Zukunft.* Von FRIEDRICH FEUERBACH. [The Religion of the Future. By Frederick Feuerbach.] Zürich: 1843.

11. *Anekdota zur neuesten Deutschen Philosophie und Publicistik.* Herausgegeben von ARNOLD RUGE. [Unpublished Treatises respecting the latest German Philosophy and Journalism. Edited by Arnold Ruge.]. Zürich: 1843.

12. *Annehmen oder Ablehnen? Die Verfassung vom 3ten Februar* 1847. Von HEINRICH SIMON. [Accept or refute? The Constitution of February 3d, 1847. By Henry Simon.] Leipzig: 1847.

13. *Ein Ehrengerichtlicher Prozess.* Von F. ANNEKE. [The Proceedings in a Court of Honour. By F. Anneke.] Leipzig: 1846.

14. *Die Europäische Pentarchie.* [The European Pentarchy.] Leipzig: 1839.

15. *Die Europäische Triarchie.* [The European Triarchy.] Leipzig: 1841.

16. *Slawen, Russen, und Germanen. Ihre gegenseitigen Verhältnisse in der Gegenwart und Zukunft.* [Sclavonians, Russians, and Germans. Their respective Relations for the Present and the Future.] Leipzig: 1843.

17. *Oestreichs Zukunft.* 2te auflage. [Austria's Future. 2d edition.] Leipzig: 1847.

THE publications arrayed at the head of these remarks are more or less directly illustrative of a revolution just now projected in the centre of Europe, with bearings far more important than any we have lately witnessed or chronicled. Whatever may be the violence of a political eruption in Paris, such a catastrophe can no longer wear the aspect of any prodigious or astounding convulsion. The world has now had repeated opportunities of observing the phenomenon; and instead of being scared at the portentous apparition, it more sensibly estimates its influence, and calculates the periodic time of its recurrence. But when the sober and philosophical minds of Germany resolve upon organic changes, it is time to look seriously forward into the character of events, which may do more to transform the face and affect the destinies of Europe, than a succession of half a dozen dynasties or governments within as many months upon the banks of the Seine. The project unhesitatingly, and now definitely proclaimed, is that of constructing, or, as it is more fondly expressed, of re-constructing a *Germanic Empire*, by fusing the thirty-eight sovereign states between the Baltic and the Adriatic, the Niemen and the Moselle, into one powerful hereditary monarchy, which, by its liberal institutions and its compact indissoluble strength, shall give to forty millions of free German people their due place in the republic of Europe.

There are two movements in the Germanic system which should be separately observed. Besides the perturbations produced by the sudden and extraordinary gravitation of all the states towards some new centre of unity, each state has a particular and unusual motion upon its own axis. With more or less wisdom or sobriety, the several states of Germany have demanded constitutional reforms; and the agitation attending these popular manifestations has proceeded simultaneously with that general ferment to which we more especially refer. Such agitation has no doubt been promoted by the

impulse which the Parisian revolution has given to all projects of popular will; but the reforms alluded to have supplied subjects of petition and argument ever since the great settlement of 1815; and a conspicuous example was last year given by Prussia of the course which events might probably have taken if unaffected by any extrinsic influence. These particular movements, however, are not those on which we shall offer remarks, though it was necessary to allude to them in order to distinguish their incidents from those of the general movement which we are about to consider, and because the conduct which characterizes the one must needs operate with very great influence upon the success of the other. If the provincial states are severally disorganised, it is difficult to conceive how the supreme and central power, which is to be constituted by their joint wisdom, can make any near approach to the stipulated efficiency.

Dissatisfaction has been long felt and expressed, at the loss experienced by the German 'nation' from what has been represented as its virtual dismemberment. The Confederation of 1815 did not make a 'Germany.' Diversities dictated by a congress and perpetuated for the sake of dynastic interests, supplanted the nationality conferred by identity of blood, institutions, and language. Prussians, Wirtemburgers, and Hanoverians, divided and dissipated that national strength and dignity which should have been fused into a German whole; and thus a people entitled to no second-rate influence in the transactions of Europe, were frittered away into a group of insignificant states, combined indeed by a pact recognising a traditional unity, but left utterly mutilated and incapable as regarded any effective exertion of their common power. Such, we believe, to be a fair representation of those sentiments which, conveyed in language more or less vehement or vague, have been recently impelling the German States to some ideal centre; and it is to the exposition of this passion of 'nationality,' as well as to the discussion of some of its practical developments on the Scandinavian and Sclavonic frontiers of the Confederation, that the treatises enumerated above are specially devoted. Some, too, are occupied with the probable destinies of the individual states under the revolutions which were foreseen; and one in particular, 'Austria's 'Future,' the work of one of the vice-presidents of the German parliament, which was written some time back, does really suggest the prodigious catastrophes of which Vienna has been the scene in a singular spirit of prophecy indeed.

In the observations which follow, none but brief or incidental reference will be made to the local revolutions of the particular Germanic states to which public notice has been recently

attracted. Our attention will be confined to the character and prospects of that gigantesque movement which is to reduce Austria and Prussia to the provincial level of Michigan and Massachusetts, and to create a new and colossal nation in the centre of Europe. Most readers will be aware that the *Germanic Empire* of history was dissolved in the year 1806; that this dissolution was precipitated by a *Confederation of the Rhine*, which had been formed in its bosom; and that finally at the territorial arrangement of Europe, which closed the war, that *Germanic Confederation*, which, a few weeks ago, might be said to be still existing, was substituted for the ancient configuration of this power in the European commonwealth. It is by considering the position of the German nation as organised under these successive constitutions, that we must seek for a just comprehension of the designs now proposed. This is the very path traced out by the projectors themselves. The embryo revolution has been conceived almost wholly in the researches and deductions of historical professors, and nourished by the serious disquisitions of learned journalists; and it is trusted that in the features of the new creation the genuine characteristics of past grandeur may be faithfully reproduced. The work is termed a restoration, not a design. If, therefore, we conduct our readers through some unfrequented paths of history, we do but take the *route* to which circumstances confine us. Our object will be to ascertain the character in which, under its various internal arrangements, the German nation has actually heretofore entered into the system of Europe. What we wish to represent is the old Germanic Empire, considered in its external relations. This is not the easiest, nor, perhaps, the most attractive kind of history, but it is that which alone can furnish any serviceable materials for the present occasion. Our task will be to discover the capacities implied in the time-honoured title of Empire; and the powers, for external action, of the political society so designated; to ascertain the part taken in the political combinations of Europe by 'the Empire' of the middle ages, of Charles V., of the treaty of Westphalia, of Joseph II., or Francis II., and to define the power possessed by an Emperor of Germany, as distinguishable from that attached to his hereditary patrimony. Another inquiry, too, with a direct bearing upon mighty points now at issue, may be applied to the operation of the elective principle in the imperial constitution, in so far as it secured to the nation a wider choice of efficient leaders, or as it offered to various candidates an object of fair and legitimate ambition. It is only by the examination of such propositions as these that the character of the great German movement can be

rightly comprehended, or any materials collected for conjecturing its results. That the aspect of our disquisition will be somewhat uninviting we can but too readily anticipate, but such matter may be made perspicuous, if not entertaining; and we must once more remind the reader that in these dry and antiquated details is contained the clue to that knowledge which renders the revolutions of a continent intelligible.

A few words will convey the original import of the imperial title, as it finally descended to the Germanic kingdom. At the dismemberment of the dominions of Charlemagne, the titular supremacy was reserved for that division of the three which included the ancient seat of Roman empire. To the west lay France, with limits not differing widely from those of the present Republic; to the east, Germany; and, between the two, a strip of provinces, descending from the North Sea, and terminating in the Italian Peninsula, at the extremity of which the Upper and Lower Empires came in contact. The eastern and western divisions preserved their integrity under the denominations of Germany and France; but the central, or imperial, portion was speedily dismembered, and the disputes for the possession of its provinces supply most of those complications by which the territorial history of this period is characterised. After the brief reunion of the old inheritance under Charles le Gros, the same dignity was still attached, on the second partition, to the soil of Italy, though not without occasional pretensions on the part of the Germanic kings. After the death of Berenger, king of Italy and 'Emperor,' in 229, the imperial title may be said to have fallen into abeyance, as there was no coronation of an emperor in the west for some forty years, and the three realms of France, Germany, and Italy, were severally contented with the denomination of kingdoms. At length Otho the Great conquered his neighbour, the king of Italy, and, after assuming his crown, and thus uniting the two kingdoms, revived the imperial title in 962.

The sovereign of Germany was now an Emperor, and his territories constituted an 'Empire,'—a title which, thus conveyed, they preserved up to the commencement of the present century. Of course, this empire could be nothing more or less than the original empire of the west, with proportions somewhat curtailed. Either in power or pretensions, Germany now claimed the inheritance of Charlemagne. France had been finally severed; but the triple kingdom now presumed to be united under the imperial sceptre was still completed by Arles, and the tradition was long perpetuated in the titles of the three ecclesiastical electors who held respectively the archchancellor-

ships of Arles, Italy, and Germany. It would be very difficult to trace the frontiers of a dominion in so great a degree imaginary. The pretensions of the inheritance, of course, extended to universal rule; and every province of the continent might be considered either as a detached fief, or as territory not yet reclaimed. Indeed, in those days all empires were formed upon the Roman model. The one idea of real sovereignty was that of universal dominion, a conception which was not only exemplified in the two empires of the east and west, but was reproduced even by those oriental hordes who started from the black tents of a wandering tribe upon the conquest of the world. In this way the German people acquired for their country and their chief the denominations which survived with such celebrity till recent times. In reality, Germany was but a great kingdom, constituted very similarly to other kingdoms, but enriched with a traditional title which might just as possibly have fallen to the lot of France.

The connexion of Italy with the Germanic territories is a point of history to which unusual interest would naturally be attached, from the war which at this moment is raging in Lombardy, and which originated in what may, perhaps, be conceived as this very question. It was not, however, as we shall presently have occasion to explain, in any inheritance of the ancient imperial pretensions that the claims of the Austrian House to its Italian dominions took their rise, though, as simple matter of history, it may undoubtedly be asserted, that the privilege now claimed for the Italian soil of being purged from the pollution of every German footstep, implies such a position of the country with relation to its neighbours, as it can scarcely be said to have enjoyed during these last thousand years. But as regards the original connexion of Italy with 'the Empire,' there are few questions in German history which have given rise to such desperate contests, nor was the actual authority of the Henries and the Fredericks more fiercely disputed in the plains of Lombardy by the intrepid Italians, than its theoretical character and significance by the historians and jurists of the Empire. The whole truth of the matter was this. If the imperial title, as could hardly be denied, was derived from the sovereignty of Italy, it was almost a necessary inference that the old imperial prerogatives had descended with it. On this hypothesis, therefore, of an unbroken succession of Cæsars, it followed, as a matter of course, that Germany was but a province recovered for the ancient crown, and that the rights of the Fredericks and the Ferdinands were those of a Valentinian or Honorius — a conclusion anything but agreeable to the free

States of Germany. It was argued, accordingly, that Italy was no true part of the Germanic Empire,—that it was a *regnum proprium* of the emperors, either peculiarly appertaining, at first, to the issue of Charlemagne, or, though subsequently reconquered by Otho, yet never incorporated with his Germanic dominions. Yet, even if it were established that the imperial title was not conferred by the conquest of Italy, but had remained the inherent property of Germany from the days of Charlemagne, the case could not be greatly altered, for the title, whencesoever derived, could be no other than that of the Roman chiefs of the Western world, and therefore might be taken to carry with it the attributes in question. These presumptions were not unnaturally cherished by those interested in preserving them. As far as actual power or privileges were concerned, the emperors were left to struggle in Italy for them as best they could, but everything went to perpetuate the traditions of continuous sovereignty. Greeks and Franks resembled each other in affecting to be the representatives of that people which had once held the dominion of the world. As the Asiatic subjects of the Comneni styled themselves 'Romans,' so the inheritance of the Germanic kings became the 'Holy Roman Empire,' the emperor designate became 'king of the Romans,' the laws of Justinian were supposed to be obligatory on the Franks of the Rhine, the relations between the German people and their elected sovereign were conceived to be defined by those of Constantine and his subjects, and at last the descendants of a Styrian chieftain were accepted throughout Europe as the hereditary possessors of the undoubted throne of the Cæsars. These doctrines, it is true, were not left unopposed, especially after the religious divisions of the empire had imparted unusual significance to the controversy. Towards the conclusion of the Thirty Years' War, the attempts of Ferdinand III. to combine the forces of the empire against the intrusive armies of the French and Swedes, were entirely frustrated by a book written on this subject by Chemnitz the historian, who, with more violence than accuracy, not only refuted the connexion of the Germans with the Roman Empire, but declared that the supreme authority in the former realm was vested, not in the emperor, but wholly in the states. And, even at the end of the last century, a very learned, though not quite impartial writer upon the public law and constitutional history of the empire, is at the trouble to explain particularly that the denomination of Empire was, in fact, originally applicable only by courtesy to the Germanic territories,—that Otho was 'Emperor' only in respect of his separate and peculiar sovereignty of Italy, and that the

transfer of the imperial title to the Germanic court could only be justified by some such compliment as that which conceded royal styles to the electorates of Brandenburg or Hanover, after the respective electors had become actual kings in some other portion of their dominions.

In this way and in such sense did Germany become 'the 'Empire' of the Middle Ages. Excepting in the influence of certain pretensions conveyed by the title, neither its institutions nor position differed at first very materially from those of its neighbours, but in course of time two remarkable developments of its constitution gave it a character altogether significant and singular. Many kingdoms were originally little more than a group of fiefs or counties; but whereas in every other case the tendency of events was to the absorption of all these dependencies in the central power, and to the consolidation of a compact and indivisible inheritance; in Germany these constituent duchies severally succeeded to perfect individuality and independence. Again, whereas in almost every other state the original elective principle of the monarchy was gradually forgotten, in Germany it came more and more explicitly to be recognised, and survived in something beyond nominal force to the last days of the empire. It does not enter into our purpose to trace the successive stages through which the states of Germany rose to what were distinct sovereignties, possessing a virtual and almost an acknowledged independence. It is sufficient to remark, that by the operation of these unusual changes the territorial aspect of the empire was entirely altered, and instead of a single kingdom, it became what was in fact a confederacy* of independent states presided over by a supreme visible head of their own choice, and yielding an uncertain submission to certain general rules of government, but enjoying at the same time such freedom of independent action as is quite incompatible with any modern theory of such political associations. The duchies had originally been nothing more than large estates or lordships of the kingdom, conferred by the Emperor on certain nobles for life. As early as the eleventh century they had become hereditary; at least, they ever afterwards remained in the families which at that period possessed them.

* It is hardly necessary, perhaps, to remark that we are compelled to use the term 'confederacy,' as well as some others, in a sense too vague for its exact political import. Strictly speaking, Germany was never a confederacy before 1815, though the aggregate of its states is described by this title even in the writings of careful and accurate historians

Gradually their emancipation from the control of the Imperial crown became almost complete, and their hereditary lords, under the subordinate titles of dukes or princes, exercised all those privileges presumed to be the distinctions of sovereignty. Each considerable state, in fact, formed a little 'empire' of itself, with its own diet, its own constituent states, and its own head, who enjoyed in his particular dominions an authority far more extensive and less questionable than that possessed by the emperor over all. In this way was formed what may be termed a confederacy without a pact. It was not, in its origin, any league or combination of states for a common purpose of defence or aggrandisement, and therefore it possessed no definite articles of union to regulate the common action of the combined parties. In theory it was still an indivisible empire, the forces of which were at the command and disposal of the emperor, subject to the constitutional rights of his subjects. But, practically, it was a huge kingdom resolved into distinct states by the isolation and aggrandisement of its members, retaining indeed certain traditional ideas of unity, and regulating by common consent some conditions of internal intercourse, but no longer subsisting in full strength as an effective whole. The privileges of the states had superseded the powers of the sovereign. The singularity of the circumstances consisted in this, that the ordinary process of constitutional development had been in this case reversed. What was generally an earlier form of government had supervened upon what was generally a later form; just as if in the case of Russia the princes of Twer Vladimir and Moscow, or the free cities of Novogorod and Pskof had risen into independence upon the weakness of the czars. The change, too, had taken place insensibly and without any destruction of the original form, so that the action of several confederated states had to be regulated and determined by laws devised for a single kingdom; inasmuch as the confederacy or union, such as it was, was the result not of any deliberate stipulations of the parties concerned, but of certain traditions inherited from a past constitution.

The development of the elective principle in this imperial monarchy was equally singular. Originally, as is well known, most European monarchies were elective within certain accepted limits*, which limits were gradually narrowed, until the descent

* These limits virtually existed even in the case of Poland, the government of which is quoted as so complete an illustration of an elective monarchy. From the earliest days of the kingdom, down to the year 1370, the crown continued in the family of Piast, and even Louis of Hungary, who was then elected, was a Piast by his mother's

of the crown became strictly hereditary. In Germany, on the other hand, the monarchy, at first not very clearly elective, became at an early period almost confessedly hereditary, was next declared to be elective beyond dispute, and finally devolved to certain great houses in succession for various periods. An additional singularity was attached to the practice from the monopoly of the national suffrages by seven or more great dignitaries of the empire, though this is an incident which is beyond the scope of our remarks. The actual transmission of the crown, however, is a point which it is very important to observe. It remained through five descents in the House of Saxony; through four more, continuously, in the House of Franconia, nor did it quit either of these families, except upon the extinction of the reigning male line. After reverting to a duke of Saxony for a few years, it passed to the House of Hohenstauffen, in which it continued, less peaceably, through four descents, with the interruptions of Philip and Otho IV. during the long minority of Frederick II. A period termed an interregnum now ensued, though as the Imperial throne was only actually vacant during a few months of the twenty years so designated, the expression would almost seem to imply that such license as determined the elections of William and Richard, was hardly thought consistent with the true constitution of the empire. Stability was again restored by the promotion to the imperial dignity of Rodolf of Hapsburg, the founder of the present Austrian House, in 1273, an election peculiarly remarkable, as illustrating the advantages inherent in the spirit of the constitution, when honestly carried out. Rodolf's claims were almost wholly personal, and thus the free choice of the electors, judiciously exercised, enabled

---

side. After him came the Jagellos, who reigned with tolerable renown, and in steady succession, for 186 years. When this line failed, in 1572, the Poles certainly gave one very striking example of free suffrage in electing Henry of Valois, but after his summary dismissal, they married the new object of their choice to a sister of the last Jagello, and finally in 1587, reverted to the same stock in the dynasty of the Vasas, who were descended from another sister, and in whose hands the crown remained till 1668. Then came the extempore election of Michael and of John Sobieski, which was but natural; after which, but for the interference of other powers, the crown would probably have become hereditary in the House of Saxony, which supplied the two Fredericks, and to which House, at much later times, the Poles have often reverted when there has been any question of restoring them under a monarchy. Their famous *pacta conventa* were little more than the 'capitulations' of the German emperors.

them to place on the throne that candidate whose position and abilities were best calculated for the work in hand. The period of a hundred and fifty years intervening between the death of Rodolf and the final hereditary succession of his descendants, shows the elective principle in full and legitimate operation. Notwithstanding the benefits rendered to the empire by Rodolf, his son could only obtain the succession after the short reign of Adolphus of Nassau had been interposed, and the crown then oscillated between the two great houses of the period, Luxemburgh and Bavaria. At length, however, in 1438, it returned to the House of Austria, in the posterity of which, aggrandised by alliances and inheritances, as we shall presently describe it, it remained, with a single brief interruption at the extinction of the male line, till the dissolution of the empire in 1806. Yet it is to be observed that the succession was never declared hereditary, nor were the ceremonies of election ever omitted, or even utterly reduced to a mockery. The ambitious aspirations of Francis I. and our Henry VIII. might be warranted by the yet unstable seat of the Hapsburg dynasty, nor is there, perhaps, any great reason for considering a dignity open to general competition, because Louis XIV. conceived himself to deserve it. But apart from these vaultings of royal ambition, it is certain that the House of Austria ran repeated risks of losing its monopoly from more serious opposition.* At the first election after the Thirty Years' War, great efforts were made by France and Sweden to supplant the Hapsburg House by some branch of that of Bavaria; and nothing is clearer than that up to the very days of Charles VI., each election was conceived to afford both occasion and opportunity for some little political manœuvring. The experiment, however, of Charles VII. showed that the Bavarian House could make no head in the empire against the power of Austria, and Francis of Lorraine accordingly received, with the dowry of Maria Theresa, the Imperial crown for himself and his descendants, though, it is

* The object of the dissentients was at one time put in a fair way of being accomplished by the mooting of a singular question. Although the electoral college enjoyed the undisputed right of electing an emperor, yet they could show no similar warrant for electing a king of the Romans. Objections, therefore, were taken to two points, 1st to the election generally of a king of the Romans in the lifetime of the emperor, unless under circumstances of urgent necessity, and 2ndly, to the limitation of the suffrage, on such an occasion, to the electoral college. Both objections were directed against the hereditary monopoly of Austria, and though unsuccessful, were rather evaded than overruled.

plain enough from the exertions made on this occasion, as well as from the anxiety of the Austrian family to secure the recognition of the electoral vote of Bohemia, that some misgivings were entertained respecting future decisions of the college.

The limits of the country we are now considering are difficult of definition, owing to its double character as the territory of the Germanic tribes and the empire of the Roman Cæsars. Theoretically, there were no bounds to its extent; practically, it soon assumed the form of an ordinary though spacious kingdom. There can be little doubt but that the empire was originally based upon some idea of German nationality; for although certain Sclavonic countries claimed to be considered as integral portions, yet these claims were only admitted, as we shall presently observe, under reservations and protests. As France and Germany had at one time been united under the Imperial crown, there was nothing very surprising in the fact that certain provinces on the frontiers of these two kingdoms should be attached sometimes to one and sometimes to the other of them; and when districts of Lorraine or Burgundy were either lost or gained by any particular emperor, it was merely considered as a recovery or detachment of so much of the original Imperial territory. As far as we are aware, there was no instance of annexation, either by conquest or otherwise, to the Germanic Empire, of any territories conceived to have been originally independent of it; though the proposal of Henry VI. to incorporate with the empire, upon certain conditions, the Sicilian inheritance of his queen, shows that such aggrandisement was considered practicable. The diminution of the Imperial territory occurred chiefly on the western border, either by the transfer of certain portions to France, as in the case of Provence, Dauphine, and Franche Comté, or by the successful assertion of independence, as in the case of Switzerland. To the south lay Italy, which, though it gave its title to the empire, was never considered a constituent portion of it. Represented sometimes as a patrimonial possession of the emperors, sometimes as a conquered and subject country, and never assimilated or reconciled to the Germanic States, it sent no representatives to the Diet, nor did any Italian prince or duke, as such, ever enjoy a seat in that assembly. To the east and north, the Imperial frontiers varied according to the success of the several margraves in driving back the barbarous tribes on the borders, and in laying the foundations of new provinces in the 'marches' thus reclaimed. It is rather remarkable that the only point of the Germanic frontier concerning which any definite tradition of antiquity has descended to our times, should be

the very point which at this moment is committed to the arbitration of the sword. Our readers are aware that the province of Schleswig — the cradle of the English people — is claimed, after their respective fashions, by the crown of Denmark and the Germanic Confederation; and, on behalf of the former party, appeal has been made to an almost proverbial saying — '*Eidora 'fluvius, terminus Imperii Romani.*' Now, there is no doubt that the river Eyder, which runs between Schleswig and Holstein, and thus confines the pretensions of the empire to the latter duchy, was both very commonly and very naturally accepted as a boundary according to the saying; insomuch that in the city of Rendsburg, through which the Eyder flows, it was the custom, up to the dissolution of the empire, to offer prayers for the emperor in the service of the churches situate on the south bank of the river, but not in that of those situate on the north. As a matter of fact, however, the emphasis which has been laid upon this proverb as designating a fixed and unchangeable landmark has been without due foundation. It is certain that not only Schleswig, but the whole of Denmark, has been considered feudatory to the empire, and when Frederick Barbarossa was reciting his own panegyric to the Roman ambassadors, he alluded to the investiture he had conferred on the Danish monarch as indicating the 'restoration' only, and not the extension of the imperial rights. We do not, of course, mean to lay any serious stress upon such pretensions as these, which might have been pushed with equal justice to the shores of Sicily or Britain; but it does seem to have been overlooked, in the deductions so fluently drawn from the saying above quoted, that Schleswig was once a margraviate of the empire, and that Conrad II. was conceived to be curtailing the imperial possessions when he ceded it to the Danish crown.

From these remarks it may be collected that the real dominions of the Germanic Empire, exclusive of its inherited pretensions, were pretty nearly co-extensive with true German nationality. Besides these states, however, there were others, not very clearly or definitely connected with the empire, but the position of which it is expedient to notice with reference to the great designs now in agitation. It may seem strange to include Bohemia in this category of outlying states, since, as has been well observed, it could only be in its capacity as an integral part of the empire, that it could make any pretensions to its exercise of the electoral privileges. But it is nevertheless true that not only its other pretensions, but this very vote itself, was repeatedly called in question, and that, too, by reason of its non-nationality. '*Rex Bohemiæ non eligit, quia non est*

'*Teutonicus*,' was a current maxim in the empire. In the eleventh century the Emperor Henry IV. raised the reigning 'duke' of Bohemia to the rank and title of king, a proceeding which, however, does not necessarily denote any intimate connexion between the empire and the kingdom. The male line of these old kings became extinct with Wenceslaus V., in the year 1306, when the crown, according to a compact which Rodolf of Hapsburg had brought about by a judicious exercise of his imperial influence, should have gone to the rising family of Austria. But the House of Luxemburgh, then at the height of its power, succeeded in intercepting it, and in their hands it remained till that transfer which we shall presently mention in speaking of the gradual aggrandisement of Austria. The Luxemburgh family, who thus, for upwards of a century, filled the Bohemian throne, and, with some interruption, that of the empire also, employed the opportunities of their position in aggrandising their Sclavonic patrimony, to the prejudice of the Imperial crown, which they doubtless considered a dignity both less profitable and less secure. For a short time, during the interval which elapsed between the extinction of the old line of Brandenburgh, and the elevation of the reigning House of Prussia to that title, the whole of this northern electorate was actually annexed by one of the Luxemburgh emperors to the Bohemian kingdom; and when Charles IV. decided so many Germanic pretensions by the famous Golden Bull, he not only recognised and confirmed the electoral vote of Bohemia, which, as we have remarked, had been called in question, but even secured that elector, who was then no other than his royal self, in a perpetual precedency over his three secular colleagues. Yet, notwithstanding all this, when the kingdom of Bohemia devolved along with so many others, and with the empire itself, to the House of Austria, the vote, which thus became the possession of the emperors themselves, was tacitly merged and lost. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, six electors only are spoken of, nor was it till the college had been increased by the admission of Bavaria and Hanover, that a recognition of the old Bohemian suffrage was at length formally agreed upon. And even thus, the connexion of this kingdom with the Germanic States was so slight that it was never included in any of the divisions of the Circles, nor did it ever contribute any quota to the imperial levies.

Less inconsistent in its terms was the connexion of Hungary with the Germanic Empire. That it was alleged to be an imperial fief was of course nothing extraordinary, but it entered into no relations with the empire, excepting as part of the patri-

monial possessions of the reigning House. The crown of this kingdom became united in the 16th century to that of Bohemia, and both fell together, as we shall presently remark, to the House of Hapsburg. Poland stood in relation to the empire not altogether dissimilar, except that its dependence on the Imperial crown appears to have been in early times somewhat more explicitly asserted, and the decline of the Hohenstauffen dynasty has even been mentioned as marking the period of its emancipation. Even a grand prince of Kief—the representative of the future monarchy of Russia—tendered his allegiance, it is said, to the Emperor Henry IV.; but traditions like these point only to pretensions which might as well have been extended to the frontiers of China, and are of no import in ascertaining the real boundaries of the Germanic Empire. The truth is, that the eastern districts of even the old Prussian and Austrian territories were not included in the *quasi* confederacy, so that the actual dimensions of the Imperial State may be brought within very reasonable limits.

The times of which we have been hitherto speaking are too early to suggest any inquiry as to the influence exerted by the German nation, under this constitution, upon the affairs of Europe. The political system of the European commonwealth had not yet been constructed, nor had any of those combinations been formed into which a nation might claim to enter according to its natural power. As far as any external action of the empire can be traced, its effect will be found to result, not from any judicious union of national strength, but from those pretensions of which we have so often spoken as inherited from an earlier state of things. 'The emperor' held the first place upon European earth. Kings*, and at one time popes, were his creation, and

* The prerogative of conferring the royal title was disputed by the emperor and the pope, one as the head of the temporal, and the other of the spiritual world, and their pretensions were complicated by the additional right which each claimed of creating the other. In practice, a superior title has usually been assumed with the consent, or at the instance, of some one power most immediately concerned, and subsequently recognised gradually by the class of crowned heads according as intrigue or negotiation could procure the successive ratifications. It is difficult of course to see what superior power is to create an *emperor*, and thus such title has generally been self-assumed, as in the case of France, Brazil, and Russia. It was after pushing forward his frontiers to the Baltic, and gaining that great object of Russian ambition, a sea-board, that Peter thought himself entitled to the distinction. The new dignity was recognised by all powers but Poland and Turkey, and a war with the Porte was very near resulting.

prerogatives like these conferred no small influence on their possessor. The *prestige* attached to the Imperial crown even in more recent times, may be inferred from the anxiety with which it was contested by sovereigns, to whom, excepting in these traditional privileges, it could bring but little increase of power. A dignity to which was annexed, by ever so visionary a title, the dominion of the world, could never be otherwise than venerable, and the empire, as a nation, shared in this equivocal supremacy of its chief. Germany was considered the metropolis of the Holy Roman Empire, of which all other European states were subordinate dependencies. Such persuasions as these conferred advantages not altogether unsubstantial on the Germanic empire, and gave to the group of states comprised under this title a visible precedence among the nations of Christendom.

Most certainly, however, it was not from any effective union that this presumption of strength arose. Taking into consideration the extent of territory and the martial character of the population, the influence of Germany in the affairs of Europe should have had a more enduring foundation. But at no period were the inconsistencies in the constitutional character of the empire more conspicuous than at that of which we are now speaking—the period, namely, which elapsed between the decline of the ancient imperial authority and the rise of the Austrian House to a compensatory grandeur upon its own patrimonial possessions. The Germanic nation had no efficient representative for any external manifestation of its strength. There was neither a king nor a congress—neither a sceptre like that of Constantinople, nor a senate like that of Venice. Originally the domains attached peculiarly to the Imperial crown had been extensive enough to raise their elected possessor at once to a level with his richest subject; so extensive, indeed, that it was thought they could not be united to any private patrimony without creating a territorial influence incompatible with the safety of the constitution, and the early emperors, like the kings of France, were compelled, upon their accession, to make over to other parties such estates and dignities as they already enjoyed. But, before the conclusion of

---

Sometimes a count or duke was proclaimed king after a successful battle, as in the case of Alfonso of Portugal. One of our exiled Stuarts tried to tempt the Elector of Hanover away from England, by promising to procure him a royal title in his own more ancient dominions. It is rather a remarkable fact that the archdukes of Austria (of the Bamberg line) were actually created kings by the emperor Frederick II., so that there is a dormant title in the House ready for any of those contingencies which are now daily contemplated.

the fourteenth century, these domains and privileges had been alienated, either in bribes or donations, so effectually, that the revenues of the imperial possessions were altogether insufficient, of themselves, for the decent maintenance of the imperial household. Such as lay along the banks of the Rhine had fallen to the three ecclesiastical electors and the Count Palatine, the detached and outlying properties had been appropriated by the princes of the contiguous territory, and all the tolls and contributions which were destined for the support of the imperial family had been redeemed from some needy or ambitious emperor by the sagacious management of the states. An Emperor of Germany, with all his titles and prerogatives, was one of the poorest sovereigns in Europe, unless he carried an ample patrimony of his own to the maintenance of his state. The Luxemburgh family supported themselves by their kingdom of Bohemia, though the inadequacy of even this royal appanage is shown by the current story of the arrest of Charles IV. for a private debt, by a butcher of Worms. But when the Imperial crown had passed into the as yet unaggrandised House of Austria, the scandal was complete. Frederick IV., throughout a considerable part of his long reign, was a fugitive and a beggar, unable, by all the forces of the empire which an emperor could raise, to recover his family duchy, from which he had been expelled by a hostile invasion.

In this way was Germany left without any effective representative of the country in its national capacity. Its natural representative, according to the habits of the times, would have been a powerful and dignified sovereign, one who could wield the sceptre of his dominions to good purpose, and who could combine the whole resources of the nation for any enterprise of profit or renown, and such, perhaps, had been some of the emperors of the Saxon line. But this central power was now completely gone, and, what was more, it had not been succeeded by any fresh machinery for developing and exerting the forces of the nation under the new constitution which had insensibly grown up. There was, as yet, no organised system for ascertaining or executing the resolutions of the constituent states; there was no permanent diet, no federal court, no supreme authority, no arrangement of departments, contingents, or contributions. The Germanic empire had not even a metropolis. The 'Successors of the Cæsars' were left to find a Rome of their own. The Bavarian emperors usually kept court at Munich; the Luxemburghers rarely stirred from Prague, a city without the limits of the empire; and Frederick IV. was literally without a house in which to rest his head. When there was

neither imperial nor federal authority to preserve any semblance of domestic peace, or any security for life or property, it is not to be conceived that there could be externally any imposing manifestations of national power. Maximilian and Charles V. availed themselves of their improved opportunities to remedy some of these constitutional imperfections. Domestic anarchy was checked by the peremptory proclamation of a 'public peace,' the Imperial Chamber and Aulic Council were instituted as supreme tribunals of the nation, and the division of the empire into circles both recognised its unity and facilitated the combination of its resources. But even these expedients, together with the reforms and improvements subsequently suggested, were altogether insufficient to develope the full powers of the empire. Its constitution still suffered from the collision between tradition and reality. Nominally a monarchy, and parading the symbols of monarchical power with unusual pomp, it was actually a confederacy of independent states. There was thus no room for unity or force, either in one view of the constitution or the other. There was not the absolutism which could support an emperor, nor the spirit which should animate a league, and thus ensued all those complications and perplexities which neutralised the strength of the German people in the struggle of nations which was to come.

But while the domestic revolutions of the Germanic empire were thus destructive of national unity, they operated most remarkably indeed in originating and aggrandising certain particular states, which were afterwards to enter independently with such conspicuous influence into the system of Europe. It did not happen that the states thus accidentally elevated to such extraordinary grandeur were those which enjoyed the greatest power in the early days of the empire. The ancient duchies had either become extinct, as in the case of Swabia and Franconia, or had been transferred to new Houses and merged in other possessions, like Brandenburgh, or had been partitioned into insignificant patrimonies like Saxony. Even the ultimate union of Bavaria and the Palatinate did not result in a state of any signal magnitude, but the Archduchy of Austria and the Electorate of Brandenburgh eventually swelled into such gigantic proportions, and by incidents so strange, that we should be tempted to sketch the process, even if the episode had a less direct or important bearing than it will be found to possess upon the actual subject of our remarks. Few people, perhaps, are accustomed to consider the three great powers of the North as very modern formations, and yet at the beginning of the seventeenth century, when Henry IV. and Sully were project-

ing a re-organisation of the European continent, no such names as those of Austria, Russia, or Prussia, entered into their calculations. Even a whole century later an English ambassador wrote home from the Hague, and excused himself from saying much about Peter the Great, as the movements or disposition of such a personage could be of no great concern to Western Europe.

Austria, like most border provinces of the empire, was originally a margraviate; and when first rising into notice, appears in the possession of the House of Bamberg. Frederick Barbarossa had occasion, for his own convenience, to abstract a little of the territory of the ruling margrave; and by way of compensation, he conferred upon the fief, in 1156, some titles and privileges which were considered a fair return for the loss. The margraviate was henceforth to be an archduchy, indivisible and inalienable, and taking rank immediately after the electorates. With such distinctions it flourished till 1245, when the Bamberg line having become extinct, it was presently appropriated by Ottocar of Bohemia. On the accession of Rodolf of Hapsburg to the Imperial throne a few years afterwards, he demanded from Ottocar the restitution of the imperial fiefs which he had thus presumptuously seized, and homage for the remainder of his possessions. As Ottocar withheld both the compliment and the surrender, Rodolf extinguished him by force of arms; and, according to established precedent, — a privilege which, in fact, was one of the most valuable branches of the imperial prerogative — bestowed the recovered fiefs on his own family. In this way was the family removed from Hapsburg to Austria, the domains and title of which they have ever since retained. The Imperial crown, as we have observed, quitted the new family for a century and a half; but, though not emperors, they were still archdukes of the empire, with a territory, it is true, not very considerable, but with a title and a rank which they took every precaution to confirm. Considerable jealousy was excited in the 14th century by a conspicuous parade of these claims, which appear to have been for a while forgotten, and doubts were thrown upon the validity of the original grant, or the due directness of the succession. The pertinacity of the family at length prevailed, and they were allowed their extraordinary precedence in a country where such pretensions were not very readily acceded to; but it was still thought advisable to seize the earliest opportunity of placing the matter beyond dispute; and, accordingly, when the Imperial crown again fell to the lot of the House under Frederick IV., that impoverished emperor confirmed the dignities of the House, though he could not de-

fend its possessions, and pronounced himself and his descendants archdukes for ever, with as much gravity as Shah Alum assumed in conferring titles of honour on General Lake. Afterwards, in conformity with the now accepted pedigree of the empire, a more exalted source was sought for these distinctions, and written patents of Julius Cæsar and Nero were produced at Vienna to testify to the precedence inherent in the Austrian House.

To the territories, not very extensive, of Archducal Austria, the three contiguous counties of Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola, appear from very early times to have been attached; and all were comprised in the family settlement of Rodolf. The inheritance was diminished for the space of a few years by the subtraction of Carinthia; but about the middle of the 14th century this duchy also finally reverted to the possessions of the House. One or two acquisitions of some importance were subsequently made. The valuable country of the Tyrol, to which the reigning Emperor has just now fled, as the most loyal and faithful province of his imperial dominions, fell into the family estates in 1363, by virtue of a deed of reversion which Rodolf IV. of Austria had contrived to negotiate with Margaret, the last heiress of those territories. Twenty years later the city of Trieste also, dissatisfied with the government of Venice, tendered its welcome allegiance to the Dukes of Austria. In the meantime, however, the original hereditary possessions of the Hapsburg family had been gradually lost. The territorial rights which the old Counts of this House possessed in Switzerland had been extended, by the power of Rodolf the emperor and his sons, into a very important ascendency over the country; and even when the imperial crown had passed from the rising House, the Dukes of Austria alleged pretensions to Swiss dominion far more formidable than ever had been put forth by the Counts of Hapsburg. We need not do more than allude to the famous struggles by which their pretensions were extinguished. Fortunately for the independence of the mountaineers, the sceptre of the empire had passed from the hands of the Hapsburghers before arms were resorted to; and the battles of Morgarten and Sempach were fought only against the ducal forces of Austria. Aided by the jealousies to which their lordly adversaries were exposed, and especially by the publication against one of them of the ban of the empire, the Swiss confederates eventually succeeded, not only in emancipating their own lands, but in annexing what had been the more legitimate property of their former lords, till, towards the commencement of the 15th century, the transplanted family of Hapsburg retained nothing of the estates from which they had migrated except the territorial

title. Their new inheritance, however, was amply sufficient to compensate such a loss as this; and within a century after the death of the emperor Rodolf, the petty chiefs of a small Swiss county took rank among the foremost states of the empire for influence and power, and were reckoned as the acknowledged equals of such Houses as Luxemburgh and Bavaria.

Yet they were as liable as either Bavaria or Luxemburgh, to a decline and fall, and it is the sequel of their history involving, as it does, so different a destiny, which presents such miraculous chapters to the student. We have been speaking of the patrimonial inheritance of the Austrian House. The original duchy, it will be remembered, was constituted 'indivisible,' that is, incapable of being partitioned among the various members of a family,—a provision which anticipated, in some sort, the effects of the principle of primogeniture subsequently introduced, and which, in the case of the empire itself, had only been at length formally sanctioned by Otho the Great. But this condition was not extended to the whole of the agglomerated inheritance, and the House of Austria ran the usual risks of dissolution, by the temporary establishment of three separate lines in Austria, Styria, and the Tyrol, which, however, were fortunately reunited in the person of Maximilian. But the old Austrian patrimony was soon to be lost in the grandeur of new acquisitions. The two crowns of Bohemia and Hungary, which, though both elective, were often considered as constituting but a single prize, had both fallen to the Luxemburgh family during the days of its supremacy, and at length, in 1419, were settled on a single head in the person of Sigismund, the last emperor of that line. The daughter and heiress of this royal pluralist was secured, with the characteristic fortune of the family, by Albert of Austria, to whom also descended all the three elective crowns which had distinguished his father-in-law—those of the Empire, Hungary, and Bohemia. The imperial crown, as we have before remarked, never again, except for a few short months, departed from the Austrian House; nor is it very probable that the possession of the other two would have been interrupted, but for the singular incapacity of Frederick IV., and the extraordinary merits of Matthias Corvinus and George Podiebrad, displayed to unusual advantage in the distracted state of the respective kingdoms. Even Maximilian could not recover these prizes, though they fell again in the succeeding generation to the Austrian family, in which they have remained to the present day.

We have thus traced the formation of what is now called the 'Austrian Empire,' as far almost as it is included within the

Germanic limits. Aggrandisement still more prodigious remained behind, though it was preceded by a period of depression so singular, that it seems as if the smallest unlucky impulse would then have precipitated the House of Austria to the level of Oldenburg or Darmstadt. For more than half of the fifteenth century did Frederick IV. of Austria wield the imperial sceptre of Germany, and yet so low were the fortunes of his House, that they might have been over-matched by those of the most petty potentate of Europe. The patrimony and prerogative of the Imperial crown had been reduced, as we have before observed, to empty names, and even these were not yet the assured inheritance of Austria. The crowns of Hungary and Bohemia had passed away, the Swiss territories were gone, and even from the old patrimonial duchy of the House was the emperor expelled by an invasion of his Hungarian rival. Fortunately Frederick had yet one resource, which has seldom failed the family of Hapsburg — a marriageable son. On the opposite frontier of Otho's Empire reigned a prince who had concentrated a score of duchies in his single coronet, and who had one female child. By the several processes of inheritance, purchase, extortion, or conquest, Burgundy, Flanders, Namur, Luxemburgh, Brabant, Limburg, Hainault, Holland, Zealand, West Friesland, Guelderland, and Zutphen, had become the dominions of Charles the Bold, and the dowry of Mary of Burgundy. Maximilian, though not without a stroke as bold as such a wife demanded, secured his prize, was elected, by aid probably of this very inheritance, to succeed his father, and when the next generation brought the powers of Europe upon a common field, took rank among them proportioned to his titles and his crown. We need do no more than barely allude to a match even more magnificent, which brought down upon the Austrian House an avalanche of empires so prodigious, as to overwhelm even the dignities which they had already amassed. The alliance of Philip of Austria with Joanna of Castile exalted the House of Hapsburg to a pitch of substantial grandeur which might bear a comparison with the glories of Constantine or Charlemagne. One branch of the House had converted the old Germanic empire into a family perquisite, and accumulated besides a patrimony almost equal to the empire itself. The other reposed in rival grandeur upon its heritage of Spain and the Indies, and counted Italy and the Netherlands as provinces of its crown. It is not within our purpose to trace minutely the interchanges and partitions of this gigantic inheritance between the two Austrian dynasties of Germany and Spain. The Italian territories, which are now the scene of a doubtful war, are not,

as we have before mentioned, any portion of the old imperial inheritance. At the close of those protracted conflicts which succeeded the invasion of the Peninsula by Charles VIII., the Milanese remained in the possession of Spain, rather by right of Ferdinand's conquests than by any title derived from Austria. After the extinction, however, of the Austro-Spanish line, the territorial arrangements of the Treaty of Utrecht transferred to the surviving branch of the Hapsburg family these famous districts, together with such vast additional possessions in the Peninsula, that it was presently thought advisable to exalt the Dukes of Savoy into kings, and to create in the plains of Piedmont, for the purpose of counterbalancing the dangerous preponderance of Austria, that very Power which is at this moment occupied in the ostensible discharge of such duties. The kingdom of Lombardy was subsequently completed by the annexation of the Venetian territories, an arrangement which, it is said, was not very cordially welcomed by the Emperor Francis II., who foresaw the embarrassments awaiting his successors from their transalpine dominions. Of the spoils of Poland it is unnecessary to speak, as the crowning act of absorption must be fresh in the memory of all. Such were the destinies of the House of Austria: — in 1250 the petty lords of a hill county, in 1450 the degraded occupants of a precarious and impoverished throne, in 1550 the hereditary successors of the Cæsars, and the partitioners of one half of the known world.

Prussia supplies a yet more singular and far more complicated illustration of the process by which states are formed. The Austrian dominions had been already consolidated before the style or title of this rival power was known to Europe; and so rapid, indeed, has been the advancement of this state, now pretending, and not without plausibility, to the supremacy of the new empire, that there must be persons yet living who may remember when its sovereign had not succeeded in obtaining the recognition of his title by the republic of Poland. In the year 1320 the line of the margraves of Brandenburgh — a territory which had been constituted one of the seven electorates, — became extinct, and the patronage of the whole place and dignity lapsed, in due course, to the reigning emperor. Louis of Bavaria, then on the Imperial throne, conferred it on his eldest son, from whom it passed subsequently to the two younger in succession. The Luxemburgh emperors, loath to lose so valuable an appointment, contrived to recover it about fifty years later; but, after retaining it for a short time in their own family, at length formally disposed of it, at a fair valuation, for 400,000 crowns. The successful bidder for this enviable dignity

was Frederick, burgrave of Nuremburg, of the noble House of Zollern, already considerable in the states of the empire, and which carried to its new inheritance the two small principalities of Bayreuth and Anspach, afterwards usually allotted as provisions for the younger branches of the family. On the 18th of April, 1417, Frederick, elector of Brandenburgh, entered upon his new career; and in his posterity has the inheritance ever since continued.

The name of Prussia was originally borne by a desolate district in the north-eastern angle of the present kingdom, a remote and uncivilised spot in which the Teutonic Knights had fixed themselves on their expulsion from the Holy Land, as offering good work to their swords, and good remuneration to their valour. After reclaiming the territory from the pagan tribes which had overrun it, they held it, constituted into a kind of state, as a fief of the kingdom of Poland, and for more than two centuries entered with material influence into the political relations of this part of Europe. At length, after revolutions and reverses, which we need not stop to relate, this military brotherhood renounced the Romish faith, and embraced the doctrines of Luther, and by a treaty between the fraternity and their feudal superior, the king of Poland, these particular possessions of the Order were consolidated into an hereditary 'duchy of Prussia,' and settled on the Grand Master then ruling. This fortunate chief was Albert of Brandenburgh, a member of a junior branch of that family, and cousin of the then reigning elector, Joachim I., and who had been chosen by the knights, in their difficulties, as a serviceable and promising protector. In the second generation from Albert, the duchy was vested in an heiress, who being married to the elector John Sigismund, conveyed the duchy of Prussia to the eldest branch of the House of Brandenburgh in 1618.

The electors of Brandenburgh immediately merged their old denomination in that derived from their recently acquired dukedom; and thus, from an obscure and insignificant corner of one of the rudest districts of Europe, was the title of one of its greatest powers circuitously derived. Compared with the hereditary territories of the electorate, the dimensions of the duchy were, indeed, considerable enough to suggest either an alteration or an addition in the titles of the reigning House, though they are now lost in that expanse of territorial agglomerations to which they still give their name. But there were more impressive arguments in favour of this scheme for thus sinking the electorate in the duchy. The former was but a constituent portion of the empire, whereas the domains of the latter were

beyond the imperial boundaries, and though feudally subject at the moment to another power, could easily be enfranchised into a positive independence, such as was not to be expected in the case of an electorate. Nor was the great consummation long delayed. The extraordinary revolutions, of which we shall presently speak, produced in the empire by the Thirty Years' War, enabled Frederick William the Great, who most opportunely succeeded to the ducal crown in 1640, to emancipate his duchy from the pretensions of Poland, and to obtain its recognition, in 1657, as a sovereign and independent state. We will not stop to enumerate at this point the important acquisitions which the Treaty of Westphalia had secured to this new northern power, as it will be necessary to record, in greater detail, the operations and influence of this most famous peace upon the territorial constitution of the empire. But, with dominions thus aggrandised, and with the examples of Saxony and Orange before their eyes, it was not probable that the descendants of Frederick William would rest contented with their ducal rank. On the 18th of January, 1701, Frederick I. placed a royal crown on his own head, at Konigsberg, and a king of Prussia made his first appearance upon the field of Europe. The sanction of the emperor to the assumption was secured by the stipulations of a solemn treaty; and the most earnest protestations were employed to deprecate the opposition of Poland to this sudden elevation of one of its fiefs. Yet they were not completely effectual; and though the dissatisfaction of his former lords was not suffered by Frederick to cause serious impediment to his schemes, it was not until the year 1763 that a recognition of the kingdom of Prussia could be extorted from the haughty diet of the republic of Poland. At this point of our territorial history we must stop. The utmost expansiveness of an essay would be insufficient to admit even a bare enumeration of the seignories, counties, duchies, principalities, bishoprics, and provinces, by the accretion of which the present power of Prussia has been gradually formed.* Sweden, Austria, Poland, Saxony, and

* Eight distinct deposits may be classified and subdivided. There was first the old Brandenburgh electorate on which settled the duchy of Prussia. Then there came the Saxon provinces acquired partly in the seventeenth century and partly at the conclusion of the late wars. The Westphalian provinces fell in about the same period. The Pomeranian were picked up piecemeal and at intervals, Swedish Pomerania not coming in till the present century. The duchy of Cleves, which was acquired in 1666, was the nucleus of the Rhenish provinces, which have been so handsomely augmented within the

half the other states of Germany, have all joined in the reluctant contributions by which the representative of a petty dukedom, through the valour of its people and the conduct of its kings, has been raised, in a century and a half, to the foremost rank among the powers of the world.

We have dwelt at some length upon the rise of these two great kingdoms, not only as good specimens from an interesting department of history — the formation and consolidation of states — but because, by the position of one of them, and, finally, by the rivalry of the two, not only were the external relations of the Germanic Empire completely changed, but the whole system of Europe was intimately affected. In particular, the comparatively recent formation of such a power as Prussia entailed the most momentous results. It is true that the royal title, as we shall presently see, was not peculiar to Prussia among the states of the empire: but there was this singularity about the case, that the aggrandisement of the House thus encouraged remained evidently to be sought within the dominions of the empire itself. In consenting to the titular promotion of Prussia, Austria was raising up a rival to herself in the very heart of the empire, and one which, as the lapse of a very few years proved, was strong enough to make head against all the imperial and patrimonial resources of the more ancient House, and to revive the murderous conflicts of more barbarous times.

It was not, however, till after the Peace of Westphalia, that the antagonism of Prussia, strengthened by the absorption of secularised principalities, and sustained by the religious divisions of the empire, assumed the influence to which we have referred. In the days of Charles V., there was no state within the Germanic body capable of disputing the supremacy of the Austrian House. For all practical purposes, indeed, the empire of these times may be considered as represented by Austria alone. Not that its resources or its contingents were any more at the command of this House, now aggrandised by its immense patrimonial possessions, and apparently confirmed in a monopoly

---

present generation. As to Silesia and Posen, we need not say anything about such very famous transactions. It is very important, however, at a period like this, to bear in mind the circumstances attending the territorial formation of a state, especially such as this, since, according to these descents, the popular feeling in the provinces varies. There is all the difference in the world between the temper and disposition prevailing in East and West Prussia and Brandenburgh, and that exhibited in the Rhenish provinces or Posen.

of the Imperial throne, than they had been at the command of the most impoverished Frederick or Charles. On the contrary, the independence of the states was even more indisputably ascertained than before; and the impracticability of developing and combining the full forces of the empire against any common enemy, or for any common object, was never more clearly shown than in the protracted wars of the sixteenth century. Neither the impassioned urgency of Maximilian in depicting the dangers of the empire, nor the actual presence of the French in the imperial territories, nor the sight of the revolutions going on around them, could rouse the Germanic body to any worthy display of the national strength. Except for the preservation of internal peace, a purpose which was now most zealously promoted, the federal power of the empire was a mere shadow. The constituent states were advancing, it is true, and some at the expense of others, in political growth; but the imperial body derived no proportionate accession of strength or influence from the prosperity of its departments. By this time the historical destinies of Germany were pretty clearly delineated. Her provinces were to form mighty powers, and to contribute, singly and independently, some of the most important members to the new system of Europe. But her unity and her nationality were virtually gone. It was not the empire, but the House of Hapsburg which entered as a powerful state into the combinations of European politics. It was Austria, not Germany, which lent her weight to the adjustment of political equilibrium, and trimmed the balance between rival royalties. Hitherto the relations between the empire and the western powers had been few and unimportant. Italy and the papal pretensions, Hungary and the Turks, together with the incessant squabbles of the states themselves, had furnished the empire with its opportunities for federal action; but the Burgundian alliance, and the consequent possession of the Netherlands, brought it immediately into contact with France and England, at the same time that the Spanish inheritance closely connected it with the affairs of that peninsula. Yet, in all the political leagues and oppositions which resulted from these circumstances, it was Austria, and not Germany, which was really acting. It is true that the patrimonial grandeur of the House which now monopolised the imperial succession reflected no inconsiderable lustre upon the empire itself, and lent to the title of 'Emperor' a dignity which of late years it had sadly wanted. But it was Austria, with her hereditary possessions, and with pretensions not often identified, nor always combined, with those of the empire, which appears upon the field of politics. It was the

Austrian House in its German and Spanish branches which provoked the antagonism of France; and it was the rivalry of these families, dating from these times, and developed by nearly three centuries of war, which formed the base of the system regulating the political equilibrium of Europe, until the sudden apparition of Prussia in the full panoply of power diverted the apprehensions, and changed the combinations of states.

We have now brought our considerations respecting the external action of the Germanic nation, to a period of European history when such considerations acquire a vast increase of importance. Towards the close of the fifteenth, and the commencement of the sixteenth centuries, a singular coincidence of sagacious and designing monarchs on the thrones of Aragon, France, England, Spain, and Germany, had conspired with the discoveries of science and the march of events to bring the powers of Europe into reciprocal connexions hitherto unknown. The invasion of Italy by the French disclosed the facility with which the designs of any ambitious state might be baffled by a league of other states individually inferior; and although the treachery and bad faith which characterised this opening of international intercourse was signal enough to discredit the practice, yet the advantages derivable from a common understanding were so obvious, that hereafter the powers of Europe formed, as it were, a single family, regulated by a system of political adjustment which was upheld by common consent for the common good. Under such conditions as these a powerful nation, united either in an effective confederacy or by a vigorous chief, might reasonably expect an influential voice in the councils of the commonwealth. But such a voice Germany never possessed, partly from that deficiency of her constitution to which we have alluded, partly because her component provinces were bent upon partitioning among themselves, individually, that influence which might have been irresistibly exerted in behalf of the whole, and partly because at this period a new element of division was introduced into the transactions of the Germanic body which completed the work already commenced, and finally left the constitution of the empire with scarcely a trace of unity discoverable.

The source of this discord was in the preaching of Luther. It would of course be superfluous for us to detail the progress of the reformed doctrines, or to enumerate the states which successively acceded to the Protestant party, but the effect of these religious differences was in the highest degree important. Hitherto, whatever had been the animosity by which the internal dissensions of the empire had been characterised, they

had at least been settled by the states themselves without any appeal to foreign interference. But so deadly were the feuds which now arose, that the weaker party, after combining in some of those leagues which were already familiar expedients, was compelled to look beyond the imperial frontiers for aid against the perils which threatened them at home. Most persons are acquainted with the general course of those events which proceeded through experimental struggles and inconclusive treaties to a most murderous war of thirty years' duration, and finally issued in the great Peace of Westphalia. But the influence of these disputes upon the territorial and political constitution of the empire, though matter of less common information, was so extensive and extraordinary that even a sketch of its operations would demand wider limits than we can assign to the whole subject in hand. We must, therefore, content ourselves with directing attention to one or two particular points, and recording the general effects which were thus produced upon the character of the empire in those its peculiar relations which we are attempting to examine.

Before the Reformation the ecclesiastical states of the empire presented a singular feature in the constitution of the Germanic body. Like the secular states, they were administered by a machinery constructed upon the model of the empire itself, the chapters serving as the provincial assembly by the suffrages of which the spiritual prince was elected. They differed in no essential point from the other states of the empire, and, being headed by the three electorates of Mentz, Treves, and Cologne, and comprising no insignificant divisions of territory and population, they contributed an element equally influential and extraordinary to the Imperial constitution. They were, in fact, nothing less than so many powerful principalities descending by election and not by inheritance; and since, in ordinary cases, a prelate was already advanced in years at his accession to the throne, the succession in these states was unusually rapid. It is true, indeed, that some of these principalities were occasionally monopolised as appanages by great houses of the empire, as in the case of the Archbishopric of Cologne, which was preserved in the family of Bavaria from the close of the sixteenth to the middle of the eighteenth century; but, generally speaking, it might be said that a very considerable part of the constituent sovereignties of the empire were thus periodically offered to the competition of all candidates within a certain pale, an incident which could hardly fail of being highly agreeable to the parties concerned. Indeed, the episcopal functions of such offices were usually merged altogether

in the duties and privileges of a secular prince, and suffragans were left in superintendence of the spiritual business of the see, while the newly elected sovereign occupied himself with the government of his proper dominions or the business which fell to his share in the Diet.

Now upon these curious arrangements the Reformation operated with instantaneous effect. As conversions to the new doctrines were not confined to the secular princes, it became a question of singular importance to ascertain what should be done with these elective principalities when they had embraced the Protestant faith. In some cases it was endeavoured to transform them into hereditary states, as had been accomplished in the instance of the territory belonging to the Teutonic Order. In others they were seized and absorbed by the most powerful neighbour, or reserved as indemnities against claims which could not be resisted. We cannot lead our readers through the interminable conflicts which these rivalries occasioned, but will merely remark that by the extinction of many of these elective principalities, the constitutional character of the empire was materially changed, while its territorial aspect was altogether metamorphosed by the aggrandisement of certain families from these tempting spoils. It was, indeed, a complete revolution. States which had anciently been on the same footing of security as other members of the body, were suddenly condemned to a precarious existence or summary dissolution; and, in the meantime the 'secularisation' of these principalities (a term which was devised for the first time on this occasion) supplied materials for so large an augmentation of certain hereditary dominions, as totally to alter the relative position of states among each other.

Nor was this the only modification of the Imperial constitution. Germany was now divided into two parties, Roman Catholic and Protestant, as completely as Charlemagne's empire had been divided into three kingdoms; and the apparent settlement of the Imperial crown upon the Roman Catholic House of Austria identified the emperor—now by his patrimonial possessions a powerful personage—with that party which was considered the most aggressive and formidable of the two. In this source originated a marked and most curious distinction between the 'Emperor' and the 'Empire;' and no difficulty was found in representing as perpetually at variance the interests of the latter, or, in other words, those of the Protestant states, and the interests of the former, that is, of a powerful Roman Catholic sovereign. In this way the empire came to enter into the system of Europe as a kind of Sonderbund or separate league, distinct from the forces of the emperor, and directly

available for any alliance that might be framed against him. France and Spain were hardly more jealous of each other than were these two kindred powers, nor was any combination of European politics more conspicuous in those times than that by which France in particular enlisted against her Austrian rival those very states which were the nominal subjects and supporters of the crown they thus opposed.

So serious were the consequences of all these transactions, that the constitution of the Germanic Empire, as it existed at its dissolution, may be conceived, in some sort, to date from the great treaty which terminated these religious wars. Taking a retrospective view, we may almost say that Germany was originally a single kingdom, under a powerful sovereign, with a traditional title; that it very early fell asunder, and, as it were, crystallised into states which were virtually independent; that these states still preserved a semblance of unity under a supreme head, but were not really capable of combination as one national body; and that, at length, when serious causes of dissension had arisen, they established their internal relations by a treaty which was virtually a pact regulating the conditions of a loose and partial confederation. Throughout this Treaty of Westphalia it is evident that the predominant object is simply to settle the terms on which the contracting parties were thenceforth to live together. To consider the states of the Germanic Empire, after the occurrences of the Thirty Years' War, as even nominally provinces of one undivided kingdom, under one active sovereign, was altogether out of the question. They were treated of course as states who not only might be, but had been, enemies, and the aim of the new convention was to obviate such differences for the future. As regards the external relations of the body so constituted, it is almost impossible to recognise even the loosest form of a confederacy in the aggregate of states. Indeed, the provisions of the treaty went directly to demolish such of these conditions of effective union as might have been previously presumed. While the attributes of the central power, as personified by the Emperor, were explicitly condemned, the states were expressly confirmed in the right of contracting foreign alliances, of making peace or war, of deputing ambassadors to foreign powers, or to each other, and of performing all the functions of independent sovereignties. The superiority rested with the Protestant party at the time of the Congress, and the desires of this party were twofold. The foreign powers which had taken part in the war wished to preserve the antagonism which had been established between the minor states of the empire and its chief, and to secure so valuable

a machinery for curbing and humiliating the court of Vienna. The protected and now rescued states, were equally anxious to confirm themselves in such a precious right of appeal, and thus the spirit of a treaty which was to regulate the action of a confederacy, breathed nothing but mistrust and suspicion, and was virtually confined to provisions for protecting one member of the union against another, instead of stipulating their common duties for the benefit or advancement of the whole.

Up to the last hour of its existence, the Germanic Empire never lost the character which was thus imparted to it by what may be described as the first definite exposition of its constitution. Before the Peace of Westphalia there had been little beyond tradition or custom to regulate the intercourse or the duties of the constituent states. There was now a written code of ordinances to which appeal might be made, but the contingencies contemplated by this code were practically confined, as we have said, to disputes arising within the empire itself. All its forces were to be self-consumed. The pact was rather for the prevention of mutual molestation, than the combination, for external action, of the national strength. By this time, in fact, Germany had become a miniature representation of the European continent, nor can a better idea be conveyed of its constitution than by describing the empire as a little Christendom in itself. It was only a single empire, as Europe might be called a single commonwealth. The ties or traditions which connected its component states were little more definite or binding than that tacit compact which secures general tranquillity. Public peace is the object of the European system, and it was the object of the Germanic union. The code which was devised for the regulation of the smaller body was transferred for similar purposes, and under similar conditions, to the larger, and the public law of the empire became the foundation of the public law of Europe, because it had been devised for necessities precisely analogous to those for which it was borrowed. In this sense it accomplished its end. Up to a late period of the empire, its weaker states were effectually protected in the enjoyment of their independence and their rights against the cupidities or animosities of the strong. . Common interests suggested common action on any occasion when justice was outraged in the case of an individual state, just as a similar violation of international law will combine against the aggressor the forces of confederate Europe. But here ended the common objects of the old Germanic Empire. As to any prompt or effective development of the whole national strength for external action, it was scarcely less impracticable than an effective combination of the states of Christen-

dom for a new crusade, and the 'dread summit of imperial 'power' was discoverable only in the professions of the courtier or the imagination of the poet.

Other circumstances aided both in producing and extending the result we have described. As the empire, through various political revolutions, came at length to be constituted, it comprised several members whose connexion with it formed but one, and that perhaps not an important, feature in their political characters. The Diet was full of crowned heads, owning independent and unconnected sovereignties, and wielding powers altogether disproportioned to the petty capacities in which they took their seats in that assembly. Thus the Archduke of Austria, even if the imperial title should leave the family, was King of Hungary and Bohemia; the King of Sweden sate as Lord of Pomerania, which had been ceded to him at the Peace of Westphalia; the King of Denmark as Duke of Holstein; the King of Poland as Elector of Saxony; the King of Sardinia as Duke of Savoy; the King of Prussia as Elector of Brandenburgh; and the King of Great Britain as Elector of Hanover. A combination of the actual forces of these potentates would have been irresistible; but, though mighty monarchs in their own rights, they were but feeble princes as representing the German nation. The voices which should have been most influential in the Diet were swayed by interests altogether foreign to those of the empire. The imperial possessions of the sovereigns we have mentioned were perhaps the least significant portion of their patrimony, and thus the Diet included members whose private resources surpassed those of the empire itself. Towards the close of the seventeenth century, the Ten Circles were together rated at contingents which produced an imperial army of 40,000 men, while Brandenburgh alone, even before its aggrandisements of the next century, could muster 28,000, and Austria could take the field with more than three times that number. In this way the empire was *pars minima ipsa sui.* Its forces were not constituted by any hearty or earnest alliance of its members, but by a tardy and reluctant contribution of quotas, which bore no proportion to the real capabilities of the parties despatching them. For a long time after the individual states had formed standing armies according to their respective powers, their existed no military establishments for federal purposes. The 'troops of the empire,' when brought upon the field, presented a heterogeneous and disjointed assemblage of detachments variously armed and never trained to act together. Ten or twelve different states might have clubbed their quotas to raise a single regiment, in which men, fed by

different commissariats, supplied with different accoutrements, and receiving different rates of pay, were expected to manœuvre with promptitude and effect under officers whom they had never seen. Thus the very country which was the market of soldiers for Europe, was represented, nationally, by the most incompetent and ill-organised force; and even this was so clumsily and circuitously exerted, that the accession of 'the empire' to any military alliance was little more than a nominal gain, and instances are actually found where, at the conclusion of a war, it was disputed, as a question of fact, whether 'the empire,' in its veritable confederate capacity, had or had not been engaged at all.

The utter want of any federal or supreme authority in the empire competent to the discharge of such duties as should have devolved upon it, is strikingly shown in the leagues and associations by the which the states, from the earliest to the latest periods, endeavoured to supply the deficiency, and to compensate, by local and temporary combinations, for the absence of any national or permanent unity. There were leagues for political purposes, such as the Electoral and Princely Unions, or the league against the elevation of Hanover to the ninth electorate. There were others, for purposes either of defence or domestic security, such as the Hanseatic or Swabian leagues; either of which confederacies might possibly have resulted, like the Helvetic league, in the dismemberment of the empire, and the creation of an independent Power. Nor were the objects of these associations confined to such purposes as might seem compatible with a federal authority held in reserve for functions more purely national. The protection of the imperial territories against foreign invasion was among the duties left to their charge. Thus the Rhenish alliance was formed to preserve the empire from being involved in that war of the Northern Powers which was terminated by the famous Peace of Oliva; and when the designs of Louis XIV., some few years later, at length loosened the connexion between the empire and France which had been formed in the Thirty Years' War, it was only by a most circuitous process of the same description that the states were at last combined against a Power which had become clearly a common enemy. Nearly eight years passed in preparatory leagues and associations before all the circles of the empire concurred in declaring the war of 1689; and in the subsequent affairs of the Spanish Succession, the independence of the several states, both of the emperor and each other, was still more plainly shown. Two circles first formed an association between themselves, to which three others partially acceded.

By a fresh arrangement, one of these was excluded, but the four others formed a league with the circle of Austria, and subsequently joined that grand alliance against France which the emperor had meantime formed with certain other states of the empire and the maritime powers. Other circles came gradually into the alliance, and at length war was formally declared in the name of 'the Empire,' after preliminaries more troublesome and tortuous than have usually preceded a European coalition.

The unity of action procurable on conditions like these was little more than the unity of action which might be anticipated among the powers of Christendom, if civilisation should again be threatened by any irruption of Huns or Tartars. For external purposes Germanic nationality was virtually extinct, and even in the internal concerns of the empire, though accepted maxims of public law provided for the security of the states, yet it would be difficult to trace very distinctly the operations of a supreme authority in any provisions for their mutual intercourse. The legislative interference of the imperial courts in the concerns of the several states was extremely rare, and all those provincial peculiarities, which are now so much complained of as incompatible with any idea of true nationality, subsisted in full force, while there was yet, nominally, an undivided empire. Some decrees in the reign of Charles VI., respecting the uniformity of coinage, form quite a conspicuous object in imperial transactions. The great point for which the supreme authority still remained effective was the protection of the immediate states of the empire against their overweening neighbours, or even of the subjects of any particular state against their own sovereign. In such cases it was always presumed that an appeal lay to the emperor, and instances are not wanting in which it was resorted to with effect. But for all the purposes which are now proclaimed pre-eminent, the old Germanic Empire was far more incompetently constituted than the present Germanic Confederation. 'Germany' was absolutely lost. Even the imperial dignity was almost swamped in the other titles of the House of Austria, and it would have been difficult to have made the discovery at Vienna that the sovereign reigning in that capital was even the nominal chief of any territory besides his hereditary dominions. The machinery for conducting the concerns of the empire was altogether lost in the far more extensive and important machinery for conducting the affairs of Austria; and it is observed by a German writer of the last century, that a stranger might reside for a considerable time at Vienna without finding out that there existed any such institutions as an Imperial Chancery or an Aulic Council. The imperial dignity, in fact,

had fallen to the House of Austria as a venerable and exalted title, but without conferring any more substantial power, or entailing much more serious duties, than a seat in the Diet had conveyed to the king of Sweden. When this titular dignity, at the death of Charles VI., was transferred for that brief and stormy interval to Munich, it was found scarcely practicable to separate the archives of the empire at Vienna from the purely Austrian documents with which they had been long confused; and though this curious interruption somewhat disturbed the doctrine of divine imperial right which had insensibly been formed, and might have led to constitutional improvements if the new dynasty had been perpetuated, yet the old state of things was speedily revived under Francis of Lorraine, and the empire continued, till the days of its dissolution, in the beaten path which we have been attempting to trace.

It must be evident, from what we have said, that the Germanic Empire, considered in that point of view which we have selected as the most significant, — in its relations, namely, to the other powers of Europe, either as a nation or a confederacy, — had for a very long period ceased substantially to exist. It still, however, survived to discharge the not unimportant functions to which we have referred, of guaranteeing and preserving an equality of rights among a multitude of states, of various constitutions, dispositions, and extent; which, if they could be combined for no other purpose, were at least associated for the enforcement of law. But the dissolution of even this shadowy phantom of the dominion of the Cæsars was close at hand, and it was at length effected under a coincidence of circumstances not only remarkable in themselves, but deriving unusual interest from the events of the present day, which openly threaten a territorial reorganisation of the continent, as sweeping as that which was projected by the ambition of Napoleon, and carried out mainly by means of the very operation which we shall now describe.

The first French revolution communicated originally no such shock to the kingdoms of Europe as has been transmitted by the eruptions of the third. But as the repeated collisions of France and Austria resulted successively in the increased abasement of the latter power, the affairs of the empire became materially involved in each of the concessions which she was forced to make. Her first passage of arms brought the treaty of Campo Formio; her second that of Luneville; her third that of Presburg. The treaty of Luneville, in 1801, confirmed definitively to France the possession of the left bank of the Rhine, which had been stipulated by earlier conventions. Such transfer

of territory of course dispossessed of their principalities and estates a large number of owners, and it was one of the provisions of the treaty that these parties should, one and all, receive indemnities for their losses out of the dominions of the empire. Nor were the liabilities of the imperial territory confined to the satisfaction of claims which had thus arisen, but even the dispossessed princes of Tuscany and Modena and the stadtholder of Holland were referred for compensation to the same source. The treaty, it is true, had not been legally accepted by the empire, as Napoleon had compelled Francis II. to sign it not only for himself but for the empire at large, without that warrant which could alone authorise such an act. In consideration, however, of the emergency in which the emperor had found himself placed, the Diet did afterwards ratify the deed; and thus the empire became bound to satisfy the demands of some seven and twenty princes whose domains had been appropriated to the aggrandisement of France. The real mischiefs of this arrangement lay deeper than at first appeared. It was less by the loss of territory than by the introduction of discord, that Germany so seriously suffered. Confiscation of course became absolutely necessary in order to supply a fund for the required indemnities, and thus a precedent was established for injustice and rapine which was very speedily improved.

Both precedent and convenience suggested the ecclesiastical principalities as offering the most obvious and abundant resources in the existing difficulties. But other besides these instinctive motives were also instrumental in promoting the decision. As the ecclesiastical princes were mostly dependent immediately on the emperor, or, in other words, were the immediate supporters of the House of Austria, any diminution of their number or power was a proportionate diminution of the imperial influence, against which the efforts of France were directed, while the spoils thus produced would supply ready and available means for attracting the secular princes to the side of that power which might be expected to preside over their distribution. The same remarks will apply to the case of the imperial free cities. As might very naturally, however, be conceived, extraordinary difficulties were experienced in apportioning the various amounts of compensation to the different claimants, and the greater part of the two years immediately following the peace was consumed in these fatal negotiations. By adroit management the First Consul soon came to be considered, what in reality he was, the chief arbiter in the proceedings; and by the capacity for organisation which he displayed, as well as by the dispensation of advantages which he assumed, acquired no inconsiderable por-

tion of that influence and power which presently opened for him a road to the imperial throne. At length, in the beginning of the year 1803, a decision was pronounced upon the Indemnity Question, by which some thirty princes and potentates were compensated for their losses by the sacrifice of all the ecclesiastical sovereignties, and of forty-five out of the sixty-one free towns. Into the particulars of the territorial arrangements there is no need to enter; but some of the titular promotions are remarkable as having conducted to dignities enjoyed in the present day. The electorates were made ten in number; and as Bavaria and the Palatinate were now united, and Cologne and Treves had been suppressed, this augmentation placed four electorships at the disposal of Napoleon. Hesse Cassel, Baden, Wirtemberg, and the Grand Dukedom of Tuscany, under the German title of Wurtzbourg, were the states selected for the coveted honours. The first of these retains to the present time the titular distinction thus obtained; but the second and third were advanced to still higher rank at the next stage of the performance which it will be our duty to mention. It is needless to offer any remark upon arrangements which were so soon superseded, though it must be obvious that such a constitution of the electoral college would soon have stripped the House of Austria of its supremacy, if the ancient fabric of the empire had continued to exist. But such revolutions even as those we have mentioned were virtually destructive of its whole constitution, though, in the whirl and tumult of the times, they rolled almost unheededly away. The deadly evil, however, was in the spirit which had been thus introduced. The princes of Germany were taught to prostrate themselves before the feet of a foreign conqueror from whom all favours seemed to flow. They were familiarised with the practices of confiscation and rapine, and all the traditional ordinances of the empire were supplanted by the suggestions of servility and cupidity. The old public law of Germany — that is to say, of Europe — was virtually abrogated, and states were left without any protection against the designs of their neighbours, except such as they could find in their own strength, or in the capricious patronage of a stranger. The effects of this spirit convey a signal illustration of the influence which the destinies of Germany must always, at any great political crisis, exert upon the fate of Europe.

Scarcely were these new arrangements effected, when a war which originated to a great extent in the jealousies they had caused, was terminated on the field of Austerlitz, and the Peace of Presburg supplied Napoleon with another opportunity of tampering with the Germanic body. By the stipulations of this

treaty two states of the greatest importance after Austria and Prussia were overtly detached from the empire. Despite the abrupt severance of international connexions induced by the Revolution, Napoleon had sagaciously contrived to revive that traditional alliance which Bavaria, though a Roman Catholic power, had ever tendered to France against Austria, and this state had seconded his designs as readily as it might have seconded those of a legitimate Bourbon. Wirtemberg had early followed in so promising a track, and now, in return for services rendered in the war, both electors were exalted to the royal dignity, and enriched with vast accessions of territory detached from the possessions of Austria. Even the ancient patrimony of the Tyrol was taken, for the time, to aggrandise the crown of Bavaria, which was thus rendered a power equal in importance to Prussia in the days of the great Frederick. But the most significant provision of the compact was contained in a clause which stipulated not only for the full recognition of these new titles by the Emperor Francis, but also for the entire and sovereign independence of the two new kings, any rights of the imperial supremacy to the contrary notwithstanding. This was, of course, a dismemberment and virtual dissolution of the empire; and it can hardly be said that the act which is historically represented as closing the scene was really needed to complete the catastrophe.

Napoleon had succeeded in producing within the Germanic Empire a state of affairs suitable to the consummation of his projects. His friends and allies were seen exalted to extraordinary rank at the expense of his enemies, and states of every class had learnt to look to his favour as the surest source of advancement. He had sown the seeds of perpetual discord by the question of the indemnities, at the same time that he had annihilated the controlling power supplied by the old constitution of the empire. The right bank of the Rhine was now a scene of chaotic confusion. The newly-made sovereigns were fleshing their royal powers upon every minor state within their reach. The small principalities were all abruptly mediatised, and the larger were fighting for the spoil. The presence of the French troops was actually felt as a protection, and the intervention of some supreme authority was loudly called for to restore tranquillity and order. At this crisis Napoleon stepped in, and by the formal dissolution of the old Germanic Empire laid the first stone of a visionary fabric, which in the realms of his imaginative ambition had been planned upon a scale of grandeur unknown to recent ages.

The imperial crown which he had just obtained was below

his own conceptions of magnificence. Not content with the kingdoms of France and Italy, and the prospective dominion of Spain, his ideas soared beyond that union of Romanesque nations which Family Compacts had almost realised, and demanded for the House of Bonaparte something more than the mere credit of superseding the House of Bourbon. He had devised a system of empire from the moment that he assumed the imperial title, and the old and now expiring Germanic body had given him the outlines of the model. The thrones of Holland, Italy, Naples, and hereafter of Spain, all supplied from scions of the House of Bonaparte, were to furnish the grand dignitaries of the new empire, who were to form the imperial council, and to elect a new emperor if ever the reigning male line should become extinct. Dependent upon these, and to be formed from them as fiefs, followed a host of principalities and duchies*, which were to be bestowed upon his most successful servants, and thus complete the constitution of the empire. But even this project, which is thus far considered by French writers as reasonable and practicable, fell short of his ambition, and he resolved on crossing the Rhine, and including within his realms all the dominions of Charlemagne under a revived Empire of the West.

It was indispensable to the progress of this scheme that no rival Empire should survive, in even nominal dignity, to interfere with the new creation; and to the removal therefore of this obstacle, and to the destruction, at the same time, of what was really the keystone of the old European system, Napoleon betook himself. Circumstances favoured him with unusual opportunities. Austria was completely prostrate; Prussia had confessed her weakness or her venality by a disreputable treaty; and England had lost Mr. Pitt. As far as Germany went, Napoleon's game was played into his hands. Neither M. Thiers nor M. Hardenberg, the two antagonist chroniclers

* How this grand idea was partially carried out, few readers will require to be told. It was in pursuance of this scheme that the titles with which every European ear is now familiarised, were created. From Eugene's kingdom of Italy Napoleon reserved twelve duchies, Dalmatia, Istria, Friuli, Cadore, Belluno, Conegliano, Treviso, Feltre, Bassano, Vicenza, Padua, and Rovigo. From Joseph's realm of Naples he retained six, Benevento, Ponte Corvo, Gaeta, Otranto, Tarento, and Reggio. In Massa, Parma, and Piacenza, he reserved others. In return for the present of Hanover, Prussia surrendered Neufchatel, Anspach, and Bayreuth, the first of which made a principality for Berthier; and the two last being exchanged with Bavaria for Berg, supplied a grand duchy for Murat to settle upon.

of these transactions, deny that the intervention of Napoleon was imperatively called for by the circumstances of the case, though the former omits to remark that these circumstances had been created by him for the purpose. Yielding, as it were, to the entreaties of the states, Napoleon consented to become the protector of a new German confederation, which was to embrace all those territories and powers enjoying what were termed 'incontestable relations with France.' The result was a convention signed by fifteen states of the old German Empire, at the head of which were Bavaria, Wirtemberg, and Baden, importing an alliance or union among themselves and with France. All connexion with the laws or constitution of the empire was deliberately renounced, and the contracting parties severed themselves completely from the Germanic body, and placed themselves under the protectorship of France by the style and title of the *Confederation of the Rhine.* In recompense for this accession, the seceding states were guaranteed in all their new dignities and possessions; and two of them, the Elector of Baden and the Landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt, were promoted to the rank of grand dukes, which they enjoy to the present day. This new confederation dealt the death-blow to the old Germanic Empire. Half its fairest provinces were detached by a single stroke, and so many indeed of its states had been already absorbed that, excepting the hereditary territories of Austria and Prussia, there now remained only a few petty principalities in the north, which, it was suggested, might group themselves round Prussia as the centre of another confederation. It was impossible to mistake the true import of this transaction. Francis II. at once discharged all the remaining states from such allegiance as they might yet conceive to be due to him, and relinquished the title of Emperor of Germany for that of Emperor of Austria, which he had before assumed. Thus, after a traditional existence of a thousand years, the Holy Roman Empire expired; and though its constitution, as we have shown, was not effective for the advancement of any national grandeur; yet the misdeeds and convulsions which ensued upon its fall were sufficient to prove that with it was lost a powerful guarantee for the order of the Continent of Europe.

It must be admitted that, up to a certain point, there were precedents in Germanic history for even such secessions as this, without any such consequence as a dismemberment of the empire. We have alluded before to the singular and universal practice of forming independent confederations within the Germanic body, nor was there wanting authority for the inclusion of France in such a league for the express object of thwarting

Austria. The league of the Rhine in the seventeenth century had been just such an association; and it is a curious historical fact, that the French contingent, stipulated as available for this league, was actually furnished for a war of the empire, and was mainly instrumental in securing a victory over the Turks. But no such leagues renounced, either in terms or in spirit, their old connexion with the empire, whatever antagonism they might confess towards its chief. Still it will hardly, perhaps, be thought probable by one conversant with the history of these states, that even the Confederation of the Rhine would have wrought such irreparable ruin, if the whole fabric had not been already shattered to its base by the events of the previous years. The view we have taken of the principal functions of this singular constitution is illustrated and confirmed by the arguments, however insincere, which were employed at its dissolution. The Emperor and the Diet were declared incompetent to the protection of the states. No revulsion of feeling was alleged among the members of the union, nor was it asserted that German nationality would be more efficaciously developed under the new arrangements. The duty described as incumbent on the federal authority was the preservation of internal order and the defence of the weak against the strong; and it was in default of such duties having been well discharged that the seceding states declared themselves justified in seeking more efficient protection under a more powerful chief.

We have thus brought our sketch of the ancient Germanic Empire to a period when every pretence of unity was at length discarded; for it is, of course, impossible to consider this secession as constituting of itself any form of nationality whatever, or as leaving any such in the body which remained behind. It does not fall within our proper limits to enlarge upon the spirit which was at length created by the wars of the revolution, and which resulted in the liberation of Germany from foreign oppression, although it was undoubtedly in this popular ferment that the ideas of nationality originated, which are now, after thirty years' conception, embodied in so palpable a form. That in the great settlement of Europe, which terminated these convulsions, it was thought conformable with sound and natural policy to restore to Germany that character of unity attached to it by tradition or semblance for so many ages, is matter within the memory of many of our readers; nor should we have hesitated to allude to the *Germanic Confederation* as a well-known organisation of certain continental states, but for the recent remark of a most accomplished representative of one of these states, now resident among us, that, 'Up to the last two months

'the existence of an effective federal Germany was scarce 'known to the British public.' It is certainly not surprising, that during a period of profound European tranquillity, no conspicuous prominence should have been given to the offensive capabilities of a confederacy organised especially, like all the alliances of that period, for the contingencies of war. The federative constitution at present, or very recently, existing was framed with reference to the external action of the combined states almost as exclusively as that of the old empire had subsided to the mere regulation of their internal intercourse. It is true that schemes of constitutional freedom entered largely into the projects of those surviving states which met in 1815 to determine upon a new confederacy, but the main design had been dictated by considerations of European policy. The chief object of the act was to create as strong a power as could be conveniently consolidated along the banks of the Rhine. The formal dissolution of Napoleon's confederation had followed on the first turn of fortune in favour of the allies; and in that article of the treaty of Paris which decided, by the *fiats* of so many successive lines, upon the political destinies of Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, and Italy, it was also ruled that 'the 'states of Germany shall be independent, and shall be united by 'a federative tie.' In pursuance of this sentence, the act constituting the present confederation was drawn up and ratified, though not without the experience of such obstacles as may well serve for warnings to the projectors of the present far more innovating scheme. The gathering of the states was like the meeting of our House of Peers after the Wars of the Roses. Thirty-eight out of three hundred and fifty sovereign states were all that appeared to the summons; the rest had been absorbed either by their foes or their friends. So far was the new confederacy framed upon the traditional model of the empire, that the ancient imperial territories were alone comprised, and the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia still entered the league only as respected those portions of their dominions which had been included in the empire of the Cæsars. For special political purposes, the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg was also attached, it being thought desirable to strengthen this important barrier fortress by identifying it with the territories protected under the federal guarantee; and consequently the King of the Netherlands, its new master, became a member of the confederation in respect of this duchy. The King of Denmark also acceded, in respect of Holstein, but declined to compromise his tenure of Schleswig so far as to enter by this title also, though solicited so to do. In the arrangements which ensued, the

liberal views of the greater powers were sadly thwarted by the martinet monarchs of Wirtemberg and Bavaria, who by their resistance succeeded in preserving the independent absolutism of the confederate sovereigns at the expense both of the federal power and of popular freedom. Upon the whole, however, with regard to the relations of which we have been speaking, the Confederation formed no bad representation of ancient Germany, and certainly provided for a far more effective combination and exertion of its forces than was practicable. The supreme visible head had disappeared, but this was a loss quite inappreciable, if the prerogatives of the emperor were only to have remained as they had been before. A permanent diet was established for the regulation of the affairs of the confederacy; and though each state was secured in the most sovereign internal independence, yet its freedom of external action was circumscribed further than had hitherto been the case, for the benefit of the whole. It was stipulated that when war had been declared by the Confederation, no state should be at liberty to enter upon any separate negotiations; and in reserving their prescriptive rights of forming private alliances, the states concurred in accepting the limitation, that such alliances should in no case be directed against either the confederation, or any individual member of it. The military arrangements were proportionately improved. The contingents of Austria and Prussia amount to 95,000 and 80,000 men respectively; and the whole federal army should muster upwards of 300,000 men, with 800 pieces of artillery. The force of the Confederation, like that of most nations lately, has certainly been dormant; but the events now passing under our eyes would appear to demonstrate its undoubted vitality. It is hard to conceive under what form of state union the federal strength could have been exerted more promptly, at shorter notice, or upon smaller provocation than in the invasion of Schleswig. If the dispositions of the sovereigns who constitute the Diet were conformable to the temper and opinions of the German people, and if they were honestly to avail themselves of the federal machinery already existing, it might be thought that the present constitution of Germany would satisfy any reasonable desires for nationality, as most certainly may it be concluded that it is more practically available for such purposes than any which, within man's memory, ever existed before.

Yet this is the constitution which is decried by studious and thoughtful Germans as inconsistent with the suggestions of historical tradition, and with the due grandeur and influence of a mighty nation. Our readers are aware that advantage has been taken of the peculiar opportunities lately

offered for political experiments to commence, at least theoretically, the work of reorganisation. Besides certain self-elected committees, spontaneously assembled and dissolved, which have left little more on record than a creditable rejection of the republican and communist doctrines which a turbulent minority were ready to force upon their acceptance, there have been popular deputations sent up as assessors to that Diet, which as yet legitimately represented the Confederation; and there has been a still more select conclave entrusted with the special duty of drawing up a new constitution for the projected 'Empire,' to be discussed and approved by the Constituent Assembly, or Great German Parliament, which is opening its sessions as we write these lines. The draft of the constitution, as settled by this 'Committee of Seventeen,' is now before us, and a very sufficient conception of imperial unity it certainly discovers.

By this scheme the countries at present composing the Germanic Confederation, including even, as we collect, their non-Germanic territories, which were no part of the old empire, together with Schleswig, which has been near a thousand years detached, and the provinces of Eastern and Western Prussia, which were never yet comprised, are all to be fused into one grand, free, fraternal empire of Germany, the sovereignties at present existing within these territories being limited and subordinated up to the point which the perfection of imperial unity may be found to require. This empire is to be hereditary, and its capital is to be Frankfort-on-the-Maine. The emperor of Germany is to be maintained in his dignity by a civil list voted by the German parliament; he is to have the executive in all affairs of the empire, to nominate and appoint all officers of the state, of the army and navy, and of the staff of the national guard. In the imperial power, as constituted by this emperor and the parliament, will be vested all the international representation of Germany with respect to foreign states, the disposal of the army, the right of conducting negotiations and concluding treaties, and of declaring peace or war. The parliament is to consist of two houses — the upper constituted by the thirty-three reigning sovereigns (or their deputies), by a deputy from each of the four free towns, and by a complement of as many imperial councillors, with certain qualifications, as shall raise the whole chamber to the number of 200 members; the lower, by representatives to be elected by the people in fixed proportions, but by methods to be determined by the respective states. Into the details of this organisation we need not digress, but it is of the utmost importance to observe, that

provision is also made for the establishment of supreme and imperial courts of judicature, with ample powers, vast fields of operation, and most effective machinery. Such is to be the constitution of the new Germanic Empire, and the reader will acknowledge, we think, that a mightier or more imposing revolution was never projected.

The historical deductions which we have offered will supply the best means for appreciating the character of this astounding and yet hardly unreasonable project. It must be evident that the erection of such a fabric is no reconstruction of any veritable edifice, however it may be based on the legendary foundations of tradition. There is no record, within the last six centuries, of any such Germany as it is now proposed to summon into life. No such unity or nationality as is at present contemplated, can be detected by the most anxious scrutineer of Germanic history. Barbarossa scarcely possessed nominally, certainly never enjoyed actually, such prerogatives or powers as await the future emperor of Germany, or even such a dominion. If the scheme should be thoroughly realised, this monarch will be sovereign of a consolidated realm more formidable than the kingdoms of Charlemagne. His authority will be limited, it is true, by the decisions of the parliament, but the control to be thus secured will be scarcely appreciable compared with the restrictions imposed on the chief of the old empire by the three colleges of the Diet, and the three hundred sovereignties of his realm. The machinery of the projected constitution will be effective, which, under the ancient system, was never the case. The empire succeeded in crippling the action of the emperor, without substituting any efficient executive for that which was thus destroyed. But the parliament now devised, if it should ever be really brought together, will be a working parliament, and the powers lodged personally in the emperor by the new constitution will enable a popular and intelligent sovereign to carry with him, on any popular subject, such an array of national force as has not been witnessed for centuries. The full and thorough realisation of the scheme involves nothing less than the annihilation and absorption of thirty-seven of the sovereignties of Europe, including two of the greatest powers of the world, in a new and colossal state, under an ancient title, but with such a character as in reality it never bore before. It implies a pacific and bloodless conquest of as many kingdoms as fell before the sword of Caled, for the consolidation of a dominion as mighty as the empire of the Caliphs. All the hereditary estates of Austria, all the hoarded acquisitions of Prussia, all the accumulations of ter-

ritorial capital, all the fragments of impoverished patrimonies, comprised within an empire which has been thrice within these fifty years revolutionised to its very foundations, will now be swept off and fused anew in a political creation of the most imposing grandeur. There will be no longer any Prussia or Austria, or Bavaria or Baden, or Hanover or Wirtemberg. These titles will disappear from European negotiations, to be preserved only in the lucubrations of provincial antiquaries. Germany alone—an empire one and indivisible—will entertain any relations with Europe.

We readily admit our belief that the amelioration of the popular lot, and the improvement of the internal condition of Germany, have been objects of the greatest consideration with the promoters of this movement; and, indeed, it is a fact deserving remark that both in the discussions of 1815 and throughout the subsequent period, this national regeneration has always been connected with provincial reforms. It has been conceived that imperial unity would be as effective against domestic misgovernment as for external glory. According to the provisions of the proposed constitution, the supreme imperial power is to guarantee to each constituent state all those privileges of popular government which have hitherto been so vainly promised—representative assemblies, responsible ministries, rights of self-taxation, freedom of the press, trial by jury, &c.; and it will be incumbent, also, upon the same authority, to assimilate and control, from a single centre of power, all the institutions of the nation, such as the customs, the coinage, the posts, the means of communication, and the modes of traffic between the Baltic and Adriatic, the Niemen and the Moselle. But, without charging upon these advocates of German nationality any definite purposes of aggression or conquest, it cannot, we think, be doubtful to any person conversant with the arguments employed, that it is the position of Germany amongst European powers—the external influence of the nation upon the affairs of Europe, which has lain most closely to the hearts of the agitators. They conceived that Germany, as a nation, did not take due place in the national scale, and that for the sake of isolated provincial interests a German was deprived of that national dignity which an Englishman or Frenchman enjoyed. Their imaginations and their writings depict Germany as having fallen from that position of 'a dispensing and dominant power,' which her greatness and local situation would naturally insure her, and as having lost both place and caste by permitting other countries to surpass her in the development of national unity. This rank they are now eager to recover; and it is impossible to deny the advance

which would be made towards it by the realisation of such projects as we have been now describing. The 'empire' would be no longer a nominal union of states under an incompetent visible head, or a clumsy and ineffective congress of jealous deputies, but a single united nation, the whole and entire resources of which would be readily available under the direction of a powerful executive. There will be an end of quotas and contributions doled out after a critical adjustment between the interests of the confederacy and the interests of the particular states. Whatever force is possessed by Austria, or Prussia, or Bavaria, or Hanover, will become the force of Germany alone. All those national armies which, even taken separately, represent some of the most powerful hosts of Europe, will enter but as constituent divisions into the great imperial army, the officers of which will all be appointed by a single man. Such a force as could hitherto only be collected for extraordinary efforts, under most favouring circumstances and for a brief season, by some unstable and ill-assorted coalition, will now be kept permanently on foot in one compact body, and under one supreme head, for the honour and advancement of Germany.

That the political system of Europe must be radically affected by such a revolution as this, absorbing, as it would do, two of the powers at present most influential upon its operations, and creating, as it will, a gigantic nationality hitherto unknown, it is of course impossible to doubt. But, were it not for the invidious and repulsive character of its rudimentary essays, directed against a comparatively defenceless state, for questionable purposes, and under circumstances suggestive of most equivocal motives, we do not know that it would be viewed with suspicion or ill favour by a philosophical politician, whatever misgivings he might have respecting the ultimate practicability of the design. Considering the mighty empire which looms with its undiscoverable destinies in the East, and the turbulent passions which are seething and foaming in the West, the substitution, between the two, of an unconquerable nation for a discordant and discontented confederacy, may be conceived as no bad security for the peace of the world. And however the now popular spirit of 'nationality' may be caricatured or abused, yet it is difficult not to sympathise with its demands in so manifest a case as that depicted by the patriots of Germany. If the unity of a Germanic empire be but legendary, yet the unity of blood, manners, and language is palpable and existing; and it would be hard to say that forty millions of people should be partitioned, in order that thirty princes may be preserved in independence. If there never was a true German Empire, per-

haps there always should have been one. Grant that the invasion of Schleswig is really an expedition for territorial conquest—a manifestation of that spirit by which nations struggle towards a sea-board, just as plants struggle towards the light—of that spirit which impelled Russia so steadily and surely to Courland and Finnland, yet we do think it still probable, from the known spirit and character of the German people, that no ideas of general aggression are really at the bottom of the movement, and that the true popular yearning is simply for such a constitution as shall accord with the instincts of race, and enable the voice of Germany to be heard in its full tones, instead of being split into the squealing trebles of thirty provinces. The German movement is no mimicry of the frantic gesticulations of Paris. It originated in a far more serious, if not less enthusiastic, spirit; and if it should be successfully developed, the result bids fair to raise the most effective barrier conceivable against the outbreaks of French extravagance.

However enthusiastically the advocates of German nationality may have perused the history of the ancient empire, and portrayed, by aid of their imaginations, an effective unity which never existed, yet they have been too sagacious to perpetuate one of its institutions which has seldom been found otherwise than detrimental, and which has usually been set aside in practice, however religiously retained in theory. The crown of the Germanic Empire is no longer to be elective. Yet at the same time that hereditary succession is thus proclaimed, it is not obscurely hinted that expediency requires the transfer of the supremacy from that family in which it was an heirloom for centuries, to some house more competent to preside over regenerate Germany. It may be thought, perhaps, beyond the duties of a political writer, even in their most liberal acceptation, to criticise the inclination of a foreign people, or the qualifications of a foreign sovereign, at such a period of their relations as this; but as the name of the King of Prussia has been openly mentioned in connexion with this embryo dignity, and as his conduct and chances have been unreservedly discussed, we shall assume a share of the common licence in commenting upon the rumoured scheme. In the first place, not to mention that the imperial throne is actually vacant, or, rather, has yet to be constructed, and, therefore, that no parties can very well plead any deposition or damage,—we conceive that no person conversant with German history would attempt to deny, that a change of succession at any crisis of the fortunes of the empire is most entirely in accordance with the ancient spirit of the constitution. The very purpose of the elective privilege, in its most obvious acceptation and exercise,

was to secure the most effective chief for the service of the empire, and the elections were repeatedly decided by these avowed considerations. The claims of Austria itself originate in an application of these identical principles, for Rodolf of Hapsburg could never have mounted the imperial throne but in virtue of considerations which would now open it to the King of Prussia. Even the requisitions which were sent to Napoleon at the time of the Confederation of the Rhine, were made to wear an air of plausibility and patriotism by reference to these undoubted institutions; and, indeed, it is more than probable, that any warrior-monarch of Napoleon's character would actually have been chosen emperor of mediæval Germany. But if the true institutions of the Holy Roman Empire are to be revived with any traces of fidelity, it will be quite impossible to gainsay the pretensions of Prussia to her turn in the succession. Considering, indeed, her enormous accessions of power, her effective rivalry of Austria, her representation of nearly all the maritime and commercial interests of Germany, and her position as chief of the Protestant states, it is scarcely possible to doubt that, if the fabric had not fallen to pieces, the Imperial crown would some day have found its way to the House of Brandenburgh, — the only great family of the empire, indeed, in which, at some period or other, it has not rested for a time. We cannot, it is true, profess any extraordinary sympathy for the ambition of a nation which has been forced up to a precocious altitude by such a process as that employed by Prussia. Neither do we take upon ourselves to scrutinise the candour or the consistency of the policy really entertained by the king. But this we say, without fear of contradiction, that if Frederick William IV. should step forward in sober earnestness, at the suggestions of his own reason, and in the consciousness of his own power, to take the lead of the German people at a momentous crisis of their destinies, and if the German people should elect him as the fittest founder of a new imperial house to restore the tranquillity, and establish the renown of the empire, such proceedings, both of people and prince, would be most precisely true to the spirit of the old Germanic constitution, and would be well warranted (if the will of a free people needs such warrant) by abundant precedents from old German history. Indeed we hardly see how the revival of the Germanic Empire, if such is the design really entertained, could be more signally characterised, or presented with more historical fidelity, than by the election of an emperor from some new house to retrieve the credit of the state.

But the most important question of all remains behind — the practicability of this gigantic scheme? We have hitherto argued the

case without any consideration of this very material point, both because such a plan enabled us to speak with greater connectedness and perspicuity, and because the intelligence which daily reaches us shows that the scheme will at least not fall to the ground without a most resolute experiment. But looking at facts, how is Germany to become now what she never succeeded in becoming yet? If the impediments to national unity which formerly existed now exist no longer, or if some previously unknown power has been developed which can enable them to be surmounted, then of course the enterprise may be looked upon as possible. But are either of these conditions really fulfilled? It appears one of the strongest arguments against the practicability of German unity, that no destruction of any such unity can be traced to convulsions or violence, but that the divisions of the nation, almost as they exist at present, were formed gradually and insensibly as if by the natural operation of political causes. There is no proof that the people of the several states were detained in isolation against their natural bias, by the craft or despotism of their respective sovereigns. On the contrary, the work of separation in Germany seems to have proceeded as naturally as the work of consolidation in other countries; nor did any success attend the efforts of Charles V. directed towards some such a consummation as that now projected. The union of Germany cannot, in our view of the circumstances, be represented as the revival of any scarcely extinct traditions, or as implying the recovery of any position unhappily lost and regretted. The people are to be led not to something old, but to something new. If the empire to be established were nothing but the empire of 1805, the revolution would be as natural as any revolution in the *Place de la Concorde;* but if our deductions are correct, nothing can be farther from the truth than such an assumption as this. In 1805 the states were sovereign, and the emperor a nullity; but by the proposed constitution the states will become counties, and the emperor will wield a power greater than that of the American president. We are at a loss to discover the model period of history by which Germany is to be now regenerated. In one dissertation, reference is specially made to the union of Colmar, as indicating a time when Germany, 'under the dominion of a powerful king,' was the dispensing power of Europe. But this Scandinavian union was solemnised in 1397, and if a year were to be selected for exhibiting the imperial constitution in its full nullity for the purposes in question, it might well be this. One half of Germany was then arrayed against the other half without even the pretence of any intervention by a supreme power. The

'powerful king' Wenceslaus was absent in his hereditary patrimony of Bohemia, a residence which he refused to leave even for the most urgent business of the empire, alleging, and not without some reason, that an emperor had no duties to perform after accepting the crown. As to any personal or official capacity for making the Germanic name respected in Europe, he was utterly without a shadow of either, and within a few months was dragged disgracefully from a public stew and deposed. What an emperor was fifty years afterwards we have already seen in the example of Frederick IV.

It must be remembered, too, that in proportion as national traditions have become obscure, provincial traditions have become palpable and vivid. Even if a Prussian can be taught that he is a German, he will surely not readily forget that he is a Prussian too. The states, if not as old as the empire in their several sovereignties, are old enough to have each a history of its own; and they are now confirmed in titular dignities and independence universally recognised. The old subordinate titles, perpetuating a traditional subjection, have disappeared. It was thought an anomalous and incomprehensible circumstance in former times that the Elector of Bohemia should be a king; but now those of Saxony, Bavaria, Hanover, and Wirtemberg are equally supreme, and other princely houses of the empire are proportionately advanced. Each step in this direction was a step leading straight away from unity. What too is to be done with that *imperium in imperio*, the Austrian empire? Is there any example on record of such a territorial and dynastic fusion as this whole project must involve, excepting as the result of a conquest? Admitting, moreover, that something in such times as the present is likely to be deducted from the weight hitherto allowed to the individual inclinations of royalty, and that no Bavaria or Wirtemberg will be now permitted, as in 1815, to plead the prepossessions of a court against the voice of a people, yet is not the 'nationality' of Germany clearly divisible still by popular classifications? How are such countries as Austria and Prussia, which have played each no inglorious or inconsiderable part in the annals of the world, to surrender that individuality which they must surely feel as strongly as England or France? Are the states of Germany, in the present century, capable of any more ready amalgamation or fusion than the nations of Christendom? or is a Germanic Empire a much less Utopian design than that attractive vision of a permanent European congress? They have, it is true, a common language, a common descent, and similar institutions; but they have different traditions, different recollections, different names, different

colours, and hereditary enmities. Has the rivalry of France and Spain been more historically conspicuous than that of Prussia and Austria? The reception given by southern Germany to the first proposition of Prussian supremacy, implied as much jealousy and suspicion as would be excited by the coronation of a new Bourbon at Madrid.

Again; a spirit unknown, at least in any such strength, in past ages, is now in full operation, — that of commercial ambition. It is even asserted by some austere censors, that this whole movement has been based upon commercial speculations; and that the clamour for unity may be translated into a compulsory demand for the accession of certain outstanding parties to the terms of the *Zollverein*. Without, however, accepting such allegations as these, we can already discover that the pretensions of the imperial and central power to a superintendence over all the customs are exciting great opposition in the maritime states; and one of the most eminent statesmen of Germany, not unfavourable to the imperial scheme, has declared for his own country, Hanover, that he does not see how this particular interference can well be carried out. Neither will it be said, we think, that the peculiar element of ancient discord, religious dissent, is less palpably present in Germany at this moment than in the days of the Thirty Years' War. How is the intense Catholicism of Munich or Vienna to be reconciled with the something far below Protestantism which is supplied by the didactic schools of the north? We must not linger upon this point, but we leave those best conversant with German neology to conjecture what may be the state church or creed, or what the duties of a minister of public worship, in an empire which will include the cities of Vienna, Prague, Heidelberg, Leipsic, and Berlin.

It will be as well to recollect that such considerations as these may have hitherto been without their due weight, not only from being, as yet, indistinctly contemplated, but also from the paramount importance which was attached to the project of unity as being the only measure which would infallibly secure the long promised boon of free local institutions. But now that the successful course of private revolution has placed not only the desired constitutions, but something considerably beyond, within reach of the respective populations, it may, perhaps, be questioned whether the independent states will be so eager to forego their individuality. Omitting the refractory dispositions of certain second-rate powers, and taking the case only of the two largest, Austria and Prussia, it hardly seems possible that terms of union can be devised which should be acceptable to both. Austria has already made a very natural declaration, that she

will hold herself bound by no such decision of the German parliament as shall interfere with her sovereign rights in her own peculiar empire; and it is presumed that the accession of Prussia depends entirely upon a condition to which Bavaria and the southern states are resolutely opposed—her own promotion to the supremacy. And yet, if these two states, or if Austria alone, should stand aloof, the new empire will be little more than another Confederation of the Rhine, with less purpose or prospect. That the centralisation of the imperial resources in a single chief, and the hereditary descent of this dignity, are conditions indispensable even to the plausibility of the scheme, we readily allow, but a moment's reflection will show how enormously such conditions augment even the complications and difficulties which were found scarcely surmountable in 1815.

Another question of incalculable importance is involved in the disposition or distribution of the non-Germanic countries appertaining to certain states of the present Confederation. While we write, a proclamation has been issued by the German parliament, penned by Dahlmann, the professor of history, who has been so instrumental a personage in the whole movement, which appears to conclude that all non-German people inhabiting German federal territory, will form part and parcel of the new imperial population; and it especially and solemnly guarantees them all due facilities for developing their own 'nationality.' Nay, some advocates of the projected empire have gone even farther, and have thrown out a lure to Denmark, and even to Scandinavia entire, by way of extending the imperial territory to the pole, and making a German lake of the Baltic. Hitherto, however, this fusion of nationalities appears to be altogether impracticable and premature, whatever success may attend the experiment as applied to Teutonic states. The Sclavonic countries have peremptorily repelled the overtures made to them; and in Posen, as our readers are aware, the two divisions of the population have come to blows with no other apparent instigation than the antipathies of race. Bohemia has refused to take act or part in the German parliament; and on the 31st of May a grand festival of fraternity was to be held by all Sclavonians, with no obscure reference to the old proposition of consolidating a great Sclavonic empire, which, under the lead of Austria, detached from her German provinces, or even, perhaps, under that of Russia, might soon eclipse, and possibly overwhelm, its Teutonic prototype. As to Scandinavia, the propagandists of this imperial fraternity have met with no welcome there whatever. A great meeting of antiquarians and historians—the arbiters, in these days, of national destinies—was held at

Christiania last month, when it was decided that every German north of the Eyder was an intruder and a foe — that the nationality of Norway, as well as of Sweden, was grossly insulted by the overtures made to Schleswig, — and that it was incumbent upon all Scandinavia to share the dangers and sacrifices of the struggle. Since that time, deeds have shown how seriously these words were spoken, and the Germans are either recrossing the Eyder, or are at war with a coalition of the north.

We have now said enough, we trust, to place our readers in possession of some materials for comprehending the extraordinary cause now at issue on the Continent, in which *agitur pars tertia mundi.* Of our prophecies we must be sparing, not only because our limits are already reached, but because we cannot prejudge the acts of a parliament which is but just assembled. Unfortunately, this supreme deliberative body appears liable to the same interruptions of popular violence which have been directed against the states-assemblies, and Frankfort is scarcely more secure or tranquil than Paris or Berlin. But as regards the character and bearing of the vast project itself, considered, as its originators would have it considered, by the light of history, we cannot think their case is proved. We know of no such Germanic Empire as that which they would now create. We can discover no such German unity as that to which they are now aspiring. They take nothing from history but names. However grand, or reasonable, or laudable the project may be, the constitution which it would form is as clearly new and untried as that which is presently to rise under the constructive hands of a French committee. And, in addition to the disadvantages of novelty which must be thus entailed, it is impossible to deny that the course of events has rendered the Germanic states even less susceptible of any such effectual fusion than they might possibly have been at some period of the ancient Empire.

No. CLXXVIII. will be published in October.

THE

EDINBURGH REVIEW,

OCTOBER, 1848.

No. CLXXVIII.

ART. I.—1. *Essays on some unsettled Questions of Political Economy.* By JOHN STUART MILL. London: 1844.

2. *Principles of Political Economy, with some of their Applications to Social Philosophy.* By JOHN STUART MILL. 2 vols. London: 1848.

WRITINGS by the same author, and on nearly the same subjects, could not well be considered separately, and nothing of Mr. Mill's ought to pass unreviewed. We include therefore these two works in one article, though each of them well deserves a distinct notice.

The first work contains five essays, 'On National Interchange;' 'On the Influence of Consumption upon Production;' 'On the words Productive and Unproductive;' 'On Profits and Interest;' and 'On the Definition of Political Economy and the Method of Investigation proper to it.'

The first four relate to subjects which are also considered in the Principles, and treat them in the same manner, though at rather greater length. We shall consider them therefore, as far as our limits allow us to do so, when we reach the corresponding chapters of the greater treatise. But we cannot thus deal with the fifth essay, — that on the definition of Political Economy and on the Method of Investigation proper to it. The two works which we are considering contain perhaps no other portion of equal scientific importance, and it is remarkable that the Treatise does not expressly refer to it. It adopts one part of the essay

and disregards another, but does not state the grounds of its agreement or of its difference.

Believing as we do that an accurate conception of the subjects treated in the essay, and decided opinions as to its conclusions, will be useful both to the student and to the professor of Political Economy, we shall consider them at some length.

Mr. Mill begins by repeating some of the ordinary definitions of Political Economy — such as that it is 'the science which 'teaches in what manner a nation may be made rich' — or that 'it is to the state what domestic economy is to the family.'

To these definitions he objects that they confound the essentially distinct, though closely connected, ideas of *Science* and *Art.*

'These two ideas,' he adds, 'differ from one another as the understanding differs from the will, or as the indicative mood in grammar differs from the imperative. The one deals in facts, the other in precepts. Science is a collection of *truths;* art, a body of *rules,* or directions for conduct. The language of Science is, This is, or This is not; This does, or does not happen. The language of Art is, Do this; Avoid that. Science takes cognizance of a phenomenon, and endeavours to discover its law; art proposes to itself an end, and looks out for means to effect it.

'Rules, therefore, for making a nation increase in wealth, are not a science, but they are the results of science. Political Economy does not of itself instruct how to make a nation rich; but whoever would be qualified to judge of the means of making a nation rich, must first be a political economist.'*

With all this we agree; but the exposition is, we think, defective in not stating the grounds for treating Political Economy rather as a science than as an art. There is no difficulty in allotting to it, when considered as an art, a definite field. It might be defined as 'The art which points out the 'institutions and habits most conducive to the production and 'accumulation of wealth;' or, if the teacher choose to take a wider view, as 'The art which points out the institutions and 'habits most conducive to that production, accumulation, and 'distribution of wealth which is most favourable to the happiness 'of mankind;' and in fact one or the other of these definitions has in general been adopted, expressly or impliedly, by those who have professed to treat of Political Economy. Thus Sir James Steuart, the earliest of our systematic writers, says that 'the object of Political Economy is to secure a fund of sub-'sistence for all the inhabitants, to obviate every circumstance

* Essays, p. 124.

'which may render it precarious, to provide every thing neces-
'sary for supplying the wants of the society, and to employ the
'inhabitants in such a manner as to make their several interests
'lead them to supply one another with their reciprocal wants.'*
This agrees with the first of our proposed definitions.

Among the contemporaries of Steuart were the French economists, or, as they have lately been called, the Physiocrats, forming the school founded by Quesnay. Their works contain treatises on Political Economy according to our second proposed definition, that is to say, 'on the institutions and habits
'most conducive to that production, accumulation, and distribu-
'tion of wealth which is most favourable to the happiness of
'mankind;' but they contain much more. Quesnay and his followers lived in a country subject to political institutions, of which many were mischievous, more were imperfect, and all were unsettled. The principal defects of the existing system appeared to them to arise from ignorance of the laws which regulate the production and distribution of wealth. They had discovered that the real wealth of a country,—that is to say, the amount of the means possessed by its inhabitants for the obtaining pleasure and preventing pain,—was best promoted by allowing to every man, as far as possible, liberty to employ himself in the manner which he thought best, and by securing to him the enjoyment of the fruits of his industry, and of his providence. They believed themselves also to have discovered that agriculture is the original and principal source of all wealth, and is the only source of net revenue, that is to say, of a surplus beyond the expense which is the condition of all production. As the result of these principles, they proposed to substitute for the innumerable taxes on importation, on exportation, on transit, on production, on sale, on consumption, and on the person of man, which then formed the fiscal system of France, a single tax on the rent of land. So far their precepts were founded on Political Economy. But when they proposed the separation of legislative and judicial functions, and required the whole legislative power to reside in an absolute hereditary monarch, they drew their premises from other branches of political science. From this remark, however, we must except Turgot; and it is remarkable that the only man among the disciples of Quesnay who was actually practising Political Economy as an art, is the only one who treated its principles as a science. His 'Reflexions sur la Formation et la Distribution
'des Richesses,' published in 1771, is a purely scientific treatise.

* Book i., Introduction.

It contains not a word of precept; and might have been written by an ascetic who believed wealth to be an evil.

We now come to Adam Smith, the founder of Modern Political Economy, whether it be treated as a science or as an art. He considered it as an art. 'Political Economy,' he says in the introduction to the Fourth Book, 'proposes two distinct 'objects: first to provide a plentiful revenue or subsistence for 'the people, or, more properly to enable them to provide such a 'revenue or subsistence for themselves; and, secondly, to supply 'the state or commonwealth with a revenue sufficient for the 'public-service. It proposes to enrich both the people and the 'sovereign.' The principal purpose of his work was to show the erroneousness of the means by which political economists had hitherto proposed to attain those two great objects. And in the existing state of knowledge, this could be done only by proving that many of them mistook the nature of wealth, and all of them the laws according to which it is produced and distributed. The scientific portion of his work, therefore, is merely an introduction to that which is practical. Of the five books into which the work is divided, it occupies only the first and second. The third is an historical sketch of the progress of opulence. The fourth, the longest of the whole work, considers the direct interferences by which governments have attempted to lead or force their subjects to become rich; and proposes to show that every system of preference or restraint retards instead of promoting its object. The fifth book, which points out the means by which the duties of the sovereign may best be performed, and the necessary public revenue provided, is in fact a treatise on the art of government. It treats of the subsidiary arts of war, of jurisprudence, and of education. It considers the advantages and disadvantages of religious endowments, and even the details of the opposed systems of patronage and popular election, and of equality and inequality of benefices. It also discusses at great length the modes and effects of taxation, and of public loans; and concludes by an elaborate plan for diminishing the taxation of Great Britain, by requiring all the British dependencies, of which Ireland and North America then formed part, to contribute directly to the Imperial treasury.

We have often been tempted to wish that Adam Smith had published his fifth book as a separate treatise, with an appropriate title; though, no doubt, that course also would have had its disadvantages. It is by far the most amusing and the easiest portion of the Wealth of Nations, and must have attracted many readers whom the abstractions of the first and second books, if *they* had formed a separate work, would have repelled.

On the other hand, the including by so great an authority in one treatise and under one name many subjects belonging to different arts, has certainly contributed to the indistinct views as to the nature and subjects of Political Economy which appear still to prevail.

The English writers who have succeeded Adam Smith have generally set out by defining Political Economy as a science; and proceeded to treat it as an art. Thus Mr. M'Culloch states as the proper subjects of Political Economy, 'the laws which regu-'late the production, accumulation, distribution, and consump-'tion of the articles or products possessing exchangeable value.' Political Economy, then, is a science. But he goes on to say that 'the object of Political Economy is to point out the means 'by which the industry of man may be rendered most produc-'tive of wealth, the circumstances most favourable to its ac-'cumulation, and the mode in which it may be most advan-'tageously consumed.' So defined, Political Economy is an art. Mr. Ricardo is, however, an exception. His great work is little less scientific than that of Turgot. His abstinence from precept, and even from illustrations drawn from known facts and transactions, is the more remarkable, as the subject of his treatise is Distribution, the most practical branch of Political Economy; and Taxation, the most practical branch of Distribution.

The modern economists of France, Germany, Spain, Italy, and America, so far as we are acquainted with their works, all treat Political Economy as an art. Many of them, indeed, complain of what they call the abstractions of the English school; and others accuse it of narrow views and of an exclusive attention to wealth, — criticisms which must arise from an opinion that Political Economy is a branch of the Art of Government, and that its business is to influence the conduct of a statesman rather than to extend the knowledge of a philosopher.

It appears from this hasty sketch, that in assuming that Political Economy ought to be treated not as an art but as a science, Mr. Mill has assumed a proposition requiring proof, and opposed by a great weight of authority. Distinct, however, from the arts of which wealth is principally or exclusively the subject matter, it is necessarily the subject matter of a science. And we are not unwilling to give to that science the name of Political Economy. What we venture to object,—or rather, for that word is too strong,—to remark, in Mr. Mill's Essay is, that he has assumed that in the absence of explanation, the words Political Economy properly signify that science. They may be so used, and we are inclined to think it better that

they should be so used; but up to the present time the practice has been the other way.

Having decided that Political Economy is a science, Mr. Mill inquires further as to its peculiar field, which he finds to be 'the laws which regulate the production and distribution of 'wealth.' He then proposes a question which must have occurred to every reflecting Economist; namely, what are the limits which prevent his inquiries from being co-extensive with the whole body of sciences and arts which relate to production?—

'If,' he says, 'the laws of the production of all objects, or even of all material objects, which are useful and agreeable to mankind, were comprised in Political Economy, it would be difficult to say where the science would end; at the least, all, or nearly all, physical knowledge would be included in it. The laws of the production of manufactured articles involve the whole of chemistry and the whole of mechanics. The laws of the production of the wealth which is extracted from the bowels of the earth, cannot be set forth without taking in a large part of geology.

'When a definition so manifestly surpasses in extent what it professes to define, we must suppose that it is not meant to be interpreted literally, though the limitations with which it is to be understood are not stated.

'Perhaps it will be said, that Political Economy is conversant with such only of the laws of the production of wealth as are applicable to all kinds of wealth; those which relate to the details of particular trades or employments forming the subject of other, and totally distinct, sciences.

'If, however, there were no more in the distinction between Political Economy and Physical Science than this, the distinction, we may venture to affirm, would never have been made. No similar division exists in any other department of knowledge. We do not break up zoology or mineralogy into two parts; one treating of the properties common to all animals, or to all minerals; another conversant with the properties peculiar to each particular species of animals or minerals. The reason is obvious: there is no distinction in kind between the general laws of animal or of mineral nature and the peculiar properties of particular species.' *

The importance of this question cannot easily be exaggerated: while it remained unsolved there could be no clear ideas as to the province of the science. And its difficulty may be estimated from its not having been solved till now. Mr. Mill's solution is this:—

'In all the intercourse of man with nature, whether we consider him as acting upon it, or as receiving impressions from it, the effect or

* Essays, p. 127.

phenomenon depends upon causes of two kinds; the properties of the object acting, and those of the object acted upon. Everything which can possibly happen in which man and external things are jointly concerned, results from the joint operation of a law or laws of matter, and a law or laws of the human mind. Thus the production of corn by human labour is the result of a law of mind and of many laws of matter. The laws of matter are those properties of the soil and of vegetable life which cause the seed to germinate in the ground, and those properties of the human body which render food necessary to its support. The law of mind is, that man desires to possess subsistence, and consequently wills the necessary means of procuring it.

'Laws of mind, and laws of matter, are so dissimilar in their nature, that it would be contrary to all principles of rational arrangement to mix them up as part of the same study. In all scientific methods, therefore, they are placed apart. Any compound effect or phenomenon which depends both on the properties of matter and on those of mind may thus become the subject of two completely distinct sciences, or branches of science; one treating of the phenomenon in so far as it depends upon the laws of matter only; the other treating of it in so far as it depends upon the laws of mind.

'The physical sciences are those which treat of the laws of matter, and of all complex phenomena, in so far as dependent upon the laws of matter. The mental or moral sciences are those which treat of the laws of mind, and of all complex phenomena, in so far as dependent upon the laws of mind.

'Many therefore of the physical sciences may be treated of without any reference to mind, and as if the mind existed as a recipient of knowledge only, not as a cause producing effects. But there are no phenomena which depend *exclusively* upon the laws of mind; even the phenomena of the mind itself being partially dependent upon the physiological laws of the body. All the mental sciences, therefore, not excepting the pure science of mind, must take account of a great variety of physical truths; and (as physical science is commonly and very properly studied first) may be said to presuppose them, taking up the complex phenomena where physical science leaves them.

'Now this, it will be found, is a precise statement of the relation in which Political Economy stands to the various sciences which are tributary to the arts of production.

'The laws of the production of the objects which constitute wealth, are the subject matter both of Political Economy and of almost all the physical sciences. Such, however, of those laws as are purely laws of matter belong to physical science, and that exclusively. Such of them as are laws of the human mind, and no others, belong to Political Economy, which finally sums up the result of both combined.'*

The justice of these views, we think, is obvious: and though they are now for the first time formally stated, an indistinct per-

* Essays, pp. 130, 131, 132.

ception of them must be general, since they are generally acted on. The Political Economist does not attempt to state the mechanical and chemical laws which enable the steam engine to perform its miracles. He passes them by as laws of matter; but he explains as fully as his knowledge will allow the motives which induce the mechanist to erect the steam engine and the labourer to work it: and these are laws of mind. He leaves to the geologist to explain the laws of matter which occasion the formation of coal; to the chemist, to distinguish its component elements; to the engineer, to state the means by which it is extracted; and to the teachers of many hundred different arts, to point out the uses to which it may be applied. What he reserves to himself, is to explain the laws of mind under which the owner of the soil allows his pastures to be laid waste, and the minerals which they cover to be abstracted; under which the capitalist employs in sinking shafts, and piercing galleries, funds which might be devoted to his own immediate enjoyment; under which the miner encounters the toils and the dangers of his hazardous and laborious occupation; and the laws, also laws of mind, which decide in what proportions the produce or the value of the produce is divided between the three classes by whose concurrence it has been obtained. When he uses as his premises, as he often must do, facts supplied by physical science, he does not attempt to account for them. He is satisfied with stating their existence. If he has to prove it, he looks for his proofs so far as he can in the human mind. Thus Sir Edward West proved that additional labour cannot be applied to an indefinite amount to a given extent of land, by showing, on the principles of human nature, that if it were otherwise, no land except that which is most fertile and best situated would be cultivated. All the technical terms, therefore, of Political Economy represent either purely mental ideas, such as, demand, utility, value and abstinence, or objects which, though some of them may be material, are considered by the Political Economist so far only as they are the results or the causes of certain affections of the human mind, — such as wealth, capital, rent, wages, and profits.

'From the above considerations,' says Mr. Mill, 'the following definition of Political Economy seems to come out. The science which treats of the production and distribution of wealth, so far as they depend on the laws of human nature.' 'For popular use,' he adds, 'this is sufficient, but it still falls short of complete accuracy. Political Economy does not treat of the production and distribution of wealth in all states of mankind, but only in the social state; nor so far as they depend upon the laws of human nature, but only so far as they depend upon a certain portion of those laws. It is

concerned with man solely as a being who desires to possess wealth; and who is capable of judging of the comparative efficacy of means for obtaining that end. It predicts only such of the phenomena of the social state as take place in consequence of the pursuit of wealth. It makes entire abstraction of every other human passion or motive; except those which may be regarded as perpetually antagonizing principles to the desire of wealth; namely, aversion to labour, and desire of the present enjoyment of costly indulgencies.' These it takes, to a certain extent, into its calculations; because these do not merely, like other desires, occasionally conflict with the pursuit of wealth, but accompany it always as a drag, or impediment, and are therefore inseparably mixed up in the consideration of it. It reasons, and as we contend, must necessarily reason, from assumptions, not from facts. It is built upon hypotheses, strictly analogous to those which, under the name of definitions, are the foundation of the other abstract sciences. Geometry presupposes an arbitrary definition of a line, "that which has length but not breadth." Just in the same manner does Political Economy presuppose an arbitrary definition of man, as a being who invariably does that by which he may obtain the greatest amount of necessaries, conveniences, and luxuries, with the smallest quantity of labour and physical self-denial, with which they can be obtained in the existing state of knowledge. It is true that this definition of man is not formally prefixed to any work on Political Economy, as the definition of a line is prefixed to Euclid's Elements; and in proportion as by being so prefixed it would be less in danger of being forgotten, we may see ground for regret that this is not done. It is proper that what is assumed in every particular case, should once for all be brought before the mind in its full extent, by being somewhere formally stated as a general maxim. Now, no one who is conversant with systematic treatises on Political Economy will question that, whenever a political economist has shown that, by acting in a particular manner, a labourer may obviously obtain higher wages, a capitalist larger profits, or a landlord higher rent; he concludes, as a matter of course, that they will certainly act in that manner. Political Economy, therefore, reasons from assumed premises — from premises which might be totally without foundation in fact, and which are not pretended to be universally in accordance with it. The conclusions of Political Economy, consequently, like those of Geometry, are only true, as the common phrase is, in the abstract; that is, they are only true under certain suppositions, in which none but general causes — causes common to the whole class of cases under consideration — are taken into the account.'*

Among the writers who appear to have taken this view of Political Economy, the most remarkable is Mr. Ricardo. His treatment of it, indeed, is more abstract than that proposed by

* Essays, pp. 137. 144.

Mr. Mill. He adds to Mr. Mill's hypothesis other assumptions equally arbitrary. And he draws all his illustrations not from real life, but from hypothetical cases. Out of these materials he has framed a theory as to the distribution of wealth possessing almost mathematical precision.

But neither the reasoning of Mr. Mill nor the example of Mr. Ricardo induce us to treat Political Economy as a hypothetical science. We do not think it necessary, and, if unnecessary, we do not think it desirable. It appears to us that if we substitute for Mr. Mill's hypothesis that wealth and costly enjoyment are the *only* objects of human desire, the statement that they are universal and constant objects of desire, that they are desired by all men and at all times,—we shall have laid an equally firm foundation for our subsequent reasonings, and have put a truth in the place of an arbitrary assumption. We shall not, it is true, from the fact that by acting in a particular manner a labourer may obviously obtain higher wages, a capitalist larger profits, or a landlord higher rent, be able to infer the further fact that they will *certainly* act in that manner, but we shall be able to infer that they will do so in the absence of *disturbing* causes. And if we are able, as will frequently be the case, to state the cases in which those causes may be expected to exist, and the force with which they are likely to operate, we shall have removed all objections to the positive as opposed to the hypothetical treatment of the science.

We have said that the hypothetical treatment of the science if unnecessary is undesirable. It appears to us to be open to three great objections.

In the first place it is obviously unattractive. No one listens to an exposition of what might be the state of things under given but unreal conditions, with the same interest with which he hears a statement of what is actually taking place.

In the second place, a writer who starts from arbitrarily assumed premises is in danger of forgetting from time to time their unsubstantial foundation, and of arguing as if they were true. This has been the source of much error in Ricardo. He assumed the lands of every country to be of different degrees of fertility, and rent to be the value of the difference between the fertility of the best and of the worst land in cultivation. The remainder of the produce he divided into profit and wages. He assumed that wages naturally amount to neither more or less than the amount of commodities necessary to maintain the labourer and his family in health and strength. He assumed that in the progress of population and wealth agricultural labour becomes less and less proportionally productive. And he in-

ferred that the share of the produce of land taken by the landlord and by the labourer must constantly increase, and the share taken by the capitalist diminish.

This was a logical inference, and would consequently have been true in fact, if the assumed premises had been true. The fact is, however, that almost every one of them is false. It is not true that rent arises in consequence of the difference between the fertility of the different qualities of land in cultivation — it might exist if the whole territory of a country were of uniform quality. It is not true that the labourer always receives precisely the necessaries, or even what custom leads him to consider as the necessaries, of life. In civilised countries he almost always receives much more; in barbarous countries he sometimes obtains less. It is not true that as wealth and population advance agricultural labour becomes less and less proportionally productive. The corn now raised with the greatest labour in England is raised with less labour than that which was raised with the least labour 300 years ago, or than that which is now raised with the least labour in Poland. It is not true that the share of the produce taken by the capitalist is least in the richest countries. Those, on the contrary, are the countries in which its whole amount is generally greatest.

Mr. Ricardo, however, certainly was justified in reasoning from assumed premises, provided he was always aware and always kept in mind that they were assumed. This, however, he seems sometimes not to know, and sometimes to forget. Thus he states as an actual fact, that in an improving country the difficulty of obtaining raw produce constantly increases. He states as a real fact, that a tax on wages falls not on the labourer but on the capitalist. He affirms that tithes occasion a proportionate increase in the price of corn and a proportionate increase of wages, and therefore are a tax on the capitalist, not on the landlord: — propositions, both of which depend on an assumed fixed amount of wages.

A third objection to reasoning on hypothesis is its liability to error, either from illogical inference or from the omission of some condition necessarily incident to the supposed case. When a writer takes his premises from observation or from consciousness, and infers from them what he supposes to be real facts, if he have committed any grave error it generally leads him to some startling conclusion. He is thus warned of the probable existence of an unfounded premise or of an illogical inference, and, if he be wise, tries back until he has detected his mistake. But the strangeness of the results of an hypothesis gives no warning. We expect them to differ from what we ob-

serve; and lose therefore this incidental means of testing the correctness of our reasonings.

Our objection to hypothetical premises, when used as the foundation of the science, does not of course extend to hypothetical examples, used merely as illustrations. Such intellectual diagrams, on the contrary, not only make abstract reasonings more easily intelligible, — they often expose their errors. Conclusions, which appeared to be correct, while the vague terms of capital, labour, profit, or demand were used, are often found to be erroneous when an hypothetical example embodies these abstractions, and endeavours to show the moral and physical processes through which the supposed result would be obtained. The absence of such illustrations is one of the great defects of Adam Smith: though perhaps this very defect contributes to the popularity of his work. Such illustrations, however useful, always give an appearance of stiffness and pedantry. The careless reader neglects them; and the real student is annoyed at having to learn the dramatis personæ of an imaginary case. But if Adam Smith had used them, he would probably have avoided some errors, and have preserved his successors from many more. His example in this and in some other respects introduced a loose popular mode of treating Political Economy, which has mainly retarded its progress.

The four years which passed between the publication of the Essays and of the Principles seem to have somewhat modified Mr. Mill's views. In the Essays Political Economy is an hypothetical science: in the Principles it is a positive art.

The Principles are an attempt to point out the institutions which are most favourable to the production and preservation of wealth, and to its distribution in the manner most conducive to the happiness of mankind. The premises made use of in so vast an inquiry must be drawn from many different sciences. And in general, the teacher of an art does not attempt to teach the sciences on which it is founded. He assumes his scientific principles as established, and refers to them as well known. The teacher of the art of Medicine merely alludes to the facts which constitute the sciences of Anatomy and Chemistry. The teacher of Rhetoric assumes that his pupil is acquainted with the science of Logic, and with that of Grammar. Many of the sciences and of the arts which are subservient to the art of Political Economy, as taught by Mr. Mill, are thus treated by him. He states, for instance, that protection from domestic or foreign violence, or fraud, is essential to any considerable production and accumulation of wealth. And he considers the means by which the expense of providing that protection may

be best supported. But he does not inquire what are the necessary legal and military institutions. He leaves these to be pointed out by the arts of war and of civil and penal jurisprudence, and by the sciences on which those arts depend. And if the science, as distinguished from the art, of Political Economy were in an advanced state, if its outline were clearly made out, and generally recognised, its nomenclature fixed, and its principles generally made the subject of elementary instruction, it is probable that Mr. Mill would have treated it as he has treated the other sciences whose conclusions are adopted by him as premises. But it is scarcely necessary to state how far the science of Political Economy now is from the state in which its principles could be merely alluded to as well known truths. It is scarcely necessary to state that we are still far from the boundary of what is to be known, and further still from any general agreement as to what is known. Mr. Mill, therefore, though writing on Political Economy principally as an art, is forced to prefix or to interweave among his precepts his own views of it as a science, and thus to add to the practical portion of his work, a scientific portion of considerable length.

Within the narrow limits of an article we can of course give only a very meagre and inadequate account of either portion. And we shall be forced to leave the greater part of each unnoticed, not because we undervalue the importance of the subjects, or the powers of the writer, but simply from want of room. We console ourselves by the hope of being able, indeed of being forced, hereafter to recur to much of what we now pass over. The number of social questions which Mr. Mill has discussed is very great. Many of them, perhaps most of them, it will be our duty from time to time to consider, and no one will write on any subject which has been treated of by Mr. Mill, without adverting to his arguments and opinions.

The work is divided into five books:—1. On Production. 2. On Distribution. 3. On Exchange. 4. On the Influence of the Progress of Society on Production and Distribution. 5. On the Influence of Government.

Mr. Mill divides the instruments of production into three. Labour, Natural Agents, and Capital. In this classification he has followed the French and the English economists, though he has varied the usual nomenclature by substituting the expression, natural agents, for that of land. This deviation from the nomenclature of Quesnay and of Adam Smith was first made by J. B. Say; and certainly if the instruments, of which land is one, are to be retained as a separate genus, it is an improvement. It is not, like the word land, obviously inadequate. Of the

Germans with whose writings we are acquainted, Storch and Rau follow the usual classification and nomenclature. Hermann, one of the most independent and most acute of modern economists, reduces the instruments of production to two,—Arbeitskraft, which may be translated the faculty of labouring, and Capital. Land and all other natural agents he includes under the genus Capital. Now, both in confining to two genera the instruments of production, and in objecting to labour as the name of one of them, we are inclined to follow the example of Hermann rather than that of Mr. Mill. Our reasons for doing so are these.

First with respect to the term Labour. That word, as well as its corresponding terms, Arbeit, travail, and lavoro, all signify, not a thing but an act. They are gerunds of the verbs to labour, arbeitek, travailler, and lavorare. But what we want is a term to express, not the act performed by the labourer, but the instruments which he uses. These are his powers of body and mind; a class for which the more manageable German language offers the word Arbeitskraft, but for which in English we cannot find a more concise expression. This, however, is a question of nomenclature merely. Without altering the existing classification, we would merely designate by the words 'the mental and, 'bodily powers of man,' the class of instruments which Mr. Mill designates by the word Labour.

The question whether land and the other instruments spontaneously afforded by nature can more conveniently be included in the genus capital, or made to constitute a separate genus, is one of more importance. The Physiocrats and Adam Smith seem to have been induced to treat land, which they used as a general term for all the instruments supplied by nature, as a separate genus; in consequence of their perceiving (or thinking that they perceived) that it afforded a revenue differing in kind from that afforded by the employment of capital or of the human faculties. Neither wages nor profits, they said, can be obtained without some sacrifice. Capital can be acquired and preserved only by saving and economy; to employ it is troublesome, to lend it is dangerous. Labour is fatiguing, it interferes with amusement, and in many trades it injures the health. Wages and profit therefore, they said, are the creation (and the painful creation) of man. Rent is the bounty of nature. The landlords reap where they have never sowed; they toil not, neither do they spin; they merely open their laps to receive what she throws into them. Profit and wages, they said, have a maximum and a minimum; sink them too low, and the capitalist will not keep up his capital, or the labourer will die of want: raise them too

high, and the rapid accumulation of capital will sink profits, or the increase of population will lower wages. Rent has neither a maximum nor a minimum. The landlord receives whatever the competition of those who wish to use his land forces them to offer to him. As it is all pure gain he does not reject the smallest rent if he can get no more, and he asks the largest which they can afford to give.

To a considerable extent this is true; but neither Adam Smith nor the Physiocrats seem to have been fully aware that the greater part of what we call rent, is merely profit on the capital employed in fitting the land for use. Still less, did they perceive that the remainder is the gift, not of nature *but of monopoly;* not of abundance, but of scarcity; and exists whenever any instrument of production, not universally accessible, is employed; and shows itself, indeed, in profits and in wages whenever the one or the other rises above the general average. To give to all such extra profit and extra wages the name of rent, would, however, be an inconvenient departure from ordinary language. Most persons would be puzzled if they were told that when Jenny Lind receives 200*l.* for a night's performance, 10*s.* of it are the wages of her labour, 30*s.* more the profit on her acquired capital of knowledge and skill, and the remaining 198*l.* a rent derived from those extraordinary powers of which nature has given her a monopoly. And yet this would be a favourable case for such a nomenclature; since it is one in which the causes of the extraordinary remuneration are obvious. In the great majority of cases in which wages or profits rise beyond the average, the causes are imperceptible, even to the persons who gain by them. They are the compound operation of many obscure peculiarities. Tact in obtaining good customers or employers, and avoiding bad ones; favourable opportunities caught or neglected, or never presented; the conduct of friends, and of enemies, and of rivals, and of supporters — these and many other causes to which, because we know them only by their effects, we give the name of chance, apportion the whole aggregate of wages and profits between the millions of producers in a great country.

(It is often difficult to distinguish profit from wages. But to add a third source of revenue, to which a portion of what is usually called profit or wages is to be attributed, appears to us an unnecessary complication. But the great objection to the treating land as a separate instrument of production, is the difficulty of framing any definition of capital from which land can with propriety be excluded.) Among the most important rules of classification, one is that the different classes be separated

by real differences; another that those differences be capable of being ascertained. Now it is difficult to perceive any real difference between the polders which the Dutch have reclaimed from the sea and the adjoining lands supplied to them by nature; between a river naturally navigable and one which has been made so by art; between a river rendered navigable by art and an artificial canal; between a canal and a macadamised road; between a road and the earth-works of a railway, or between those earth-works and the rails or the engines. And if there be a real difference between the first and the last links of the chain, where is the line between them to be drawn?

On these grounds we think that the most convenient nomenclature and classification of the instruments of production, is to divide them into only two genera; and to designate the one by the term of the mental and bodily faculties of man, and the other, comprising every thing except man, by that of capital.

Both in the Essays and in the Treatise Mr. Mill adopts Adam Smith's division of labour into productive and unproductive. In the Essays he terms productive the labour which tends to augment or keep up permanent sources of enjoyment, unproductive that which is employed for the purpose of directly affording enjoyment. A fiddle-maker, for instance, is productive, a fiddler unproductive. In the Treatise he limits the epithet productive to the exertion which directly or indirectly produces utilities embodied in material objects. This definition excludes what the former admitted, labour employed in conferring permanent benefit unconnected with the increase of material products — such as the labour of a teacher or of a physician. It nearly agrees with that of Adam Smith, who designates as unproductive all labour 'which does not fix and realise itself in some particular subject 'or vendible commodity, which lasts for some time at least after 'that labour is past.'* Mr. Mill, however, (in the Essays at least,) includes among productive labourers those who indirectly contribute to the increase of material products; those, for instance, who teach others how to produce or protect them while producing — classes whom Adam Smith expressly terms unproductive.

We are inclined to think that the nomenclature most convenient and most conformable to usage is to term productive all labour which produces an exchangeable result; all labour, in short, which is paid for, — whether the result be permanent or evanescent. No English gentleman could live without a servant: no Frenchman could be happy without a theatre. It seems absurd to call unproductive the labour which is indispensable to

* Book ii. ch. iii.

comfort or to enjoyment. The services of a servant are like the water in a river, transitory but perpetually renewed: and as we consider the Rhine as one object, though the waters of which it is composed are never for a second the same, so we may consider the convenience afforded by a footman as one result, the product of his exertions during the whole period of his engagement.

The distinction, however, between productive and unproductive labour is not really important. Mr. Mill makes no further use of it. Adam Smith indeed seems at one time to have proposed to make it one of the foundations of the science.

'Whatever,' he says, 'be the actual state of the dexterity 'and judgment with which labour is applied, the abundance or 'scantiness of the annual supply must depend upon the propor-'tion between the number of those who are annually employed 'in useful labour, and those who are not. Productive hands are 'employed by capital, unproductive by revenue. The propor-'tion therefore between capital and revenue, regulates the pro-'portion between industry and idleness.'*

He seems here to have made the strange logical blunder of thinking that because all idle persons are unproductive, all unproductive persons are idle:—quite forgetting that he had classed among the unproductive, the labourers who in a civilised community are the most hardly tasked. If there are any toils peculiarly exhausting, they are those which must be undergone by the leaders, the teachers, and the protectors of the people. If there are any labourers peculiarly prone to an intemperance in exertion injurious to both body and mind, they are those who feel the stimulus and the responsibility of having to provide for the instruction and the security of the community. Adam Smith's excellent sense, however, prevented these errors from leading him to any further mistakes. In his hands, as in those of Mr. Mill, the distinction between productive and unproductive labour remains practically barren.

Mr. Mill has scarcely given a formal definition of Capital. He first rudely sketches it as 'a stock previously accumulated 'from the products of former labour.'† These words distinguish it (we think inconveniently) from the productive agents supplied by nature, but not from revenue, or, in Adam Smith's words, from the stock reserved for immediate consumption. A subsequent sentence, however, supplies this differentia:—

'What capital does for production is to afford the shelter, protection, tools and materials which the work requires, and to feed and

* See Introduction, and Book ii. chap. iii.

† Principles, vol. i. p. 67.

otherwise maintain the labourers during its progress. These are the services which present labour requires from past, and from the produce of past labour. Whatever things are destined for this use—destined to supply productive labour with these previous pre-requisites—are capital.

'To familiarise ourselves with the conception, let us consider what is done with the capital invested in any of the branches of business which compose the productive industry of a country. A manufacturer, for example, has one part of his capital in the form of buildings, fitted and destined for carrying on his branch of manufacture. Another part he has in the form of machinery. A third consists, if he be a spinner, of raw cotton, flax, or wool; if a weaver, of flaxen, woollen, silk, or cotton thread; and the like, according to the nature of the manufacture. Food and clothing, for his operatives, it is not the custom of the present age that he should directly provide; and few capitalists, except the producers of food or clothing, have any portion worth mentioning of their capital in that shape. Instead of this, each capitalist has money, which he pays to his workpeople, and so enables them to supply themselves; he has also finished goods in his warehouses, by the sale of which he obtains more money, to employ in the same manner, as well as to replenish his stock of materials, and to replace his buildings and machinery when worn out. His money and finished goods, however, are not wholly capital, for he does not wholly devote them to these purposes: he employs a part of the one, and of the proceeds of the other, in supplying his personal consumption and that of his family, or in hiring grooms and valets, or in maintaining hunters and hounds, or in educating his children, or in paying taxes, or in charity. What then is his capital? Precisely that part of his possessions, whatever it be, which he designs to employ in carrying on fresh production. It is of no consequence that a part, or even the whole of it, is in a form in which it cannot directly supply the wants of labourers.'*

No term in economical language has been used in so many different senses as the word Capital: and there is no subject in the whole range of the science of Political Economy on which eminent writers have differed so widely. Among the questions which it has occasioned, there are many of great interest, which Mr. Mill has left not merely undecided but unnoticed. One of these is whether knowledge and skill are or are not to be called capital. They are wealth, and wealth of the highest value: they are instruments of production, and most efficient ones. On the other hand, they are qualities of man, and if human knowledge and skill are capital, why not human health and strength? Why not all the faculties, physical, moral, and intellectual, which fit man for production? In short, why not man himself?

Allied to this question is another, on which, also, Mr. Mill ex-

* Principles, vol. i. p. 68.

presses no opinion. Is the good-will of a shop, is a manufacturing process protected by secrecy or by patent, is the copyright of a book, capital?

On other *vexatæ questiones* Mr. Mill does express an opinion, but without alluding to them as matters of controversy. One of these is, whether finished goods capable only of unproductive consumption, such as lace or jewellery, are capital while in the hands of the manufacturer or dealer. They are excluded from capital by Ricardo, by James Mill, and by M'Culloch, but included by Adam Smith, and by the greater part of the foreign economists. Mr. Mill considers as capital only that portion of them by the sale of which the capitalist obtains money to be employed productively. (We think this distinction inconvenient, and agree with Adam Smith in considering the whole stock of finished commodities in the shops of Regent Street as capital; whatever be the use which the shopkeepers intend to make of the produce of the sale. And our reason is, that the exposure of commodities for sale by a dealer, is in fact a productive use of them.) They have a higher value in the shop than any where else; if they had not, the shopkeeper would have no profit. What he buys from the manufacturer for 90*l.* he sells perhaps for 100*l.* And if the purchaser were the next day, or the next minute, to attempt to resell his purchase, he probably would not get for it more than 70*l.* or 80*l.* Nor is this confined to new commodities. The second-hand clothes, in the Monmouth Street shops and cellars, are more valuable than they were when the old clothesman purchased them, or than they will be in the hands of those to whom he will sell them. The reason is obvious. Goods in a shop are exposed for sale in the place and in the quantities which suit the convenience of the purchaser. He is saved the expense of finding out the original maker or importer; and he has the opportunity of choosing from a various stock. These advantages give to the goods in a shop their peculiar value; a value, as we have already remarked, higher than that which they possessed before they entered the shop, and higher than that which they will possess as soon as they quit the shop; they are therefore stock employed productively, or, to use a shorter expression, Capital.

Another question which Mr. Mill decides without expressly raising it, is whether commodities, of consumption so slow that they are practically indestructible, except by violence, are therefore to be called capital, in whosever hands they may be. Such are precious stones, coins, and marbles. We have statues 2000 years old, as perfect as when they left the sculptor's workshop, and there is no reason to suppose that

they will be deteriorated 2000 years hence. Many continental economists, among whom are the eminent names of J. B. Say, Ganilh, and Hermann, consider them, and indeed all commodities of slow consumption, as capital. And unquestionably they perform many of the offices of capital. If a lady who has been accustomed to spend 100*l.* a year in hiring a set of diamonds, buys that set from her jeweller for 1000*l.*, she makes an investment which gives her 10 per cent. per annum. The diamonds were part of the jeweller's capital while exposed in his shop. They continued to be part of his capital when on the person of the lady while she merely hired them. They will become capital again if she resells them to him: do they, then, cease to be capital while they are the lady's property? we are inclined to think that they do; though the question involves points of great nicety.

We have not space to examine the corollaries which Mr. Mill infers from his conception of capital. With most of them we fully agree: But one of them, that it is more advantageous to the labouring classes that a consumer should himself employ them to make what he wants, than purchase it ready made—that it is better for them, for instance, that he should himself superintend the building of a house, and pay them for it as the building goes on, than order one from a builder and pay for it when finished, — appears to us to be erroneous: though we have not space to expose what we think the fallacy; and only allude to it, lest we should be supposed to acquiesce in it. We proceed to a more popular subject; Mr. Mill's views as to the distinction between fixed and circulating capital.

That Adam Smith's division of capital into fixed and circulating is based on a real and important distinction, may be inferred from the currency which those words have obtained. Every manufacturer, however little he may know of Adam Smith, talks of his own fixed and of his own circulating capital. But though these terms have passed into general use, the meaning affixed to them is not always the same, or indeed always precise. According to Adam Smith, fixed capital is that which gives a profit while retained, circulating that which gives a profit by being parted with. The consequence is that the one is retained for as long, the other for as short, a time as possible. A cotton-spinner, if he could, would keep his machinery all his life; but he would be glad to work up his cotton and sell the produce once a fortnight, or, if possible, once a day. The distinctions here indicated are, no doubt, important: But we are inclined to think that the permanence or transitoriness of possession mainly governs the unscientific world in terming any given article of capital, fixed

or circulating. The coals used by the cotton-spinner are, according to Adam Smith's division, fixed capital. The spinner does not part with them: he uses them exactly as he uses the steam engine which they feed—for the purpose of producing an effect, and uses them, too, as slowly as he can. But as he purchases them only as he wants them, and seldom retains them for more than a few weeks or days, they would in ordinary language be called circulating capital. Even Adam Smith appears to have been misled by the rapid consumption of some kinds of capital. 'The maintenance,' he says, 'of a farmer's working cattle is a 'circulating capital, since the profit is made by parting with it. 'His seed is a fixed capital: though it goes backwards and for-'wards from the ground and the granary, it never changes 'masters, and therefore does not properly circulate.' Now the oats with which a farmer feeds his horses obviously change masters as little as the oats which he puts into the ground. Each, to use his own expressions, 'yields a revenue or profit without 'changing masters, and therefore may properly be called a fixed 'capital.'

We proceed to give Mr. Mill's definitions: —

'Of the capital engaged in the production of any commodity, there is a part which, after being once used, exists no longer as capital; is no longer capable of rendering service to production. Such, for example, is the portion of capital which consists of materials. The tallow and alkali of which soap is made, once used in the manufacture are destroyed as alkali and tallow; and cannot be employed any further in the soap manufacture, although, in their altered condition as soap, they are capable of being used as a material or an instrument in other branches of manufacture. In the same division must be placed the portion of capital which is paid as the wages, or consumed as the subsistence, of labourers. That part of the capital of a cotton-spinner which he pays away to his workpeople, once so paid exists no longer as his capital, or as a cotton-spinner's capital; such portion of it as the workmen consume, no longer exists as capital at all: even if they save any part, it exists not as the same but as a fresh capital, the result of a second act of accumulation. (Capital which in this manner fulfils the whole of its office in the production in which it is engaged, by a single use, is called circulating capital.)

'Another large portion of capital consists in instruments of production of a more or less permanent character; which produce their effect not by being parted with, but by being kept; and the efficacy of which is not exhausted by a single use. To this belong buildings, machinery, and all or most things known by the name of implements or tools. The durability of some of these is considerable, and their function as productive instruments is prolonged through many repetitions of the productive operation. In this class must likewise be included capital sunk (as the expression is) in permanent improve-

ments of land. So also the capital expended, once for all, in the commencement of an undertaking, to prepare the way for subsequent operations; the expense of opening a mine, for example; of cutting canals, of making roads or docks. Other examples might be added, but these are sufficient. (Capital which exists in any of these durable shapes, and the return to which is spread over a period of corresponding duration, is called fixed capital.')*

(Our objection to this nomenclature is, that it rests on differences which exist only in degree. The gunpowder employed by a miner is, according to Mr. Mill, circulating capital. It fulfils the whole of its office by a single use; but his pickaxe is fixed capital, its function being prolonged through many repetitions.) The quicksilver employed in extracting silver from the ore, was formerly destroyed in its first use: means have now been found to save and re-employ a portion of it: it may serve perhaps five times before it is finally dissipated; is this improvement sufficient to convert it from circulating into fixed capital? If its lasting for 5 times does not make it fixed capital, would 10 times do, or 100, or 1000? Would the pickaxe remain fixed capital if it generally broke in the course of its first day, or its first week of service?

* (We are inclined to think that the best nomenclature would be to divide the brute or inanimate requisites for production into two classes; materials and instruments. To express by the word materials all the things which after having undergone the change implied in production, are themselves matter of exchange; and by the word instruments, the things which are employed in producing that change, but do not themselves become part of the exchangeable result: And that the best definition of circulating capital, is to confine it to materials — and the best definition of fixed capital is to confine it to instruments.)

(In fact, though these definitions differ from Adam Smith's in form, they agree with them in substance.) 'The things which 'are the matter of exchange,' and 'the things which yield a 'profit only by being parted with,' are the same. Nor is there much difference between our expression, 'the things which are 'employed in production, but do not themselves become part of 'the exchangeable result,' and Adam Smith's, 'the things 'which yield a profit without changing masters or circulating 'further.' (We think indeed our explanation rather clearer than Adam Smith's, or we should not have ventured to depart from his; and we prefer it to Mr. Mill's, because his two classes are not separated by any real demarcation.)

* Vol. i. pp. 107—108.

We now pass over without comment, because we have not room for comment, three chapters on the causes which increase or diminish the efficiency of productive agents; and proceed to the still more important discussion of the laws of the increase of labour, of capital, and of land.

'The increase of production,' says Mr. Mill, 'depends on the properties of these elements. It is the result of the increase either of the elements themselves, or of their productiveness. The law of the increase of production must be a consequence of the laws of these elements: the limits to the increase of production must be the limits, whatever they are, set by those laws.'*

The increase of labour is the increase of population; and the capacity of population to increase is indefinite. So is the capacity of capital, using that word according to Mr. Mill's definition, which excludes the agents supplied by nature, unassisted by man — agents to which he gives the general name of land. If there be human beings capable of work, and food to feed them, they may always be employed productively. But the increase of capital is retarded by an obstacle which does not exist in the case of population. The augmentation of capital is painful. It can be effected only by abstaining from immediate enjoyment. We obey our instincts in promoting the one; we resist them in promoting the other. The desire, however, of immediate pleasure, though an obstacle to the increase of capital, is one which can be overcome in every state of society; for even savages save, or the race would expire; and in the advance of society it yields more and more easily to the desire of accumulation. If there be therefore any insuperable limitation to the increase of production,

'It must turn,' says Mr. Mill, 'upon the properties of the only element which is inherently and in itself limited in quantity. It must depend on the properties of land.'†

'After a certain, and not very advanced stage in the progress of agriculture; as soon, in fact, as men have applied themselves to cultivation with any energy, and have brought to it any tolerable tools; from that time it is the law of production from the land, that in any given state of agricultural skill and knowledge, by increasing the labour, the produce is not increased in an equal degree; doubling the labour does not double the produce; or, to express the same thing in other words, every increase of produce is obtained by a more than proportional increase in the application of labour to the land.'‡

Mr. Mill admits that this law of diminishing return in pro-

* Vol. i. p. 210. † Ibid. p. 187.
‡ Ibid. p. 212.

portion to the increased application of labour and capital to the land, is opposed by an antagonist principle, the progress of civilisation. 'I use,' he says, 'this general and somewhat 'vague expression, because the things to be included are so 'various, that hardly any term of a more restricted significa-'tion would comprise them all.'

Among them, however, he enumerates, as entitled to the chief place, the progress of agricultural knowledge, skill and invention, improved means of communication, the increased efficiency of manufacturing industry, and improvements in government and in education. The result is, that the social state is a state of warfare between these opposing principles.

'Whether, at the present or any other time, the produce of industry, proportionally to the labour employed, is increasing or diminishing, and the average condition of the people improving or deteriorating, depends upon whether population is advancing faster than improvement, or improvement than population. After a degree of density has been attained, sufficient to allow the principal benefits of combination of labour, all further increase tends in itself to mischief.

'If the growth of human power over nature is suspended or slackened, and population does not slacken its increase; if, with only the existing command over natural agencies, those agencies are called upon for an increased produce; that greater produce will not be afforded to the increased population, without either demanding on the average a greater effort from each, or on the average reducing each to a smaller ration out of the aggregate produce.

'As a matter of fact, at some periods the progress of population has been the most rapid of the two; at others that of improvement. In England during a long interval preceding the French revolution, population increased slowly; but the progress of improvement, at least in agriculture, would seem to have been still slower; since, although nothing occurred to lower the value of the precious metals, the price of corn rose considerably, and England, from an exporting, became an importing country. This evidence, however, is not quite conclusive, inasmuch as the extraordinary number of abundant seasons during the first half of the century not continuing during the last, was a cause of increased price in the latter period, extrinsic to the ordinary progress of society. Whether during the same period improvements in manufactures, or diminished cost of imported commodities, made amends for the diminished productiveness of labour on the land, is uncertain. But ever since the great mechanical inventions of Watt, Arkwright, and their contemporaries, the return to labour has probably increased as fast as the population; and would even have outstripped it, if that very augmentation of return had not called forth an additional portion of the inherent power of multiplication in the human species. During the fifteen or twenty years last elapsed, so rapid has been the extension of improved processes of agriculture, that even the land yields a greater produce in proportion

to the labour employed; the average price of corn is decidedly lower, and the country more nearly feeds its own population without foreign aid than it did in 1828. But though improvement may, during a certain space of time, keep up with, or even surpass, the actual increase of population, it assuredly never comes up to the rate of increase of which population is capable; and nothing could have prevented a general deterioration in the condition of the human race were it not that population has, in fact, been restrained. Had it been restrained still more, and the same improvements taken place, there would have been a larger dividend than there now is, for the nation, or the species at large. The new ground wrung from nature by the improvement would not have been all used up in the support of mere numbers. Though the gross produce would not have been so great, there would have been a greater produce per head of the population.'*

We do not think that land is quite fairly treated by Mr. Mill, or indeed by any economist of the Ricardo School. It is distinguished from all other instruments of production by two peculiarities. The first is, that it is capable of giving, and to a very great extent, an increased *quantity* of produce to the increased application of labour. Of no other instrument can this be said. No labour can work up a pound of raw cotton into more than a pound of manufactured cotton. The value of the manufactured product may be increased, but not its quantity. But on the same acre of land, and with the same bushel of seed, by applying more and more labour, a return may be obtained of three bushels of corn, or of ten, or of twenty, or of forty. When we state that in any given state of agricultural skill, every increase of produce is obtained by a more than proportional increase of labour, we ought to recollect that it is only from land that increase of labour acting on the same materials obtains any increase of produce at all. Quantity can be increased only by generation; and it is only as an agriculturalist that man can obtain the aid of generative processes. In other employments he merely effects a mechanical or chemical or commercial change which alters the qualities, and may apparently diminish, but cannot increase, the quantity of the substances on which he operates. In agriculture he is assisted by the generative powers of nature. She enables him to convert a bag of seed corn into a harvest; a couple of domestic animals into a flock or a herd. Mr. Mill† calls the opinion that nature lends more assistance to human endeavours in agriculture, than in manufactures, a conceit. It is founded, he says, on a confusion of

* Vol. i. pp. 228, 229, and 230.

† Book i. ch. i. sect. 4.

ideas. Certainly the ground on which the Physiocrats maintained it—the rent afforded by land—was insufficient. It is true, no doubt, that land affords a rent not because it is peculiarly productive, but because being productive, it is limited and appropriated. But though the reason assigned was inconclusive, the conclusion drawn by the Physiocrats was true, though not to the extent to which they carried it.

The powers of land, however, though indefinite, for we are far yet from their limits, are not infinite. Up to a point which probably differs with every quality of soil, and every degree of human skill, increased labour may produce a proportional, or more than proportional increase of return. Mr. Mill supposes, and with truth, that this point has not yet been reached generally in England. In particular cases without doubt it is often reached, and passed. The pleasure farm of many a gentleman, and some fields of many a farm in a sterile district, are cultivated at a cost not remunerative, with our present knowledge. But it is obvious, that there is a point at which additional labour employed on the same land, even though directed by perfect skill, must cease to be proportionally productive. On a good soil in the climate of England, and with the present English skill, one man can with a year's labour raise from 20 acres about 600 bushels of wheat. Two men, however, could not raise 1200 bushels. We may easily conceive, however, an increase of skill which would enable them to do so. But it is highly improbable that any skill would enable 20 men to raise 12,000; still more improbable that 200 men could raise 120,000; and it may be said to be absolutely impossible that 20,000 could raise 12,000,000 of bushels: they would have scarcely room to stand on the ground.

But it is not fair to call this limitation the niggardliness of nature. Nature, as we have already stated, is really far more bountiful in agriculture than in any other productive process. Her bounty, however, is limited by the second of the peculiarities which we have attributed to land, namely, its immobility. If, like all other productive instruments and materials, land could be transported to the places where it is wanted, we should not, at least in the present state of the population of the world, have to complain of its limitation in quantity. There is land enough to feed and clothe 10 times, probably 200 times, our present numbers. But its immobility limits the quantity accessible to the inhabitants of every district; and as they increase in numbers, forces them, unless they are willing, which few men are, to quit their own country, to have recourse to the other

peculiarity of land, its power to give to additional labour additional returns.

It is true that the result of this expedient may be unfavourable. It is true that 'an increase in the demand for food, occasioned by increased population, will always, *unless there is a simultaneous improvement in production*, diminish the share which, in a fair division, would fall to each individual, and that, in that case, the population must either work harder or eat less, or obtain their usual food by sacrificing a part of their other customary comforts.'* But we affirm that, in the absence of some disturbing cause, political rather than economical, such as the desire to create forty shilling freeholders in Ireland, or the poor-law abuses of the south of England, the increased demand for food and the increase of population are usually accompanied, or rather preceded, by improvements in production which occasion the increased quantity to be obtained, not at a greater, not merely at the same, but actually at a less proportionate expense of labour. Mr. Mill admits that such has been the case during the last twenty years in England. We believe it to have been the case in every portion of Europe. Even in Spain, notwithstanding her civil wars, even in the Netherlands, notwithstanding the previous density of population. The instances of increased poverty, the cases in which men have been forced to eat less, or obtain food by sacrificing a part of their other customary comforts, have been cases not of the increase but of the diminution of population. They are cases like that of Roman Gaul when laid waste by barbarians, or of Bohemia after the thirty years war, or of Asia Minor under the oppression of Turkey, or, to refer to still more striking examples, of the ruined cities of Central America, or of the deserted plains which surround the site of Carthage or of Palmyra, where there has been a waste of people but a still greater waste of capital and of industry, and half-starved savages eat their dates,

> 'Couched among fallen columns, in the shade
> Of ruined walls, that have survived the names
> Of those that reared them.'

We now come to Distribution; the portion of Political Economy most attractive to a practical teacher; since it depends on causes within human control, the laws and customs of society. The rules by which it is determined are always what the opinions and wishes of the community make them; are very different in

* Vol. i. p. 226.

different ages and countries; and might be still more different if mankind so chose.

We have already mentioned that Mr. Mill adheres to the usual division of the instruments of production into labour, capital, and land; and consequently to the division of the industrial community into labourers, capitalists, and landowners, and the division of the produce into wages, profits, and rent.

He has not defined the word Wages: And this is inconvenient; as it is used in three different senses, and it is sometimes only by the context that we can discover the meaning which he affixes to it. These senses are: 1st. The amount of money earned by the labourer in a given time. 2nd. The quantity and quality of the commodities earned by the labourer in a given *time*. 3rd. The amount of money, or the quantity and quality of commodities, received by the labourer for doing a given amount of *work*. The first have sometimes been called money wages, the second real wages, and the third the price of labour.

In some passages by wages Mr. Mill means money wages. He certainly does so when he says *, that dear or cheap food, caused by the variation of the seasons, does not affect wages; for it obviously does affect the quantity or the quality of commodities obtained by the labourer; and when he admits † that, under certain circumstances, the labourer would be enabled with the same wages to command greater comforts than before. But when in a passage, which we shall quote hereafter, he treats high wages and the more ample subsistence and comfort of the class of hired labourers as identical, he must mean real wages. For it is on his real wages, that is to say, on the quantity and quality of the commodities destined to his use, not on his money wages, that his subsistence and comfort depend. This again is the only sense in which it is true, that, 'except 'in a new colony or a country in circumstances equivalent to 'one, it is impossible that population should increase at its 'utmost rate without lowering wages.' ‡ For if very productive supplies of the precious metals were discovered, it certainly is possible that population might increase at its utmost rate for an indefinite time, without lowering money wages. In future, when we use the word wages without explanation, we shall mean, and shall represent Mr. Mill as meaning, the quantity and quality of the commodities earned by the labourer in a given time.

In this sense of the word,

* P. 405. † P. 407. ‡ P. 411.

'Wages depend,' says Mr. Mill, 'on the proportion between the number of the labouring population and the capital or other funds devoted to the purchase of labour; we will say for shortness, the capital. If wages are higher at one time or place than another, if the subsistence and comforts of the class of hired labourers are more ample, it is and can be for no other reason than because capital bears a greater proportion to population. Their condition can be bettered in no way but by altering that proportion to their advantage; and every scheme for their benefit which does not proceed on this as its foundation is, for all permanent purposes, a delusion. Though capital should for a time double itself simultaneously with population, if all this capital and population are to find employment on the same land, they cannot, without an unexampled succession of agricultural inventions, continue doubling the produce; therefore, if wages did not fall, profits must; and when profits fall, increase of capital is slackened. Besides, even if wages did not fall, the price of food would, in these circumstances, necessarily rise; which is equivalent to a fall of wages.

'Except, therefore, in the very peculiar cases which I have just noticed, of which the only one of any practical importance is that of a new colony, or a country in circumstances equivalent to it; it is impossible that population should increase *at its utmost rate*, without lowering wages. Nor will the fall be stopped at any point, short of that which, either by its physical or its moral operation, checks the increase of population. In no old country, therefore, does population increase at anything like its utmost rate; in most, at a very moderate rate; in some countries not at all. These facts are only to be accounted for in two ways. Either the whole number of births which nature admits of, and which happen in some circumstances, do not take place; or, if they do, a large portion of those who are born, die. The retardation of increase results either from mortality or prudence; from Mr. Malthus's positive, or from his preventive check: and one or the other of these must, and does exist, and very powerfully too, in all old societies. Wherever population is not kept down by the prudence either of individuals, or of the state, it is kept down by starvation or disease.'*

Mr. Mill's treatment of wages has one defect. Having stated, truly, that wages depend on the proportion between the number of labourers and the extent of the fund appropriated to their use, he considers at great length the causes affecting the number of labourers, but leaves almost unnoticed, at least in this place, those affecting the quantity and quality of the fund appropriated to their use. This, however, is a very important and a very difficult inquiry. Without attempting to exhaust it, we will give a brief indication of some of its principal points.

The extent of the fund for the maintenance of labour depends, in the first place, on the productiveness of labour in the direct or indirect production of the commodities used by

* P. 411.

the labourer; and, in the second place, on the proportion of the number of persons directly or indirectly employed in the production of things for the use of labourers to the whole number of labouring families. The productiveness given, it depends on the proportion. The proportion given, it depends on the productiveness. If we suppose two communities each containing 100 labouring families, if in each country 75 are employed in producing commodities for the whole number, and 25 work for the benefit of a master, the comparative wages in each must depend on the productiveness of labour. If in the one a year's labour of one family produces commodities for labourers which we will call four quarters of wheat, and in the other only two quarters, wages will be three quarters in the one, and only one quarter and a half in the other. But if in each community a year's labour produces four quarters of wheat, but in the one seventy-five are employed for the benefit of the whole number, and in the other only fifty, wages will again be three in the one and only two in the other. We say directly or *indirectly* employed, because, in a commercial country, a large portion of the commodities used by labourers is obtained indirectly by exchange. A Nottingham lace-maker does not directly contribute to the stock of commodities constituting wages, since no labouring man uses lace; but he does indirectly so far as that lace is exported in exchange for sugar or tobacco for his use.

The causes which promote the productiveness of labour Mr. Mill has discussed fully and satisfactorily in the seventh, eighth, and ninth chapters of his first book. They may be summed up as consisting of the personal character of the labourer, his corporeal, intellectual, and moral qualities, the degree in which he is assisted by capital, and the degree of freedom with which he is allowed to direct his industry.

The causes which affect the proportion of persons employed in producing commodities for the use of labourers to the whole number of labouring families, are, as we have said, omitted by him; and yet are eminently entitled to consideration, since a very large portion of the labourers of every civilised community is employed in producing not for their own use, but for others. The purposes to which their labour may be thus diverted are three. Production for the use of the landlords of the country; for the use of the government; and for the use of the capitalists. In other words, instead of producing what is to be consumed as wages, they may be employed in producing what is to be consumed as rent, as taxes, or as profits.

The first of these employments, however, when not the result of a scarcity occasioned by oppressive or fraudulent legislation,

does not really diminish the fund distributed as wages. Rent is the creation of some appropriated natural agents of extraordinary productiveness. The labourers employed by the owners of those natural agents draw their subsistence, therefore, not out of the common fund, such as it would be if no such natural agent existed, but wholly out of the extra fund arising from its existence. If with the growth of rent a corresponding population to be employed by it has grown up, it neither increases nor diminishes the fund for the maintenance of labourers. If such a population has not grown up, rent increases that fund.

(So far as the expense of governing a country is supported by taxes laid on its landlords or on its capitalists, the labourers are not directly concerned in it. A duty on wine may force a landlord or a merchant to dismiss a footman; but it enables the Government to hire a soldier. But a tax imposed on the commodities consumed by the labourer, has precisely the same effect on him as a diminished productiveness of labour: — the tax is added to the cost. If a tax of 25 per cent. be laid on porter, it is the same as if four men were wanted to make the porter which three could make before: the only difference being that the fourth man, instead of being actually employed in making porter, is a soldier or a policeman. Porter rises in price; less is consumed; fewer persons are employed in making it; and the labour thus set free is taken up by the Government. The result is the same if the labourer is directly taxed, as in the case of a poll-tax. Expenditure on the part of the Government is augmented; on the part of the labourers it is decreased; and a corresponding change of production follows.)

The proportion which the number of labourers employed for the benefit of capitalists bears to the number of those employed for the benefit of labourers — in other words, the proportion of profit to wages — depends on two causes. First, on the rate of profit for a given period of advance, and secondly on the average period of advance. And these are generally antagonist causes. Where capital compared with labourers is scanty the rate of profit is generally high, but the period of advance short. In rich countries the rate is low, but the period long. If in China the average rate be thirty per cent. per annum, and the average period of advance one year, a commodity on which 100*l.* has been expended in wages sells for 130*l.*; and, leaving rent and taxation out of the question, of every 130 labourers 100 are employed in producing commodities for the use of the whole 130, and thirty in producing commodities for the use of capitalists. The same result would follow in England, if the average rate of profit were ten per cent. per annum, and the average period of

advance rather less than three years. As a country advances in civilisation, though the rate of profit has a tendency to diminish, the total amount of profit, and therefore the proportion of labourers employed to provide the consumption of capitalists to those employed to provide the consumption of labourers, is constantly increasing. First, in consequence of the increase of capital, and secondly, in consequence of the continual prolongation of the period of its advance. The apparent loss to the labouring classes may be, however, more than counterbalanced, first by the increased productiveness which capital gives to labour, secondly, by the greater steadiness of employment, and thirdly, by the means given to the labourer to become himself a capitalist. And to be so he need not cease to be a labourer. A well-furnished residence, a good stock of clothes and linen, good tools and a year's income in a Savings' Bank, form together no inconsiderable capital. And these (in ordinarily good seasons) may be accumulated in a few years, by any well conducted family in our manufacturing districts.

We have been seduced into this long discussion, partly by its interest, and partly by feeling that it is wanting to Mr. Mill's theory of wages. To that theory we now return. We ended by quoting his statement, that wherever population is not kept down by the prudence, either of individuals or of the state, it is kept down by starvation or disease. A proposition from which we see no escape.

Mr. Mill sketches rapidly some of the checks opposed to population by the government, in many parts of Europe: he then alludes to those which the higher and middle classes, and skilled artizans, in England impose on themselves: and he ends by expressing regret as to the state, and fear as to the prospects, of our agricultural labourers, — to which it is painful to give our concurrence, yet impossible to refuse it: —

'In the case,' he says, 'of the common agricultural labourer, the checks to population may almost be considered as non-existent. If the growth of the towns, and of the capital there employed, by which the factory operatives are maintained at their present average rate of wages, notwithstanding their rapid increase, did not also absorb a great part of the annual addition to the rural population, there seems no reason, in the present habits of the people, why they should not fall into as miserable a condition as the Irish; and if the market for our manufactures should, I do not say fall off, but even cease to expand at the rapid rate of the last fifty years, there is no certainty that this fate may not be in reserve for us; especially considering how much the Irish themselves contribute to it by migrating to this country and underbidding its native inhabitants. Without carrying our anticipations forward to such a calamity, the

existing condition of the labourers of some of the most exclusively agricultural counties,—Wiltshire, Somersetshire, Dorsetshire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire,—is sufficiently painful to contemplate. The labourers of these counties, with large families, and seven or perhaps eight shillings for their weekly wages when in full employment, have lately become one of the stock objects of popular compassion: it is time that they had the benefit also of some application of common sense.

'Unhappily, sentimentality rather than common sense is the genius that usually presides over the discussion of these subjects; and while there is a growing sensitiveness to the hardships of the poor, and a ready disposition to admit claims in them upon the good offices of other people, there is an all but universal unwillingness to face the real difficulty of their position, or advert at all to the conditions which nature has made indispensable to the improvement of their physical lot. Discussions on the condition of the labourers, lamentations over its wretchedness, denunciations of all who are supposed to be indifferent to it, projects of one kind or another for improving it, were in no country and in no time of the world so rife as at present: but there is a tacit agreement to ignore totally the law of wages, or to dismiss it in a parenthesis, with such terms as "hard-"hearted Malthusianism;" as if it were not a thousand times more hardhearted to tell human beings that they may, than that they may not, call into existence swarms of creatures who are sure to be miserable, and most likely to be depraved.

'It is not wonderful that the working classes themselves should cherish error on this subject. They obey a common propensity, in laying the blame of their misfortunes, and the responsibility of providing remedies, on any shoulders but their own. They must be above the average level of humanity if they chose the more disagreeable opinion; when nearly all their professed teachers, both in their own and in every other class, either silently reject or noisily declaim against it. The true theory of the causes of poverty seems to answer nobody's peculiar purpose. Those who share the growing and certainly well-grounded discontent, with the place filled and the part performed in society by what are called the higher classes, seem to think that acknowledging the necessary dependence of wages on population is removing some blame from those classes, and acquitting them at the bar of public opinion for doing so little for the people; as if anything they could do, either in their present relation to them or in any other, could be of permanent use to the people in their material interests, unless grounded on a recognition of all the facts on which their condition depends. To this class of opponents, the accidents of personal politics have latterly added nearly the whole effective literary strength of the party who proclaim themselves conservative of existing social arrangements. Any one with whom the cause of the poor is a principle, and not a pretence or a mere freak of sensibility, must contemplate with unfeigned bitterness the conduct, during ten important years, of a large portion of the Tory party, including nearly all its popular organs, who have studiously

fostered the prejudices and inflamed the passions of the democracy, on the points on which democratic opinion is most liable to be dangerously wrong, for the paltry advantage of turning into a handle of popular declamation against their Whig rivals, an enactment most salutary in principle, in which their own party had concurred, but of which those rivals were almost accidentally the nominal authors.'*

Mr. Mill then considers the popular remedies for insufficient wages, such as public works, allowance, and allotments — and dismisses them with merited contempt.

'No remedies,' he says truly, 'for low wages have the smallest chance of being efficacious, which do not operate on and through the minds and habits of the people. While these are unaffected, any contrivance, even if successful, for temporarily improving the condition of the very poor, would but let slip the reins by which population was previously curbed, and could only, therefore, continue to produce its effect if, by the whip and spur of taxation, capital were compelled to follow at an equally accelerated pace. But this process could not possibly continue for long together; and whenever it stopped it would leave the country with an increased number of the poorest class, and a diminished proportion of all except the poorest, or, if it continued long enough, with none at all. For "to this complexion "must come at last" all social arrangements which remove the natural checks to population without substituting any others.

'By what means then is poverty to be contended against? How is the evil of low wages to be remedied? If the expedients usually recommended for the purpose are not adapted to it, can no others be thought of? Can political economy do nothing, but only object to everything, and demonstrate that nothing can be done?

'If this were so, political economy might have a needful, but would have a melancholy and a thankless task. If the bulk of the human race are always to remain as at present, slaves to toil in which they have no interest, and therefore feel no interest; drudging from early morning till late at night for bare necessaries, and with all the intellectual and moral deficiencies which that implies; without resources either in mind or feelings; untaught, for they cannot be better taught than fed; selfish, for all their thoughts are required for themselves; without interests or sentiments as citizens and members of society, and with a sense of injustice rankling in their minds, equally for what they have not, and for what others have; I know not what there is which should make a person, with any capacity of reason, concern himself about the destinies of the human race. There would be no wisdom for any one but in extricating from life, with Epicurean indifference, as much personal satisfaction for himself and those with whom he sympathises, as it can yield without injury to any one, and letting the unmeaning bustle of so-called civilised existence roll by unheeded.'†

---

* Vol. i. pp. 418—421. † Vol. i. pp. 438, 439.

It may be supposed that Mr. Mill finds it easier to point out the evil than the remedy.

The ultimate remedy is indeed obvious: it is an effective national Education of the children of the labouring classes; an education which will teach them what is the conduct on which their welfare depends, and will accustom them to subject passion to reason. But he is forced to add, that, 'Education is not 'compatible with extreme poverty. It is impossible effectually 'to teach an indigent population; and it is difficult to make 'those feel the value of comfort who have never enjoyed it, or 'those appreciate the wretchedness of a precarious subsistence, 'who have been made reckless by always living from hand to 'mouth. Individuals often struggle upwards into a condition 'of ease; but the utmost that can be expected from a whole 'people is to maintain themselves in it; and improvement in 'the habits and requirements of the mass of unskilled day-'labourers will be difficult and tardy, unless means can be con-'trived of raising the entire body to a state of tolerable comfort, 'and maintaining them in it, until a new generation grows up.'*

Towards effecting this object, Mr. Mill thinks that there are two resources available, — a great national Colonisation, and settling the Waste lands of Great Britain and Ireland with peasant proprietors. But these plans are among the subjects which we must reserve for future discussion.

As far as Ireland is concerned, indeed, we are surprised that Mr. Mill should waste his time in devising remedies for material evils, while he leaves unnoticed the moral evil from which all the material evils flow. Admitting fixity of tenure, outdoor relief, reclamation of waste lands, or gratuitous emigration to be as practicable in execution and as beneficial in tendency as the wildest theorist proclaims them, still, while the Catholic clergy remain unprovided for, while those who ought to restrain the people are dependent on the people for their support, while their subsistence depends on their influence, and their influence on their adopting the passions and the antipathies of their flocks; while we create in every parish an enemy whom our injustice and bigotry have degraded, embittered, and strengthened, what can be the best effect of topical remedies, but to skin over sores which, in a thoroughly distempered body, can never be healed? While the priests are unpaid, to expect real improvement in Ireland is childishness. The 1,500,000 new proprietors whom Mr. Mill hopes to draft off to independence and comfort, and

* P. 449.

the 1,500,000 successors whom that drafting off will call into existence, while they are the tools of a hostile priesthood, will be the enemies of the law, and the enemies of the social order which depends on the law—in short, will resemble, except in courage, the anarchists of Paris.

We have dwelt so long on Wages, that we must dismiss Mr. Mill's exposition of the theory of Profit and of Rent, with the single remark that it does not differ materially from that of Ricardo.

The third book, on Exchange, contains the doctrines of value, of money, and of international trade. To give even the most meagre outline that would be intelligible of Mr. Mill's views on these extensive and complicated subjects, would far exceed the little space that remains to us. We therefore pass over this book altogether.

We now come to the fourth book, on the Influence of the Progress of Society on Production and Distribution. We have seen that, as respects England, Mr. Mill is not an encouraging prophet. We have seen that he considers the habits and sentiments of our agricultural population, perverted as they have been by the abuses of the old poor law, and by the ignorance and faction of their superiors, to be driving them rapidly to a state of almost Irish poverty; and that his hopes rest on remedies, some of which, such as the diffusion of real education, are resisted by the sectarian prejudices and impracticable temper both of churchmen, and of dissenters; while others, such as a foreign and home colonisation sufficient to raise to a higher level of comfort the entire body of unskilled labourers, require a public expenditure, not perhaps beyond the public means, but certainly at present far exceeding the public will. But though gloomy as an Englishman, he is sanguine as a cosmopolite. In all the leading countries of the world, and in all others as they come within the influence of those leading countries, he sees a progressive movement, which continues with little intermission from year to year, and from generation to generation: a progress in wealth, an advance in material prosperity:—

'Of the features,' he says 'which characterise this progressive economical movement of civilised nations, that which first excites attention, through its intimate connection with the phenomena of production, is the perpetual, and so far as human foresight can extend, the unlimited growth of man's power over nature.'

'Another change, which has always hitherto characterised, and will assuredly continue to characterise, the progress of civilised society, is a continual increase of the security of person and property. The people of every country in Europe, the most backward as well as

the most advanced, are, in each generation, better protected against the violence and rapacity of one another. They are also, in every generation, better protected, either by institutions or by manners and opinion, against the arbitrary exercise of the power of Government. Taxation in all European countries grows less arbitrary and oppressive, both in itself and in the manner of levying it. Wars, and the destruction they cause, are now confined, in almost every country, to those distant and outlying possessions at which it comes into contact with savages.'

'The progress which is to be expected in the physical sciences and arts, combined with the greater security of property, and greater freedom in disposing of it, which are obvious features in the civilisation of modern nations, and with the more extensive and more skilful employment of the joint stock principle, afford space and scope for an indefinite increase of capital and production, and for the increase of population which is its ordinary accompaniment. That the growth of population will overpass the increase of production, there is not much reason to apprehend; and that it should even keep pace with it, is inconsistent with the supposition of any real improvement in the poorest classes of the people.' *

This passage must have been written in 1847. And already, when we gaze with terror and pity at the wickedness and folly of the people of Paris, at the wickedness and folly of the people of Berlin, at the wickedness and folly of the people of Vienna, at the wickedness and folly of the people of Prague, at the wickedness and folly of the people of Rome, at the wickedness and folly of the people and of the sovereign of Naples, at the wickedness and folly of the wars which have been desolating South America during the last thirty years, North America during the last three years, and Denmark, Italy, and Hungary during the last six months, it is not easy, surely, to believe that the people of every civilised country are in each generation better protected against the violence and rapacity of one another! Never were public rights and private rights, international law and municipal law, so widely or so shamelessly trampled upon, as during the few months that have passed since these lines must have been written. And what makes our prospects more formidable is the steady increase in strength of the democratic element; and, concurrent with that increase, and apparently dependent on it, the increased malignity of international hate, and the increased rapacity of national ambition. Almost everywhere the people becomes year after year more powerful; and, almost everywhere, with its power grow its evil passions.

As the consequences, or rather the accompaniments, of the

* Vol. ii. pp. 244, 245, 246. and 248.

progress of civilisation, Mr. Mill anticipates an increase of rent, an increase of the amount of wages estimated in manufactured commodities, an increase of the cost of wages estimated in raw produce, and, occasioned by this increased cost of wages, a diminishing rate of profit; a diminution which, though checked from time to time by improvements in production, and by the destruction or exportation of capital, always tends to bring society to the stationary state in which profits are so low that the motive to further accumulation is suspended.

This stationary state has been the terror of economists, from Adam Smith down to Mr. M'Culloch. Mr. Mill looks forward to it, not only without apprehension, but with pleasure.

'There is room,' he says, 'in the world no doubt, and even in old countries, for an immense increase of population, supposing the arts of life to go on improving, and capital to increase. But, although it may be innocuous, I confess I see very little reason for desiring it. The density of population necessary to enable mankind to obtain, in the greatest degree, all the advantages both of co-operation and of social intercourse, has, in all the more populous countries, been attained. A population may be too crowded, though all be amply supplied with food and raiment. It is not good for man to be kept perforce at all times in the presence of his species. A world from which solitude is extirpated, is a very poor ideal. Solitude, in the sense of being often alone, is essential to any depth of meditation or of character; and solitude, in the presence of natural beauty and grandeur, is the cradle of thoughts and aspirations which are not only good for the individual, but which society could ill do without. Nor is there much satisfaction in contemplating the world with nothing left to the spontaneous activity of nature; with every rood of land brought into cultivation which is capable of growing food for human beings; every flowery waste or natural pasture ploughed up; all quadrupeds or birds which are not domesticated for man's use exterminated as his rivals for food; every hedgerow or superfluous tree rooted out, and scarcely a place left where a wild shrub or flower could grow without being eradicated as a weed, in the name of improved agriculture. If the earth must lose that great portion of its pleasantness which it owes to things that the unlimited increase of wealth and population would extirpate from it, for the mere purpose of enabling it to support a larger, but not a better or a happier population, I sincerely hope, for the sake of posterity, that they will be content to be stationary, long before necessity compels them to it.' *

The last and not the least important portion of Mr. Mill's work is the fifth book, 'On the Influence of Government.' In the first chapter he raises the question, never more interesting than at present, what is the proper limit to the functions and to the

* Vol. ii. p. 311.

agency of Government? Is it true that Governments ought to confine themselves to affording protection against force and fraud, and that, these two things apart, people should be free agents, left to take care of themselves, and while they practise no violence or deception to the injury of others, entitled to do as they like, without being molested or restricted by judges and legislators? And he answers this question by another: Why should the people be protected by their Government, that is by their own collective strength, against violence and fraud, and not against other evils, except that the expediency is more obvious?

The strong argument for restricting the functions of Government to the mere duty of affording to its subjects protection against foreigners by war or by negotiation, and against one another by the administration of civil and criminal justice, is that this is the field in which the interference of Government is not only obviously the most useful, but also obviously the least dangerous. A Government may manage ill the foreign affairs of a nation; but we may be sure that it will manage them better than would be done by the people themselves. It may be partial in its administration of justice; but it will be more impartial than each man would be if he were to be judge in his own cause. But as soon as it exceeds this narrow limit, as soon as it tries to make men not merely safe but happy, as soon as it tries to impose on them the belief and the conduct which it thinks most conducive to their welfare, when it endeavours to force them to get rich, and if it fail in that tries to protect them from the evils of poverty, — these are attempts so liable to fail, indeed to do worse than fail, so liable to produce results precisely opposite to those intended by the legislator, so liable to aggravate the evils which he proposes to remedy, and to introduce others which would not have arisen without his rash intervention, that we cannot wonder that many political thinkers have believed that they ought never to be made. But we agree with Mr. Mill that this objection, in its largest and most peremptory sense, cannot be supported. We agree with him that there is absolutely no limit, no exception, to the doctrine of expediency. And we are even inclined to disapprove of his use of the word 'optional' as applied to any of the functions of Government. As soon as it has been shown that it is expedient that a Government should perform any functions, it must also be its right, and also be its duty to perform them. The expediency may be difficult of proof; and until that proof has been given the right and the duty do not arise. But as soon as the proof has been given, they are

perfect. It is true that in such matters a Government may make mistakes. It may believe its interference to be useful where it is really mischievous. There is no Government which does not make such mistakes; and the more it interferes the more liable it must be to make them. But on the other hand, its refusal or neglect to interfere may also be founded on error. It may be passively wrong as well as actively wrong. The advance of political knowledge must diminish these errors; but it appears to us that one of the worst of errors would be the general admission of the proposition that a Government has no right to interfere for any purpose except for that of affording protection; for its admission would prevent our profiting by experience, and even from acquiring it.

We have therefore said that we dislike the word optional as applied to any of the functions of Government. Like the words 'boon' or 'concession,' it seems to imply, that there may be useful measures which the Government of a country may at its discretion adopt or reject. But we approve of the principle of Mr. Mill's division of the functions of Government into those of which the expediency is acknowledged, and those with respect to which it requires proof. The discussion of the former class occupies the eight following chapters of this book, from the second to the ninth inclusively.

The six first are employed on Taxation. We are not sure that this is correctly admitted among the necessary duties of all Governments. A Government certainly must receive a revenue; but it may derive it from a great landed estate; or, like many of the Swiss Cantons, from a capital lent at interest; or, like Papal Rome in the flourishing times of papacy, from tributes paid by foreigners. This remark, however, is perhaps hypercritical; since in all great nations, and in all ordinary states of society, the Government must depend for its revenue on the contributions of its own subjects, and must draw it from them by taxation. Mr. Mill's treatise on taxation, for though condensed into about ninety pages it is the outline of a complete work, is a tempting subject for comment. It contains much that is original; much which we cordially approve; and not a little from which we more or less confidently dissent. But we had rather leave it untouched than give of it the inadequate view for which we now have room. For the same reason we pass over the chapters on Inheritance, on Partnership, on Insolvency, on Protection to Native Industry, on Usury, on Monopolies, and on Combinations, and proceed to the last chapter of the work, that 'On the Grounds and Limits of 'the Non-interference Principle,' in which Mr. Mill proposes to 'examine in the most general point of view in which the subject

'can be considered, what are the advantages and what the evils 'or inconveniences of Government interference.'

He begins by the limits and the objections. And, in the first place, he exempts from the interference of Government all that part of human conduct which concerns only the life, whether inward or outward, of the individual, and does not affect the interests of others, or affects them only through the moral influence of example.

'Even in those portions,' he adds, 'of conduct which do 'affect the interests of others, the onus of making out a case 'always lies upon the defenders of legal prohibitions. It is not 'a merely constructive or presumptive injury to others, which 'will justify the interference of law with individual freedom. 'To be prevented from doing what one is inclined to, or from 'acting according to one's own judgment of what is desirable, is 'not only always irksome, but always tends, *pro tanto*, to starve 'the development of some portion of the bodily or mental 'faculties, either sensitive or active; and unless the conscience 'of the individual goes freely with the legal restraint, it par-'takes, either in a great or in a small degree, of the degradation 'of slavery. Scarcely any degree of utility, short of absolute 'necessity, will justify a prohibitory regulation, unless it can be 'made to recommend itself to the general conscience; unless 'persons of ordinary good intentions either believe already, or 'can be induced to believe, that the thing prohibited is a thing 'which they ought not to wish to do.'*

Even within its proper sphere, the conduct of individuals by which others are directly affected, he opposes to the action of Government three great objections. First, that every additional function assumed by the Government of a country increases its direct authority, and, what is more formidable, its influence; a danger which Mr. Mill does not think lessened by popular institutions. 'Experience,' he says, 'proves that the depositaries 'of power, who are mere delegates of the people, that is, of a 'majority, are quite as ready (when they think they can count 'on popular support) as any organs of oligarchy to assume 'arbitrary power, and encroach unduly on the liberties of private 'life. The public collectively is abundantly ready to impose, not 'only its generally narrow views of its interests, but its abstract 'opinions, and even its tastes, as laws binding upon individuals. 'And our present civilisation tends so strongly to make the 'power of persons acting in masses the only substantial power in 'society, that there never was more necessity for surrounding

* Vol. ii. p. 507.

'individual independence of thought, speech, and conduct, with 'the most powerful defences; in order to maintain that originality 'of mind and individuality of character, which are the only 'source of any real progress, and of most of the qualities which 'make the human race much superior to any herd of animals.'*

A second general objection is, that every new public office is a fresh occupation imposed upon a body already overcharged with duties. But he answers that this inconvenience, though real and serious, results much more from the bad organisation of Governments, than from the extent or variety of the duties undertaken by them; and that it would be reduced to a very manageable compass by a proper distribution of functions between the central and local officers of Government, and the division of the central body into a sufficient number of departments.

A third general objection is the general inferiority of Government agency. 'All the facilities,' says Mr. Mill, 'which a Govern-'ment enjoys of access to information, all the means which it 'possesses of remunerating, and therefore of commanding the best 'available talent in the market, are not an equivalent for the one 'great disadvantage of an inferior interest in the result.'†

This again is an objection which diminishes with the progress of improvement. In proportion as men owe to their merit their selection for public office and their advancement, and in proportion as a higher standard of morality teaches them that to defraud the public of their time or of their attention, is as dishonest, and therefore as dishonourable, as to plunder it of mere money—will the zeal, activity, and intelligence with which men serve the state approach the intelligence, activity, and zeal with which they serve themselves. No one who compares the state of the public service now, and at the beginning of the century, can doubt that we are making great advances in this direction. Where do we see men act in their own concerns with more zeal or more diligence, with more disregard of ease, or comfort, or health, than the officers employed by the Government in the relief of Ireland in 1846 and 1847?

Mr. Mill has reserved for the last what he considers, and we consider, the greatest objection to the extension of Government interference, its tendency to keep the people in leading strings, and to deprive them of the power to manage their own common affairs, by depriving them of the practice without which the arts of administration cannot be acquired. 'A people,' he says most truly, 'with whom there is no habit of spontaneous action 'for a collective interest, who look habitually to their Government

* Vol. ii. p. 508, 509. † P. 512.

'to command or prompt them in all matters of joint concern, 'who expect to have everything done for them except what can 'be made an affair of habit or routine, have their faculties only 'half developed.' When we have been examining the high organisation of many parts of the Continent, where an enlightened central authority educates the people, provides their roads and public buildings, directs their industry, keeps them to their hereditary trades and to their hereditary abodes, and their hereditary sects, thinks for them, in short, in all public and in almost all private matters, we are sometimes disagreeably struck by the contrast of the rude local administration of England, with its narrow-minded prejudices, its jobbing and its negligence. But to this centralisation is to be ascribed the childishness and sluggishness of most continental populations in quiet times; and the madness which seems to seize them if the central power once drops the reins. From unreflecting obedience and torpor, they pass at once to equally unreflecting rebellion, civil war, and foreign war.

Mr. Mill believes, and we agree with him, that the evils of excessive centralisation are not diminished by the popular origin of the central power.

'A democratic constitution,' he says, 'not supported by de- 'mocratic institutions in detail, but confined to the central 'government, not only is not political freedom, but often creates 'a spirit precisely the reverse; carrying down to the lowest 'grade in society the desire and ambition of political domination. 'In some countries, the desire of the people is for not being 'tyrannised over; but in others it is merely for an equal chance 'to every body of tyrannising. Unhappily this last state of the 'desires is fully as natural to mankind as the former; and in 'many of the conditions, even of civilised humanity, is far more 'largely exemplified. In proportion as the people are accustomed 'to manage their affairs by their own active intervention, instead 'of leaving them to the government, their desires will turn to 'repelling tyranny, rather than to tyrannising; while in propor- 'tion as all real initiative and direction resides in the government, 'and individuals habitually feel and act as under its perpetual 'tutelage, popular institutions develop in them, not the desire 'of freedom, but an unmeasured appetite for place and power; 'diverting the intelligence and activity of the country from its 'principal business, to a wretched competition for the selfish 'prizes and the petty vanities of office.'*

This is perhaps the only passage in the work which appears

* Vol. ii. p. 515.

to have been written after the 24th of February. We believe that it contains the key to the greater part of the subsequent events in Paris, in Berlin, in Naples, in Vienna, in Prague, and in Frankfort. If we are right in supposing it to have been written after those occurrences, it is a remarkable condensation; if before, it is a striking prophecy.

Mr. Mill now proceeds to the second part of his task, the discussion of the cases in which some of these objections are absent, and others are overruled by counter-considerations of still greater importance.

The first exception from the general rule of non-interference, comprehends the cases in which the interest and judgment of the consumer are not a sufficient security for the goodness of the commodity. The example which he gives is Education. In this instance there is the additional ground for the interference of the state, that the consumer is a bad judge, not only of the merit of the instruction which he purchases, but also of his own want of it. It is remarkable that Mr. Mill, enforcing and limiting with his usual power of argument, of discrimination, and of expression, the duty of the state to provide the poor with elementary secular instruction, has left unnoticed a question of equal importance, and far more difficult, the extent, if any, to which the state ought to supply its subjects with *religious* instruction. We regret, not to see weighed in his delicate scales, the advantages and inconveniences of the voluntary system, and that of one or more establishments. We should like to have his opinion, whether endowments imply articles of faith, and articles of faith lead to indifference or hypocrisy; whether the servility of a hierarchy be compensated by its loyalty, or the turbulence of sectarianism by its independence of thought; whether an endowed clergy is likely to have more influence over the educated classes, and an unendowed one over the bulk of the people; whether the one is likely to produce numerous conflicting sects, animated by zeal but inflamed by intolerance, and the other an unreflecting apathetic uniformity.

Mr. Mill next takes up a class of cases where there is no person in the situation of a consumer, where the interest which is to be directed and the judgment which is to be controlled are those of the agent, where, in short, the person protected is protected from himself. Any interference in such cases must be justified by circumstances excepting it from the general rule, that most persons take a juster and more intelligent view of their own interest than can either be prescribed to them by an enactment of the legislature, or pointed out in the particular case by a public functionary. Such are the circumstances in which

lunatics, infants, and idiots are placed; and such is the case of women, according to much modern legislation — a legislation which, as might be expected, Mr. Mill strongly disapproves.

'Another exception,' says Mr. Mill, 'to the doctrine that individuals are the best judges of their own interest, is when an individual attempts to judge irrevocably now what will be best for his interest at some future and distant time. The presumption in favour of individual judgment is only legitimate where the judgment is grounded on actual, and especially on present, personal experience; not where it is formed antecedently to experience, and not suffered to be reversed even after experience has condemned it. When persons have bound themselves by a contract, not simply to do some one thing, but to continue doing something for ever or for a prolonged period, without any power of revoking the engagement, the presumption which their perseverance in that course of conduct would otherwise raise in favour of its being advantageous to them, does not exist; and any such presumption which can be grounded on their having voluntarily entered into the contract, perhaps at an early age, and without any real knowledge of what they undertook, is commonly next to null. The practical maxim of leaving contracts free, is not applicable without great limitations in case of engagements in perpetuity; and the law should be extremely jealous of such engagements; should refuse to sanction them, when the obligations they impose are such as the contracting party cannot be a competent judge of: if it ever does sanction them, it should take every possible security for their being contracted with foresight and deliberation; and in compensation for not permitting the parties themselves to revoke their engagement, should grant them a release from it, on a sufficient case being made out before an impartial authority.'*

The contract to which Mr. Mill here alludes is obviously that of Marriage. We wish that he had explained more distinctly what sort of case ought to be sufficient to authorise a divorce. That a serious crime committed by either party ought to be one such case, will perhaps be easily admitted. But if we advance a single step farther, the difficulties become enormous. That nothing short of actual violence should enable a wife or a husband to escape from a domestic tyrant, a domestic enemy, or a domestic disgrace, seems revolting. And yet if we go further, it is not easy to stop short of divorce *pour incompatibilité:* and certainly the domestic state of those parts of Germany in which such a ground of divorce is sanctioned, is not attractive. Marriage there takes neither the man nor the woman out of the matrimonial market. Every household is in danger of being broken up, by the intrigues of some man who wishes to appropriate the wife, or of some woman who

* Vol. ii. p. 527.

thinks that she should like to marry the husband. This, indeed, may be inferred from their novels, the best indications of the social state of modern nations; and it gives to their writers a great advantage. Our novels have only one termination; and though the path may wind, the reader sees it always before him. A German novel, in short, now begins where an English one ends. The plot is not how the marriage is to be effected, but how it is to be got rid of; and this may be accomplished in so many hundred ways that the most fertile writer need not repeat himself, nor can the most experienced reader see his way.

Another exception consists of the cases in which the magnitude of the concern makes individual agency impracticable, as in the cases of Railways and Gas-works. Here the management must necessarily be by delegates; and a Government officer is likely to exhibit as much diligence and as much intelligence as a director, and perhaps greater purity.

Another exception is that in which the interference of law is required, not to overrule the judgment of individuals respecting their own interest, but to give effect to that judgment; they being unable to give effect to it except by concert, which concert again cannot be effectual unless it receives validity and sanction from the law. The observance of Sunday as a day of rest is an instance. There is probably no institution so beneficial to the labouring classes; and they are aware of it. But without the assistance of law they would probably be unable to enforce it. In the few businesses in which Sunday trading is allowed, every shop is open. Though it would be beneficial to the whole body of druggists that every druggist's shop should be shut on Sunday, it is the immediate interest of every individual that his own shop should be open. And the result is that none are closed.

As further exceptions to the rule of noninterference, Mr. Mill introduces Poor Laws and Colonisation. His discussion of each is brief, but masterly. Our readers will readily dispense with our dwelling in this place upon either of them.

The last exception consists of the cases in which important public services are to be performed which no individual is specially interested in performing, and which afford no adequate spontaneous remuneration. Such are voyages of discovery; and such are often the services performed by Commissioners of inquiry.

'The preceding heads,' says Mr. Mill, 'comprise to the best of my judgment the whole of the exceptions to the practical maxim, that the business of society can be best performed by private and voluntary agency. It is, however, necessary to add, that the intervention of Government cannot always practically stop short at the limit which

defines the cases intrinsically suitable for it. In the particular circumstances of a given age or nation, there is scarcely anything, really important to the general interest, which it may not be desirable, or even necessary, that the Government should take upon itself; not because private individuals cannot effectually perform it, but because they will not. In many parts of the world, the people can do nothing for themselves which requires large means and combined action; all such things are left undone, unless done by the state. In these cases a good government will give its aid in such a shape, as to encourage and nurture any rudiments it may find of a spirit of individual exertion. It will be assiduous in removing obstacles and discouragements to voluntary enterprise, and in giving whatever facilities and whatever direction and guidance may be necessary; its pecuniary means will be supplied, when practicable, in aid of private efforts rather than in suppression of them, and it will call into play its machinery of rewards and honours to elicit such efforts. Government aid, when given merely in default of private enterprise, should be so given as to be as far as possible a course of education for the people in the art of accomplishing great objects by individual energy and voluntary co-operation.'*

We should apologise for the great length of this article if we were reviewing an ordinary work. But Mr. Mill's book is not intended to serve a temporary purpose, and to be thrown aside when that purpose has been attained. It is not an attempt to advance human knowledge in one direction, to be superseded hereafter by more comprehensive treatises. It is a κτῆμα ἐς ἀεί, a magazine of truths and of precepts from which philosophers and statesmen will, for centuries to come, draw theory and practice. Long as this article is, it leaves unnoticed by far the greater part of the treatise.

ART. II.—*Letters addressed to the Countess of Ossory, from the Year* 1769 *to* 1797. By HORACE WALPOLE, Lord Orford. Now first printed from original MSS. Edited, with Notes, by the Right Hon. R. VERNON SMITH, M. P. In two Volumes. London: 1848.

IT would be no easy matter to say anything that has not been said already, and said well, of Horace Walpole and his works. The charm and value of his writings, indeed, were never denied by any one capable of appreciating them: he is confessedly the most attractive of anecdote-mongers in print, and the traits of men and manners embalmed by him possess a lasting interest for

---

* Vol. ii. pp. 548, 549.

the moralist and the historian. Some difference of opinion as to his temper and disposition has naturally, almost necessarily, arisen between those who enjoyed the advantage of his personal acquaintance, and those who, like ourselves, founded our judgment almost exclusively on the recorded thoughts, feelings, and habits of the man. Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, in one of the most thoughtful essays he ever wrote, enumerates many obvious causes for the discrepancy so constantly observed between authors and their works; and we are quite ready to believe that one or more of these causes would account for the different view taken by Walpole's accomplished friend, Miss Berry, of a few points of his character, which were reluctantly and (we may be allowed to add) not inconsiderately censured in this Review. Nor, let it be remembered, did we ever contend that he was a bad-hearted man, or incapable of kindly, amiable, and generous actions or sentiments. But he wanted grasp, comprehensiveness, elevation, and nobility of feeling or of thought: —

> 'Not his the wealth to some large natures lent,
> Divinely lavish, even where misspent,
> That liberal sunshine of exuberant soul,
> Thought, sense, affection, warming up the whole.'

After making every allowance, we come back to the conclusion that his mind bore a strong analogy to his house at Strawberry Hill. It was a quaint, curious, rich and rare repository; valuable objects of vertu, and exquisite specimens of carving, gilding, chiselling, and polishing, might be found in it. But the rooms were deficient in size, proportion, and light; the furniture was more ornamental than useful; and the master kept you in a constant fidget by talking of his wretched attempt at a castle, his very humble pretensions as a man of taste, and the poor entertainment he had to offer — although it was clear, all the time, that if you had unconsciously manifested the slightest agreement with him in any of these particulars, he would have passed a sleepless night, and hated you for the rest of his life. Affectation was so much the essence of his character, that it had grown into a second nature with him. When a man has arrived at this state, he is natural in one sense; he expresses the actual fancy or feeling of the moment; but this fancy or feeling is so modified by factitious habits, and so imbued with perverted egotism, that it cannot be termed 'natural' in the fair and popular acceptation of the term. For example: —

'As I wish to be allowed to see your ladyship and Lord Ossory as much as I may without being troublesome, let it be, madam, without

the authorship coming in question. I hold that character as cheap as I do almost every thing else; and, having no respect for authors, am not weak enough to have any for myself on that account.' (Vol. i. p. 8.)

'One word more, on our old quarrel, and I have done. *Such letters* as mine! I will tell you a fact, madam, in answer to that phrase. On Mr. Chute's death, his executor sent me a bundle of letters he had kept of mine, for above thirty years. I took the trouble to read them over, and I bless my stars they were as silly, insipid things, as ever I don't desire to see again. I thought when I was young and had great spirits, that I had some parts too, but now I have seen it under my own hand that I had not, I will never believe it under any body's hand else; and so I bid you good night.' (Vol. i. p. 224.)

'I am sorry, too, on many accounts, that this idle list has been printed — but I have several reasons for lamenting daily that I ever was either author or editor. Your ladyship has often suspected me to continue being the former, against which I have solemnly protested, nor except the little dab on Christina of Pisa (on which I shall tell you one of my regrets) I have not written six pages on any one subject for some years. No, madam, I have lived to attain a little more sense; and were I to recommence my life, and thought as I do now, I do not believe that any consideration could induce me to be an author. I wish to be forgotten; and though that will be my lot, it will not be so, so soon as I wish. — In short, (and it is pride, not humility, that is the source of my present sentiments,) I have great contempt for middling writers. We have not only betrayed want of genius, but want of judgment; how can one of my grovelling class open a page of a standard author, and not blush at his own stuff? I took up "The First Part of Henry IV." t'other day, and was ready to set fire to my own printing-house: "*Unimitable, unimitated Fal-staff!*" cried Johnson, in a fit of just enthusiasm; and yet, amongst all his repentances, I do not find that Johnson repented of having written his own "Irene."' (Vol. ii. p. 311.)

Did Walpole really repent of having written the smallest of his works, even 'the little dab on Christina of Pisa?' — and how would he have looked, had he taken up a critical notice giving him the comfortable (though ill-founded) assurance, that his wish to be forgotten would be, in due time, accorded by posterity? Much, we fancy, as Pope looked, when he was found reading a pasquinade against himself, and said, 'these 'things are my amusement;' or as Sir Fretful Plagiary looks, exclaiming, 'very pleasant! — now another person would be 'vexed at this.'

The lady in 'Cœlebs' is the genuine representative of these ingenious self-flatterers or self-tormentors, who accuse themselves by turns of the five cardinal virtues and the seven

capital sins; in order to indulge their morbid appetite for egotistical discussion or display: — 'We are all poor weak creatures, 'and I know very well I have my faults like other people.' 'Well, my dear,' (submissively replied the husband,) 'I should 'not have said anything about it, if you had not been so candid; 'but I must say you have a few faults.' 'Faults, Sir! — and 'pray, *what* faults have I? — but you are always finding fault' — and the lady bursts into tears at his cruelty. We are curiously and wonderfully made, particularly about the region of the heart; and when the outward coating of egotism or vanity is stripped off, we often find an inner one of envy or jealousy. A man may depreciate his own pursuits, in order to gain a right to depreciate the similar pursuits of others; and when Walpole expresses great contempt for middling authors, it may be that he was quietly indulging his spite at the whole of his cotemporaries: not one of whom he would have admitted to be more than 'middling' at the best. The want of individual aim in the remark does not rebut the presumption of its ill-nature. When Boswell repeated to Johnson —

> 'Let blameless Bethell, if he will, excel
> Ten metropolitans in preaching well,'

and asked him to whom the writer alluded in the second line, Johnson replied, 'I don't know, Sir; but he thought it would 'vex somebody.'

We say frankly, however, that Walpole's constant negation and depreciation of authorship constitute his great offence in our eyes. It was a most mischievous littleness in a man of his rank, to foster the vulgar prejudices of his order in this particular; and it is still, in our opinion, an infallible symptom of a narrow mind, or an imperfect education, to talk slightingly of the position of a man of letters, or repudiate, as lowering, a connexion with any respectable branch of literature. 'Give 'me a place to stand on,' said Archimedes, 'and I will move 'the world.' The modern Archimedes who should be content to use a moral lever, would take his stand upon the press. And what portion of the press? Not, as we formerly intimated, on the ponderous folio, the bulky quarto, or the respectable octavo, but on the review, the magazine, and, above all, the newspaper. Let any one calmly reflect upon the enormous power, for good or evil, exercised by clever writers who are daily read by thousands. It is a well-known fact, which any leading bookseller will verify with a sigh, that, whenever public events of importance occur, or great changes are under discussion, it is useless to publish books. During the Reform Bill,

the Catholic Emancipation, and the Corn Law agitation, regular literature of every kind was a drug; and ever since the commencement of the great Continental convulsion in February last, it has been excluded from much of its fair and legitimate domain by journalism. It is more to the purpose to set about neutralising any evil effects that may be apprehended from a change than to rail at it; and this change would hardly be so marked and durable unless the talent and knowledge which used to find vent and expression in books had been gradually diverted into reviews and newspapers.

Mazarin declared that 'he did not care who had the making 'of a nation's laws, so long as he had the writing of their songs.' Had he lived in our time, he would have substituted, 'so long 'as he had the writing of their leading articles;' and most assuredly no English statesman who had thoroughly at heart the real improvement of the public mind (on which all other improvement depends now-a-days), would deny the paramount importance of elevating and sustaining the tone of that class of composition which forms the entire mental aliment of much the larger part of the community. Fortunately for the country, fortunately for mankind, it has already attained a high degree of excellence; and is rapidly clearing itself from the dirt, the rubbish, and the dross: But no thanks, for this, to prime ministers, no thanks to cabinets, no thanks to the aristocracy; for every step of its progress has been retarded by discouragement, or acknowledged with a sneer. Every other kind of intellectual distinction has been eagerly sought out and rewarded of late years; but where (with two or three exceptions) is the newspaper editor or writer, who might not adopt the very words of the lexicographer in his famous letter to Lord Chesterfield: 'I have 'been pushing on my task through difficulties of which it is 'useless to complain, without one act of assistance, one word 'of encouragement, or one smile of favour.' Why is Mr. Serjeant Talfourd, speaking of the late Mr. Barnes with reference to his editorship of the 'Times,' obliged to lament 'that the 'influences for good which he shed largely on all the depart-'ments of busy life, should have *necessarily* left behind them 'such slender memorials of one of the kindest, the wisest, and 'the best of men who have ever enjoyed signal opportunities 'of moulding public opinion, and who have turned them to the 'noblest and the purest uses?'*

The truth is, it requires a rare degree of moral courage

* 'Final Memorials of Charles Lamb,'—a book full of fine thought and generous feeling.

to depart from the ordinary practice or confront the stereotyped prejudice; and it will be long, very long, we fear, before the juster notions of the French on this subject become prevalent among us; before, for example, our rising statesmen will rely on their literary as openly as on their parliamentary services, and feel as proud of an opportune article in a newspaper as of a successful speech in Parliament. It is well known that almost every man who has attained to power in France since 1830, has been more or less avowedly connected with newspapers; nor at the present time is it possible for a party to maintain its ground in France without its daily organ, conducted by men of known talent; who (even when they do not sign their articles) are commonly more eager to parade their happiest exploits in this line than to veil or throw a shade over them. In allusion to M. Thiers, M. Jules Janin says: 'The day when that man named himself President 'of the Council, the French press gained its battle of Auster-'litz.' When will the English press gain its Waterloo? By which we mean, of course, when will the vocation be duly honoured? — when will the press be placed in such a position as to attract recruits of promise from all classes? — when, in short, will our newspapers be placed on the same footing as our reviews?

We have won our battle: But we had a hard fight for it; and it was principally owing to the defection or faint-heartedness of its natural allies, like Walpole or Byron, that, till recently, literature was hardly recognised as, to all intents and purposes, the profession of a gentleman, — as fully, for instance, as the church, the army and navy, or the bar. Nothing, in England, is deemed aristocratical, but what is habitually done by the aristocracy. The essential character of the thing is not the point. Education may be as good at the London University and King's College as at Trinity or Christchurch, but it is not aristocratical education; and literature may have exhibited equal refinement before it became the fashion for fine ladies and gentlemen to enter the lists as competitors for its honours. But the chances were against it so long as it was deemed derogatory to write; for exertion is paralysed by want of full sympathy, and a vocation is invariably lowered by disrespect. When the French Grand Seigneur, meeting the author of a grammar at the Academy, said haughtily, '*Je suis ici pour mon grandpère*,' the grammarian retorted, '*Et moi, je suis ici pour ma grammaire (grandmère)*,' which was clearly the better title of the two. But when Voltaire called on Congreve professedly as a man of letters, Congreve told him he wished to be visited as a gentleman; where-

upon Voltaire rejoined, that, if he had only heard of him as a gentleman, he should never have called on him at all. We have here the two principles in marked contrast; and it is mortifying to think that no Englishman of rank has yet had the manliness to throw himself gallantly on the good sense and good feeling of his countrymen, as a professional man of letters, or 'gentleman of the press,'—that Gibbon should have struck no responsive chord, when he exclaimed, 'The nobility of the Spen-'cers has been illustrated and enriched by the glories of Marlbo-'rough; but I exhort them to consider the "Fairy Queen" as the 'most precious jewel of their coronet. Our immortal Fielding 'was of the younger branch of the Earls of Denbigh, who draw 'their origin from the Counts of Habsburg. The successors of 'Charles the Fifth may disdain their brethren of England; but 'the romance of "Tom Jones," that exquisite picture of human 'manners, will outlive the palace of the Escurial, and the impe-'rial eagle of the House of Austria.'

Byron had noble opportunities; but he was prouder of Brummell's acquaintance than Scott's; he preferred Shelley, because he was a man of family; he loved rather to discredit the calling than to elevate it; and, in fact, made common cause with Walpole in his littleness. The critics, he used to say, ran down Walpole because he was a gentleman, and himself because he was a lord. This was a strange mistake: their social and hereditary rank ensured both the most favourable reception; and would have proved an unmixed advantage, if they had not shown an undue consciousness of it. It has been asserted that the dread Walpole is supposed to have felt, 'lest he should lose 'caste as a gentleman, by ranking as a wit and an author, he 'was much too fine a gentleman to have believed in the pos-'sibility of feeling.' Our very complaint is, that he was not sufficiently high-bred for this; and the consequence was, that most persons of his class continued half a century longer to be ashamed of adopting the most effective method of influencing their cotemporaries, and showing themselves possessed of knowledge, observation, and capacity. The increase of readers, which made the public the only patron worth considering, together with other circumstances, gradually emancipated general literature from the lowering influence of the prejudice: the establishment of this journal at once emancipated reviews: but the work of emancipation will be incomplete so long as any respectable portion of the press remains under the pretence or semblance of a ban. Our honoured and lamented friend, Sydney Smith, declared that he had no hope of effecting a required improvement in the management of the Great Western Railway

carriages till a bishop was burnt in them. Were he now living, he would probably tell us that there is little or no hope of effecting the required improvement in public opinion as to the press, until a peer shall become openly and avowedly the editor of a newspaper. Not, certainly, that the duties would be better performed on that account, but because an injurious prejudice, which it may take many years to reason down, might thus be demolished at a blow.

It is only fair to say that these views were warmly and eloquently advocated by one young man of rank, five years ago. At a meeting of the Manchester Athenæum (Oct. 1843), Mr. Smythe, the member for Canterbury, spoke thus: —

'It seems to me that, with a spirit worthy of a younger and a freer age, you have reserved to the author and the man of letters a reward; of a simple and less sordid character than the mere hire of this newspaper, and the pay of that review can afford; or, with intentions yet more foresighted and profound, you may have resolved to correct some of these, the anomalies of a country which is governed by its journals, but where the names of its journalists are never mentioned, — of a country where, by the most unhappy of inversions, it is the invention which makes the fortune, and the inventors who starve, — of a country where, if the men of science aspire to the highest honour which you have to bestow, — the suffrages of their fellow-citizens, — those men of science will poll by units, where the mere politicians will poll by hundreds. And it seems to me especially meet, and right, and fitting, that you, the men of Manchester, should redress these evils; because there is an old, an intimate, and a natural alliance between literature and commerce; and it is in virtue of this alliance (which has been alluded to in the speeches of several gentlemen who have preceded me this evening) that you know of what is passing amongst foreigners; that you cannot but regard with sympathy the honours which abroad are paid to literature. Why, the very ambassadors now sent to us from foreign courts are so many reproaches on our neglect of letters. Who is the ambassador from Russia? — A man who has risen by his pen. Who is the ambassador from Sweden? — An author and an historian; the historian of British India. Who is the ambassador from Prussia? — An author and a professor. Who is the ambassador from Belgium? — Again, a man who has risen by literature. Who is the ambassador from France? — An author and historian. Who is the ambassador from, I had almost said, our fellow-countrymen in America? — Again, an author and a professor.'

Since this was spoken, Mr. Everett has been succeeded by Mr. Bancroft, the distinguished author of 'The History of the 'United States;' and M. de St. Aulaire's place is now filled by M. de Beaumont, the author of a work on Ireland, which is

highly esteemed in France, whatever we may think of the views of Irish affairs taken by him.

The natural consequence of Walpole's peculiar mode of looking, or pretending to look, at authorship, was that he was a 'bitter bad' critic. The author with him must wear the stamp of fashion to ensure a favourable reception for the book:—

> 'Let but a lord once own the happy lines,
> How the wit brightens and the sense refines.'

He must be a member of parliament, a member of Brookes's, or a lounger at 'White's chocolate house' at the least. Such 'poor devil' authors as Goldsmith, Smollett, Richardson, or Johnson, are ignored or slighted; Gray is flung off as a pedant; and even Fielding, with the blood of the Hapsburg in his veins, and though—

> 'Droll nature stamp'd each lucky hit
> With unimaginable wit,'

is voted low—Rigby and another rake of quality having actually found him 'banquetting with a blind man, a w——, and three 'Irishmen, on some cold mutton and a bone of ham, both in one 'dish, and the dirtiest cloth.'

We will not quarrel with the high praise of Lord Carlisle's tragedy (vol. ii. p. 163.), which was also praised by Dr. Johnson; but here is an exemplary specimen of dilettante criticism:—

'Mr. Jephson's tragedy, which I concluded would not answer all that I had heard of it, exceeded my expectations infinitely. The language is noble, the poetry, similes and metaphors, enchanting. The harmony, the modulation of the lines, shows he has the best ear in the world. I remember nothing at all equal to it appearing in my time, though I am Methusalem in my memory of the stage. I don't know whether it will have all the effect there it deserves, as the story is so well known, and the happy event of it known too, which prevents *attendrissement*. Besides, the subject in reality demands but two acts, for the conspiracy and the revolution; but one can never be tired of the poetry that protracts it. Would you believe I am to appear on the theatre along with it?—my Irish friends, the Binghams, have overpersuaded me to write an epilogue, which was wanting. They gave me the subject, which I have executed miserably; but at least I do not make the new Queen of Portugal lay aside her majesty, and sell *double entendres* like Lady Bridget Tollemache.' (Vol. i. p. 177.)

The amateur performance, the select company, and the overpersuading to write the epilogue, prove that Mr. Jephson had his great and little entrées to the set; and this accounts for the extravagant commendation lavished on his long-forgotten play.

This is not the only instance in which Walpole has the misfortune to differ from posterity: —

'What play makes you laugh very much, and yet is a very wretched comedy? Dr. Goldsmith's "She Stoops to Conquer." Stoops, indeed! — so she does, that is, the muse; she is draggled up to the knees, and has trudged, I believe, from Southwark fair. The whole view of the piece is low humour, and no humour is in it. All the merit is in the situations, which are comic; the heroine has no more modesty than Lady Bridget, and the author's wit is as much *manqué* as the lady's; but some of the characters are well acted, and Woodward speaks a poor prologue, written by Garrick, admirably.' (Vol. i. p. 58.)

He could hardly be expected to appreciate Beaumarchais' masterpiece, or see what it portended, or translate the writing on the wall; but it is surprising he could find nothing in it but a farce: —

'No, I am not at all struck with the letter of Beaumarchais, except with its insolence. Such a reproof might become Cato the Censor, in defence of such a tragedy as Addison's, on his descendant: but for such a *vaurien* as Beaumarchais, *and for such a contemptible farce as "Figaro,"* it was paramount impertinence towards the duke, and gross ill-breeding towards the ladies. *Besides, I abhor vanity in authors;* it would offend in Milton or Montesquieu; in a Jack-pudding it is intolerable. I know no trait of arrogance recorded of Molière — and to talk of the "Marriage of Figaro" as *instructive!* Punch might as well pretend to be moralising when he sells a bargain. In general, the modern *Gens de Lettres* in France, as they call themselves, are complete puppies.' (Vol. ii. p. 276.)

We must do him the justice to say he showed no greater predilection for the encyclopædist school, and was fully alive to the national vanity of the French; —

'My French dinner went off tolerably well, except that five or six of the invited disappointed me, and the table was not full. The Abbé Raynal not only looked at nothing himself, but kept talking to the ambassador the whole time, and would not let him see anything neither. There never was such an impertinent and tiresome old gossip. He said to one of the Frenchmen, "we ought to come "abroad, to make us love our own country." This was before Mr. Churchill, who replied very properly, "Yes, we had some Esquimaux "here lately, and they liked nothing — because they could get no "train oil for breakfast."' (Vol. i. p. 272.)

He speaks thus of Montaigne:

'I have scarce been in town since I saw you, have scarce seen anybody here, and don't remember a tittle but having scolded my gardener twice, which, indeed, would be as important an article as

any in Montaigne's travels, which I have been reading, and if I was tired of his essays, what must one be of these! What signifies what a man thought, who never thought of anything but himself? and what signifies what a man did, who never did anything?' (Vol. i. p. 135.)

We have not the remotest doubt that Walpole would have been found in the foremost ranks of Dryden's depreciators, when Elkanah Settle was set up against him by the court. He does actually prefer Mason to Pope!—

'Did your lord bring you the Heroic Epistle to Sir W. Chambers? I am going mad about it, though there is here and there a line I hate. I laughed till I cried, and the oftener I read it the better I like it. *It has as much poetry as the "Dunciad," and more wit and greater facility.*'

It will be admitted that the concluding sentence of the following paragraph is not a lucky hit:

'I made no commentary on General Oglethorpe's death, madam, because his very long life was the great curiosity, and the moment he is dead the rarity is over; and, as he was but ninety-seven, he will not be a prodigy compared with those who reached to a century and a half. He is like many who make a noise in their own time from some singularity, which is forgotten, when it comes to be registered with others of the same genus, but more extraordinary in their kind. How little will Dr. Johnson be remembered, when confounded with the mass of authors of his own calibre!' (Vol. ii. p. 227.)

Again, alluding to Garrick:—

'What stuff was his Jubilee Ode, and how paltry his Prologues and Epilogues! I have always thought that he was just the counterpart of Shakspeare; this, the first of writers, and an indifferent actor; that, the first of actors, and a woful author. Posterity would believe me, who will see only his writings; and who will see those of another modern idol, *far less deservedly enshrined*, Dr. Johnson.' (Vol. i. p. 333.)

These bursts of petulance, for they can hardly be called judgments, are the more provoking, because no one can see clearer, within a certain range, than Horace Walpole, when he lays aside his London-smoke spectacles. His remarks on Gibbon are sound and discriminating; but Gibbon had been a Lord of the Treasury. He defends Burke's famous allusion to Marie Antoinette when condemned by 'the town;' but Burke was a parliamentary leader, and Marie Antoinette was a queen. Perhaps the boldest opinion he ever hazarded is this (vol. ii. p. 226.):—

'For Chatterton, he was a gigantic genius, and might have soared I know not whither. In the poems, avowed for his, is a line, that

neither Rowley nor all the monks in Christendom could or would have written, and which would startle them all for its depth of thought and comprehensive expression, from a lad of eighteen —

'"Reason a thorn in Revelation's side!"'

His criticisms on plays and players are coloured by the same prejudices. It was the remark of John Philip Kemble, that he never knew an amateur actor or actress who was worth above thirteen and sixpence a-week on the regular boards; and that there was not a provincial company of any note throughout the empire, who would not act either comedy, tragedy, or farce, better than the best amateur company that could be collected in May Fair. The difference was probably still more marked when the stage was in its zenith; yet Walpole, who had lived through its brightest period, awards the palm to the amateurs; and can account for an adverse criticism on a set of them only on the supposition that one of the 'regulars' had indited it:—

'I am very far from tired, madam, of encomiums on the performance at Richmond House; but I, by no means, agree with the criticism on it that you quote, and which, I conclude, was written by some player, from envy. *Who should act genteel comedy perfectly, but people of fashion that have sense?* Actors and actresses can only guess at the tone of high life, and can*not* be inspired with it. Why are there so few genteel comedies, but because most comedies are written by men not of that sphere? Etheridge, Congreve, Vanbrugh, and Cibber, wrote genteel comedy, because they lived in the best company; and Mrs. Oldfield played it so well, because she not only followed, but often set, the fashion. *General Burgoyne has written the best modern comedy, for the same reason;* and Miss Farren is as excellent as Mrs. Oldfield, because she has lived with the best style of men in England; whereas Mrs. Abingdon can never go beyond *Lady Teazle*, which is a second-rate character; and that rank of women are always aping women of fashion, without arriving at the style. Farquhar's plays talk the language of a marching regiment in country quarters; Wycherley, Dryden, Mrs. Centlivre, &c., wrote as if they had only lived in the "Rose Tavern:" but then the Court lived in Drury Lane, too; and Lady Dorchester and Nel Gwyn were equally good company. The Richmond theatre, I imagine, will take root.' (Vol. ii. p. 302.)

With 'The School for Scandal' fresh in his memory, he says that General Burgoyne had written the best modern comedy! 'Who should act genteel comedy perfectly, but 'people of fashion that have sense?' This reminds us of—

'Who drives fat oxen should himself be fat.'

It is worse; it is arguing in a circle, and demanding an impossibility. People of fashion who have sense, will not take to

acting as a profession: if they do, they soon cease to be people of fashion; if they do not, they make nothing of it. Perfect acting is as much an abstraction as a perfect circle, upon such principles. He is far from consistent on the subject of Garrick, but he speaks pretty plainly in some places: for example,—

'I should shock Garrick's *devotees* if I uttered all my opinion: I will trust your ladyship with it—it is, that *Le Texier is twenty times the genius.* What comparison between the powers that do the fullest justice to a single part, and those that instantaneously can fill a whole piece, and transform themselves with equal perfection into men and women, and pass from laughter to tears, and make you shed the latter at both?' (Vol. i. p. 332.)

If this be true criticism, the late Charles Matthews was the first actor that ever lived, and Levassor is superior to Bouffé. He proceeds:—

'Garrick, when he made one laugh, was not always judicious, though excellent. What idea did his Sir John Brute give of a Surly Husband? His Bayes was no less entertaining; but it was a Garreteer-bard. Old Cibber preserved the solemn coxcomb; and was the caricature of a great poet, as the part was designed to be.

'Half I have said I know is heresy, but fashion had gone to excess, though very rarely with so much reason. Applause had turned his head, and yet he was never content even with that prodigality. His jealousy and envy were unbounded; he hated Mrs. Clive, till she quitted the stage; and then cried her up to the skies, to depress Mrs. Abingdon. He did not love Mrs. Pritchard, and with more reason, for there was more spirit and originality in her Beatrice than in his Benedick.' (Vol. i. p. 332.)

Johnson's fine allusion to Garrick's death was never thought exaggerated. 'I am disappointed by that stroke of death which 'has eclipsed the gaiety of nations, and impoverished the public 'stock of harmless pleasure.' Nor could any satirist of those days have levelled against *his* noble friends and admirers the bitter taunt flung by Mr. Moore at Sheridan's—

'How proud they can flock to the funeral array
Of one whom they shunned in his sickness and sorrow,
How bailiffs may seize his last blanket to-day,
Whose pall shall be held up by nobles to-morrow.'

But Walpole has found out a method of depreciating both the shrine and the worshipper:—

'Yes, madam, I do think the pomp of Garrick's funeral perfectly ridiculous. It is confounding the immense space between pleasing talents and national services. What distinctions remain for a patriot hero, when the most solemn have been showered on a player?—but when a great empire is on its decline, one symptom is, there being

more eagerness on trifles than on essential objects. Shakspeare, who wrote when Burleigh counselled and Nottingham fought, was not rewarded and honoured like Garrick, who only acted, when, indeed, I do not know who has counselled and who has fought.

'I do not at all mean to detract from Garrick's merit, who was a real genius in his way, and who, I believe, was never equalled, in *both* tragedy and comedy. Still I cannot think that acting, however perfectly, what others have written, is one of the most astonishing talents; yet I will own, as fairly, that Mrs. Porter and Madlle. Dumesnil have struck me so much, as even to reverence them. Garrick never affected me quite so much as those two actresses, and some few others in particular parts, as Quin, in Falstaff; King, in Lord Ogleby; Mrs. Pritchard, in Maria in the Nonjuror; Mrs. Clive, in Mrs. Cadwallader; and Mrs. Abingdon, in Lady Teazle. They all seemed the very persons: I suppose that in Garrick I thought I saw more of his art; yet his Lear, Richard, Hotspur (which the town had not taste enough to like), Kitely, and Ranger, were as capital and perfect as action could be. In declamation I confess he never charmed me, nor could he be a gentleman; his Lord Townley and Lord Hastings were mean; but there, too, the parts are indifferent, and do not call for a master's exertion.' (Vol. i. p. 332.)

An anecdote of Mrs. Siddons confirms, if it required confirming, the statement concerning Garrick's morbid jealousy:—

'Mrs. Siddons continues (1782) to be the mode, and to be modest and sensible. She declines great dinners, and says her business and the cares of her family take up her whole time. When Lord Carlisle carried her the tribute-money from Brookes's, he said she was not *maniérée* enough. "I suppose she was grateful," said my niece, Lady Maria. Mrs. Siddons was desired to play *Medea* and *Lady Macbeth*. — "No," she replied; "she did not look on them as female "characters." She was questioned about her transactions with Garrick; she said, "he did nothing but put her out; that he told "her she moved her right hand when it should have been her left. "—In short," said she, "I found I must not shade the tip of his "nose."' (Vol. ii. p. 131.)

The cotemporary impression regarding Mrs. Siddons must be an object of interest, even when recorded by one whom we cannot rank among the most candid of observers:—

'Mr. Craufurd, too, asked me if I did not think her the best actress I ever saw? I said, "by no means; we old folks were apt to be "prejudiced in favour of our first impressions." She is a good figure; handsome enough, though neither nose nor chin according to the Greek standard, beyond which both advance a good deal. Her hair is either red, or she has no objection to its being thought so, and had used red powder. Her voice is clear and good; but I thought she did not vary its modulations enough, nor ever approach enough to the familiar — but this may come when more habituated to the awe of the audience of the capital. Her action is proper, but with little

variety; when without motion, her arms are not genteel. Thus you see, madam, all my objections are very trifling; but what I really wanted, but did not find, was originality, which announces genius, and without both which I am never intrinsically pleased. All Mrs. Siddons did, good sense or good instruction might give. I dare to say, that were I one-and-twenty, I should have thought her marvellous; but, alas! I remember Mrs. Porter and the Dumesnil — and remember every accent of the former in the very same part. Yet this is not entirely prejudice: don't I equally recollect the whole progress of Lord Chatham and Charles Townshend, and does it hinder my thinking Mr. Fox a prodigy? — Pray do *not* send him this paragraph too.' (Vol. i. p. 115.)

The date is 1782, — rather late in the day to begin thinking Mr. Fox a prodigy. But the last sentence was evidently meant to be read, as Charles the Second and his courtiers read the Seventh Commandment, — with the omission of the *not*.

The reflections on the breaking out of the French Revolution, are well worth attention. The letter of September 26. 1789, for example, is almost literally applicable to the existing state of France at this moment. Many of the other letters, also, are curious, as illustrations of laws, manners, and society in both countries. The frequency of robberies will sound very startling to all whose personal recollections do not extend to periods much anterior to the new police, — about as new to the rising generation as the New River or the New Forest: —

'The Hertfords, Lady Holdernesse, and Lady Mary Coke did dine here on Thursday, but were armed as if going to Gibraltar; and Lady Cecilia Johnstone would not venture even from Petersham — for in the town of Richmond they rob even before dusk — to such perfection are all the arts brought! Who would have thought that the war with America would make it impossible to stir from one village to another? yet so it literally is. The colonies took off all our commodities down to highwaymen. Now being forced to mew and then turn them out like pheasants, the roads are stocked with them, and they are so tame that they even come into houses.' (Vol. ii. p. 107.)

Walpole and Lady Browne are stopped on their way to drink tea with a neighbour by a highwayman: —

'He said, "Your purses and watches!" I replied, I have no watch. "Then your purse!" I gave it to him; it had nine guineas. It was so dark that I could not see his hand, but felt him take it. He then asked for Lady Browne's purse, and said, "Don't be frightened; "I will not hurt you." I said, "No, you won't frighten the lady?" He replied, "No, I give you my word I will do you no hurt." Lady Browne gave him her purse, and was going to add her watch, but he said, "I am much obliged to you; I wish you good night!" pulled off his hat, and rode away. "Well," said I, "Lady Browne, you will

" not be afraid of being robbed another time, for you see there is " nothing in it." " Oh! but I am," said she, " and now I am in " terrors lest he should return, for I have given him a purse with " only bad money, *that I carry on purpose.*" ' (Vol. ii. p. 55.)

After describing some private theatricals at Ham Common, he says,—

' There was a great deal of good company collected from the environs and even from London, but so armed with blunderbusses, that when the servants were drawn up after the play, you would have thought it had been a midnight review of conspirators on a heath.'

When Mr. Craufurd, described as having always presence of mind enough to be curious, was robbed, the wits reported him as saying to the highwayman, ' You must have taken other pocket-' books; could not you let me have one instead of mine?'

The impression left by Lord Hervey's Memoirs as to the selfish habits and arbitrary modes of thinking of royal personages, before the progress of manners refined and softened them, is confirmed by Walpole in many passages. The following is an extract from a letter dated Calais, 1773.

' I must acquaint you with a piece of insolence done to the Duke and Duchess of Cumberland. Their Royal Highnesses, upon their arrival here on Saturday se'ennight, went to the play, as likewise on Sunday. On Monday morning two of the players waited on their Royal Highnesses to thank them for the honour that had been done them, and to receive the gratification usual upon such occasions. The Duke gave them three guineas for the two representations, which was so far from satisfying these gentry, that, by way of impertinence, they sent their candle-snuffer, a dirty fellow, to present a bouquet to the Duchess, who was rewarded for his impudence with a volley of *coups de baton.* This chastisement did not intimidate the actors, who sent one of their troop after the Duke to St. Omer, with a letter, to know if it was really true his Royal Highness gave but three guineas; for that they, the players, suspected their companions had pocketed the best part of what was given. What answer the Duke gave I know not, but the man who went with the letter has been put in prison, and the whole troop has been ordered to leave the town. *Voilà qui est bien tragique pour les comédiens!* This affair is as much talked on at Calais as if it was an affair of state.' (Vol. i. p. 89.)

The story of the Duchess of Bolton proposing to start for China as a place of safety, when the end of the world was positively fixed for the next year, by some Moore or Murphy of the day; the stories of the famous beauty, Lady Coventry, and the opposition encountered by Lord Macclesfield when he attempted to reform the calendar, materially diminish our astonishment at any amount of ignorance in any class, towards the middle of the

last century, or we might suspect Walpole of inventing the dialogue which comes next: —

'I cannot say there will be quite so much wit in the anecdote I am going to tell you next. Lady Greenwich, t'other day, in a conversation with Lady Tweeddale, named the Saxons (the Lord knows how that happened). "The Saxons, my dear!" cried the Marchioness, "who were they?" "Lord, madam, did your Ladyship never read "the History of England?" "No, my dear! Pray who wrote it?" Don't it put you in mind of the Mattoe and the Allogabroges in Grammont? Voici, a second dialogue of the same dame with the Duchess of Argyll, who went to her to hire a house the Marchioness has here on Twickenham Common, for her brother, General Gunning: —

'*Marchioness.* — "But will he pay for it?"

'*Duchess.* — "Madam, my brother can afford to pay for it; and if he cannot, I can."

'*Marchioness.* — "Oh! I am glad I shall have my money. Well, my dear, but am I to wish you joy on Lady Augusta's marriage?"

'*Duchess.* — "No great joy, madam: there was no great occasion for Lady Augusta Campbell to be married."

'*Marchioness.* — "Lord, my dear, I wonder to hear you say so, who have been married twice."' (Vol. ii. p. 340.)

A curious adventure, in which Charles Fox is traditionally reported to have been engaged, is recorded with particulars: —

'I know nothing of the following legend but from that old maid, Common Fame, who outlies the newspapers. You have read in "Fielding's Chronicle" the tale of the Hon. Mrs. Grieve; but could you have believed that Charles Fox could have been in the list of her dupes? Well, he was. She promised him a Miss Phipps, a West Indian fortune of 150,000*l.* Sometimes she was not landed — sometimes had the small pox. In the mean time Miss Phipps did not like a black man. Celadon must powder his eyebrows. He did, and cleaned himself. A thousand Jews thought he was gone to Kingsgate to settle the payment of his debts. Oh no! he was to meet Celia at Margate. To confirm the truth, the Hon. Mrs. Grieve advanced part of the fortune; some authors say an hundred and sixty, others three hundred pounds. But how was this to answer to the matron? Why, by Mr. Fox's chariot being seen at her door. Her other dupes could not doubt of her noblesse or interest, when the hopes of Britain frequented her house. In short Mrs. Grieve's parts are in universal admiration, whatever Charles's are.' (Vol. i. p. 107.)

Sir Walter Scott mentions the story in his Diary of May 9th, 1828; and there is an obvious allusion to it in 'The Cozeners,' by Foote.

The uncertainty still resting on the death of the great Lord Clive, currently reported to have committed suicide, gives value to a cotemporary account from high authority:

'Lord H. has just been here, and told me the manner of Lord Clive's death. Whatever had happened, it had flung him into convulsions, to which he was very subject. Dr. Fothergill gave him, as he had done on like occasions, a dose of laudanum; but the pain in his bowels was so violent that he asked for a second dose. Dr. Fothergill said if he took another he would be dead in an hour. The moment Fothergill was gone he swallowed another, for another it seems stood by him, and he is dead.' (Vol. i. p. 155.)

In an article on George Selwyn, on the publication of his correspondence, we quoted *bon mots* of his sufficient to set up half a dozen wits; but he was inexhaustible, and a fresh stock is now brought to light: —

'Apropos of bon-mots, has our lord told you that George Selwyn calls Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt "the idle and the industrious apprentices?" If he has not, I am sure you will thank me, madam.' (Vol. ii. p. 146.)

Hogarth's print was then familiar to every one; and the joke was as generally understood and appreciated as that of the late Mr. R. Smith (father of the editor of the Letters), when he declared Mr. Hume and Mr. Vansittart (Lord Bexley) to be the living personifications of 'Penny wise and pound foolish.' The best of the other *bon mots* will not occupy much space: —

'You ask about Mr. Selwyn: have you heard his incomparable reply to Lord George Gordon, who asked him if he would choose him again for Luggershall: he replied, "His constituents would not." "Oh yes, if you would recommend me, they would choose me if I "came from the coast of Africa." "That is according to what part "of the coast you came from; they would certainly, if you came from "the Guinea coast." Now, madam, is not this true inspiration as well as true wit? Had one asked him in which of the four quarters of the world Guinea is situated, could he have told?' (Vol. i. p. 427.)

'He came to me yesterday morning from Lady Townsend, who, terrified by the fires of the preceding night, talked the language of the Court, instead of opposition. He said she put him in mind of removed tradesmen, who hung out a board with "burnt out from over "the way."' (Vol. i. p. 439.)

'Everybody is full of Mr. Burke's yesterday's speech, which I only mention as parent of a *mot* of George Selwyn. Lord George Gordon, single, divided the house, and Selwyn set him down afterwards at White's, where he said, "I have brought the whole opposition in my "coach; and I hope one coach will always hold them, if they mean "to take away the Board of Works," (of which he was Paymaster.)' (Vol. i. p. 408.)

'George Selwyn is, I think, the only person remaining who can strike wit out of the present politics. On hearing Calcraft wanted to be Earl of Ormond, he said, "it would be very proper, as no doubt "there had been many *Butlers* in his family."' (Vol. i. p. 4.)

Every reader who enjoys humour will allow the following to be a capital story, with a result singularly illustrative of manners: —

'To divert the theme: how do you like, madam, the following story? A young Madame de Choiseul is inloved with by Monsieur de Coigny and Prince Joseph of Monaco. She longed for a parrot that should be a miracle of eloquence. Every other shop in Paris sells mackaws, parrots, cockatoos, &c. No wonder one at least of the rivals soon found a Mr. Pitt; and the bird was immediately declared the nymph's first minister; but as she had two passions as well as two lovers, she was also enamoured of General Jacko at Astley's. The unsuccessful candidate offered Astley ingots for his monkey; but Astley demanding a terre for life, the paladin was forced to desist; but fortunately heard of another miracle of parts of the Monomotapan race, who was not in so exalted a sphere of life, being only a marmiton in a kitchen, where he had learnt to pluck fowls with inimitable dexterity. This dear animal was not invaluable; was bought, and presented to Madame de Choiseul, who immediately made him the Secretaire de ses Commandemens. Her caresses were distributed equally to the animals, and her thanks to the donors. The first time she went out the two former were locked up in her bed chamber: how the two latter were disposed of, history is silent. Ah! I dread to tell the sequel. When the lady returned, and flew to her chamber, Jacko the second received her with all the empressement possible; but where was Poll? Found at last under the bed, shivering and cowering, and without a feather, as stark as any Christian. Poll's presenter concluded that his rival had given the monkey with that very view; challenged him, they fought, and both were wounded; and an heroic adventure it was.' (Vol. ii. p. 258.)

There is certainly nothing new under the sun in the way of story. Who could or would have thought that the well-known adventure of Lord Eldon and the turbot had been anticipated? —

'Another on our list of burials is a Sir Patrick Hamilton. His history is curious. He has an estate of 1800*l.* a year in Ireland, but has lodged at Twickenham for three or four years, watching impatiently an ancient uncle who has some money. The old gentleman, formerly a captain in the Scotch Greys, is now eighty-eight; but as beautiful and sleek as Melchisedec when he was not above two hundred; and he walks four or five miles a day, and looks as if he would outlive his late heir for a quarter of a century more. Sir Patrick was knighted when mayor of Dublin. His lady is still more parsimonious. In his mayoralty he could not persuade her to buy a new gown. The pride of the Hamiltons surmounted the penury of the Highlands. He bought a silk that cost five-and-fifty shillings a yard, but told his wife it cost but forty. In the evening she displayed it to some of her female acquaintance. "Forty shillings a yard! Lord, madam," said one of them, "I would give five-and-forty myself." "Would you, "madam? — you shall have it at that price." Judge how Sir Patrick

was transported when he returned at night, and she bragged of the good bargain she had made!' (Vol. i. p. 451.)

One of the common charges against Walpole is founded on his ungrateful harshness and coldness to Madame du Deffand, who entertained and uniformly professed a warm and perfectly unselfish regard for him. His advocates excuse him on the plea of that dread of ridicule which is admitted to have formed a principal feature in his character. He was afraid of being laughed at for a *liaison* with 'an old blind woman.' But this is far from being a satisfactory apology; and from what we remember of his occasional style of reciprocation, Madame du Deffand might have exclaimed, in the spirit of the song, —

'Perhaps it was right to dissemble your love,
But why did you kick me down stairs?'

And, after all, is there any description of weakness or moral cowardice more censurable, than that which induces a man to shrink from the avowal of well-founded affection and esteem, or leads him to disavow the feelings which do honour to the heart, from fear of incurring the ridicule of the fops and fribbles of society, or from a wish to stand well with them? It is our firm conviction that more than half the scandal we hear circulated in society is attributable to vanity. It is the gratification of telling a good story, not the wish to inflict injury, that incites. The race between Mrs. Candour, Mrs. Crabtree, and Sir Benjamin Backbite, was not who should destroy Lady Teazle's character, but who should spread the first account of the alleged duel through the town. But if the amiability of these worthy people became the subject of discussion, we fear this analysis of motive would not go far towards establishing the goodness of their hearts. The alleged excuse, however, was certainly the true one; for there are many passages in these letters which prove incontestably how cordially Walpole really returned Madame du Deffand's affection, and how deeply he mourned her loss. It was repaired, however, and more than repaired, by the friendship he formed, in 1788, with the ladies who exercised so wholesome and benign an influence over the closing years of his life: and whose names are now so honourably and indissolubly associated with his own. He thus describes the commencement of the acquaintance: —

'If I have picked up no recent anecdotes on our common, I have made a much more, to me, precious acquaintance. It is the acquaintance of two young ladies of the name of Berry, whom I first saw last winter, and who accidentally took a house here, with their father, for this season.' * * * *

'They are exceedingly sensible, entirely natural and unaffected, frank, and, being qualified to talk on any subject, nothing is so easy and agreeable as their conversation — not more apposite than their answers and observations. The eldest, I discovered by chance, understands Latin and is a perfect Frenchwoman in her language. The younger draws charmingly, and has copied admirably Lady Di's gipsies, which I lent, though for the first time of her attempting colours. They are of pleasing figures; Mary, the eldest, sweet, with fine dark eyes, that are very lively when she speaks, with a symmetry of face that is the more interesting from being pale; Agnes, the younger, has an agreeable sensible countenance, hardly to be called handsome, but almost. She is less animated than Mary, but seems out of deference to her sister to speak seldomer; for they doat on each other, and Mary is always praising her sister's talents. I must even tell you they dress within the bounds of fashion, though fashionably; but without the excrescences and balconies with which modern hoydens overwhelm and barricade their persons. In short, good sense, information, simplicity, and ease, characterise the Berrys; and this is not particularly mine, who am apt to be prejudiced, but the universal voice of all who know them.' (Vol. ii. p. 348.)

The date of this letter is October 11. 1788. The charm did not fade with time. In May, 1792, he writes:—

'I am indeed much obliged for the transcript of the letter on my "Wives." Miss Agnes has a *finesse* in her eyes and countenance that does not propose itself to you, but is very engaging on observation, and has often made herself preferred to her sister, who has the most exactly fine features, and only wants colour to make her face as perfect as her graceful person; indeed neither has good health, nor the air of it. Miss Mary's eyes are grave, but she is not so herself; and, having much more application than her sister, she converses readily, and with great intelligence, on all subjects. Agnes is more reserved, but her compact sense very striking, and always to the purpose. In short, they are extraordinary beings; and I am proud of my partiality for them, and since the ridicule can only fall on me; and not on them, I care not a straw for its being said that I am in love with one of them — people shall choose which: it is as much with both as either, and I am infinitely too old to regard the *qu'en dit on.*' (Vol. ii. p. 471.)

These are natural, earnest, unaffected tributes; and we can well understand that, to persons so gifted and so predisposed to enjoy his conversation, there must have been a very great charm in constant and cordial intimacy with such a man.

We cannot help wishing that Mr. Vernon Smith had devoted a little more time and attention to the self-imposed duty of editor. He has given his readers credit for an extent of minute knowledge which not one in twenty can fairly be expected to possess; and he has fallen into two or three unaccountable mis-

takes. But he has performed his part quietly and unobtrusively, and the notes added from the MS. journal of Lord Ossory are valuable, though few. For example:—

'The following is Lord Ossory's own opinion of the social talents of some of the best talkers of his day:—"Horace Walpole was an "agreeable lively man, very affected, always aiming at wit, in which "he fell very short of his old friend George Selwyn, who possessed "it in the most genuine but indescribable degree. Hare's conversa-"tion abounded with wit, and perhaps of a more lively kind; so did "Burke's, though with much alloy of bad taste; but, upon the whole, "my brother the General was the most agreeable man in society of "any of them."—May, 1816.—MSS. Ed.'

The late Lady Holland—a great authority in such matters—was also of this opinion: when the same question was raised in her presence, she determined it in favour of General Fitzpatrick; as having been the most agreeable person she had ever known.

Art. III.—1. *An Appeal to the Middle Classes on the urgent Necessity of numerous Radical Reforms, Financial and Organic.* By Francis W. Newman, Professor of Latin in University College, London, and formerly Fellow of Baliol College, Oxford. London: 1848. Pp. 28.

2. *English Life, Social and Domestic, in the Middle of the Nineteenth Century, considered in reference to our Position as a Community of Professing Christians.* By the Author of 'Reverses.' London: Fellowes, 1847. Pp. 219.

'In times like these, no apology is needed from any one 'for appealing to his fellow countrymen on matters of the 'deepest common interest.' Such are the terms in which Professor Newman introduces his views on some of the most difficult questions of national policy—views maintained with much ability, and singular courage, though far from commanding our general assent. We admit this apology for no apology to be an ample one; and feel that we need no other for now following his example.

It may be inferred, we think, from the general tenor of our political opinions, that we are no great enemies to projects of reform: though we must express our distrust of many of those changes—organic in their nature, and proposed for instant adoption—which have been recently propounded. But what we chiefly lament is the tone which has now and then been assumed by some of their most respectable advocates—to the

effect that, if such and such reforms be refused or delayed, a Revolution is inevitable; and if not absolutely justifiable, yet not calculated to excite very much either of censure or surprise. Even Mr. Newman, though he would, we doubt not, strongly deprecate all recourse to violence, yet too much countenances such reprehensible modes of expression. Thus at the close of his pamphlet he observes:—'By all means must the middle 'classes warn the aristocracy, that they will not uphold or 'endure extravagance in an insolvent commonwealth—that they 'will not become mere tools of unrighteous administration— 'that they will not look calmly on, while our rulers run the 'course of France under Louis XVI., nor yet of France under 'Louis Philippe; but if their prayer be *pertinaciously refused*, '*will at last rather adopt any extreme means of enforcing the* '*obedience of their representatives*, than bear the fearful risks 'of continuing our present system. Let them assume this 'spirit, and they will be able to regenerate the British consti-'tution.'

Now we strongly object to the use, in a country like this, and with such constitutional remedies as ours, of any expressions which imply that the middle classes, the aristocratic classes, the working classes, or any partial combinations of classes, have the right to dictate reforms,—with revolution for the alternative! and, still more, their right to say *when* these reforms have been *pertinaciously* refused. Parties seeking any great reform must first obtain the expressed consent of the influencing part of the nation; since without this, the demand might merely denote the will, not of the nation, but of an inconsiderable faction: and, *when* they have obtained that consent, it is plain enough that the desired reforms will be accomplished *without* a revolution. It is in vain to say that, though such reforms may be the will of the nation, they sometimes cannot be otherwise effected. The frequent, comprehensive, yet peaceful changes we *have* effected (and effected the more safely by having effected them gradually), give the lie to all such arguments, and at once demonstrate their futility. We are fully aware of the danger of delaying any urgent and desirable reform; and even admit the consequent *possibility* of revolution, as the result of frustrated hopes operating on human passion and infirmity: But it will not be the less true, that they who would recommend its adoption in a country like this, would be guilty of a great crime. In such a country, we cannot think it expedient to speak even of a possible resort to physical violence, as other than a most censurable alternative; still less to justify it, should the demands of

the popular will not be speedily complied with. It seems to us, on the contrary, that, to use the language of Burke in a well-known passage, we ought 'to approach to the faults of the state 'as to the wounds of a father, with pious awe and trembling 'solicitude.' To threaten its subversion, if reformation be not promptly granted, is to imitate those savages who, finding the malady of their aged parents, as they judge, incurable, commit parricide by way of a remedy.

The time, we trust, is coming, though it may be yet distant, when nations will discover, from a comprehensive historic *induction*, that armed revolutions, wherever there is the shadow of a constitutional government, are *never likely to pay*. When this conviction is attained, it will no longer be of any importance to discuss that subtle question,—What constitutes the moral right of resistance to a faulty government, or the degree of provocation which will justify such a step, in *foro conscientiæ?* If, indeed, there be absolutely no constitutional government, that is, no machinery for insuring the action of matured public opinion on the ruling powers of the state, and the necessity of such provisions is deeply and generally felt, we scarcely know any risk or any sacrifice that should not be faced for their attainment. But where there are substantially such provisions, though (it may be) incomplete and imperfect, we do not hesitate to say, that the notion of recurring to a revolution of violence, for the chance of obtaining any minor or particular reforms, would be equally criminal and insane.

Many people may still think that the French (or rather the Parisians) were justified in taking up arms against their late government. But few, we apprehend, will now be of opinion that that insurrection was a wise or exemplary proceeding: And in every country, there will occur junctures, like that which led to the disputed policy of Louis Philippe in relation to the Reform Banquet; in which the champions and accusers of the government will be equally vehement, and have topics equally plausible. Such crises have repeatedly occurred among ourselves; in which it has been warmly disputed among conscientious and intelligent men, whether the minister has not been resorting to unwarrantable and unconstitutional remedies; as in the suppression of the monster meetings of Ireland some years ago, or the recent proceedings in reference to the Chartist processions. In these cases, the most exact definitions of the theory of the constitution will not always indicate with sufficient clearness what may or may not be justifiably done by the government. To meet a temporary emergency

temporary measures may be required, which many excellent people will exclaim against as a violation or suspension of the constitution; and which the government will justify as provoked by a previous breach of allegiance. No precise rules can be laid down to meet all such cases,—under all possible combinations of events, or the sudden and unaccountable access of an epidemic enthusiasm among the people. But in all of them, the remedy surely is *not* a revolution. A wise and bold minister will take the responsibility of recommending what he deems requisite at such a conjuncture; and a wise and free people will abide their time, and apply to his conduct those constitutional remedies which the law has provided. If the body of the nation believe that he has acted only as the urgency of circumstances required, he will receive an ample indemnity for his acts, when the tumult of temporary excitement has passed away. If otherwise, the nation will quietly but firmly express its will, in the character it impresses on its representative assemblies. It will lock the wheels of an unpopular government; and compel the formation of a ministry more in harmony with the wishes and expectations of the people. To resort to anarchy, and to subvert the constitution, perhaps even plunge the country into civil war on account of some such disputed act,—certainly to inflict an incalculable amount of private and public misery,—is to 'cast out devils by Beelzebub, the very prince of the 'devils;' or, in the language of Burke, 'to invoke the powers 'of hell to rectify the disorders of earth.' We do not say that it may not require patience and self-control in a nation uniformly to act in this way, nor that there may not be cases where there are great provocations to act otherwise; we are only contending that it is uniformly *wise* so to act.

To the unreflecting, nothing seems less difficult than to form a constitution, and to establish a government. To those who either read history, or take the trouble to think, it will rather appear matter of surprise how a stable government should *ever* emerge out of the chaos (once produced) of civil confusion and anarchy. The greatest evil of violent revolutions, great as *those* evils necessarily are, is not the temporary disorders and sufferings which usually usher them in, and always characterise their agony and crisis, but those of the unknown, the uncalculable future. It is impossible to foresee how long the funereal procession will move on, or what new horrors each step of it may disclose; what new and sinister interests will spring up in the course of the strife, without any adequate authority to adjust or control them; what turbulent spirits will be thrown to the surface, and, having no superior, will struggle with one another

for a precarious supremacy; what artful demagogues or ambitious soldiers may plague the country with the alternate curse of riotous anarchy or military despotism; how often, in the absence of a preponderant authority which the people have been *accustomed* to revere, and of all *habits* of obedience, the same miserable circle of mutual jealousy and distrust, competition for supremacy, and civil strife to terminate it, may revolve, and be reproduced, before some happy accident gives stability, because ascendancy, to some one party. If, indeed, after a brief inundation the 'waters of strife' would *finally* recede, though the strand might be covered with wrecks, these ravages might be speedily repaired, and wealth and happiness return, with public order and security. The real misery is, that for a long time there is an ebb and flow of this destructive tide; which renders it about as easy to cultivate the arts of peace on the soil which it chafes, as to sow and plant on the sea beach.

It is a truth which men are too apt to forget — but nevertheless a truth — that to live under almost any authority is better than to live under none. If this were pondered more, men would pause longer before they sanctioned revolutions. The paralysis of the sovereign power is itself a graver evil than any its mere abuse can usually occasion; for it almost unavoidably induces a sad necessity, even for the upright and patriotic, of inflicting misery and suffering wrong. It has not been sufficiently observed, that some of the worst evils of revolutions have originated, not so much in the crimes or inordinate ambition of any particular individuals or parties, as in the mere fact of the *dead-lock* to which all parties are reduced — the necessity of taking some side — the impossibility of finding an umpire, except in the actual trial of physical force — and the natural eagerness of parties to anticipate each other, and to seize some golden opportunity of insuring a prompt and decisive result. Humiliating condition! which reduces the most enlightened patriotism and the guiltiest ambition, to the same necessity of appealing to brutal force as the only arbiter of the fray! — And yet such is the necessary result, when there is no centre of gravity in the political system, or when it fluctuates from point to point; and in the latter case, terrible and rapid is the movement and perpetual the scourging necessary to keep the system at all erect. It is bad enough, undoubtedly, to live under either of the extremes of tyranny — an iron despotism, or one of those truculent democracies in which Plato humorously says that even the 'puppies' look more pert, and the 'asses' more independent than elsewhere; — but either is happiness, compared with living in a country in a condition of revolution. The epicurean creation

— a world evolving itself from the fortuitous concourse of atoms — is the just image of a people seeking to form a constitution out of the 'organic *moleculæ* of a disbanded nation.'

If all this be so, it surely ought to make us tremblingly alive to the duty of discouraging all modes of expression which would reconcile, or even familiarise the public mind to the idea of such a catastrophe as a violent revolution; and of never speaking of it but as an expedient which a nation, with constitutional safeguards, will never resort to; unless in the strong language of Milton on another subject, 'God has smitten them with phrenzy 'from above, or with a dazzling giddiness at noon day.' We have sometimes seen it stated, that the sufferings of a large portion of the people are already so great that 'it would not much 'matter if they *were* to have a revolution.' That there is great and most pitiable distress is unfortunately not to be questioned. But it is characteristic of our nature to believe that any pain we at the moment endure (from a tooth-ache to the rack) is always the very worst that could afflict us. To compare our present sufferings with those of nations in revolutionary anarchy is the result, we are persuaded, of a happy ignorance; and ignorance is the best excuse for our ingratitude. Let any one calmly read, and endeavour to *realise* the horrors of the Corcyrean Sedition — Athens under the dominion of the Thirty — the state of Rome during the massacres of Sylla and Marius — England during the Wars of the Roses — the condition of Paris under Robespierre — or the condition of Paris during the insurrection of June last; and it will be felt that it is the grossest thanklessness to talk of *our* having reached the maximum of misery — even in miserable Ireland!

It is precisely because we dread such an event as a revolution, that while we would join heart and hand in the advocacy of a thorough reform of every real grievance, we would oppose many of those projects of organic and sudden change which have recently been so vehemently recommended. Even granting, for the sake of argument, that those changes — Universal Suffrage, for instance, — were, in the abstract, desirable, and really preferable to our present system, we should still say, (paradoxical as it may seem,) that it would be most unwise to attempt their instant accomplishment. If there be any one point which has united the suffrage of all the greatest statesmen and profoundest political reasoners — of Aristotle, Bacon, Montesquieu, Burke, — it is that all great political changes should be gradual and continuous; wrought so as not to supersede, but to harmonise with preceding institutions; and so that there shall not only be no solution of continuity in the series of

political developments, but even no visible *danger* of it. Divided on so many other points of speculative politics, these illustrious men have been united in this; and various, almost numberless, as well as irresistible, are the arguments by which this view is sustained: — sometimes, in the language of Bacon, because, 'as 'Time is the greatest innovator, and as his innovations are 'imperceptible,' so ought we to imitate him in the counter-remedies we oppose to his corruptions; sometimes, in the language of Burke, 'because temperate reform has in it a principle 'of growth;'* and because 'political arrangement, as it is a work 'for social ends, is to be brought about only by social means; 'because, therefore, mind must conspire with mind, and because 'time is required to produce that union of minds which alone 'can produce the good we aim at;'† sometimes, in the words of Montesquieu, because 'it is necessary people's minds should 'be prepared for the reception even of the best laws.'‡ They all indeed concur in holding that all political improvement must consist only in adaptation, and can never, in the very nature of the case, be a new creation; that hence it is the part, both of wisdom and necessity, to take care that the alterations are not such as will render the whole incongruous or inconvenient; that laws and regulations which have long subsisted, besides the prejudices which they have gathered round them, have acquired a real, though adventitious, propriety; that while a people may have originally formed the laws for themselves, these, again, have insensibly formed the people to them; and that, as Bacon phrases it, 'what is settled by custom, though it be not good, yet, at 'least, it is fit; that by a slow but well-sustained progress, 'effect of each step is watched; the good or ill success of the 'first gives light to the second, and we are conducted with safety 'through the whole series;' that the legislator thus acting does not suffer the clue which conducts him from the past to the future to pass out of his hand; and pursues his path, not by a series of bounds over the slippery and treacherous stones of a torrent, but by a secure and well-compacted causeway; sometimes, that 'the evils latent in the most promising contrivances,'

* Speech on Economical Reform.

† Reflections.

‡ L'Esprit des Lois, Liv. xix. Chap. 2. A brief and most amusing chapter. One paragraph is worth citing: — 'Un Vénitien, nommé 'Balbi, étant au Pegu, fut introduit chez le roi. Quand celui-ci apprit 'qu'il n'y avoit point de Roi à Venise, *il fit un si grand éclat de rire,* 'qu'une toux le prit, et qu'il eut beaucoup de peine à parler à ses 'courtisans. Quel est le législateur qui pourrait proposer le gou-'vernement populaire à des peuples pareils?'

—a lesson which events are ever teaching and men seem never to learn—'are provided for as they arise;' sometimes, (and, in our judgment, it is the strongest argument of all,) that rapid and extensive innovations, suddenly effected, even though abstractedly for the better, change too rapidly those associations and habits of the national mind in relation to its institutions, on which their solidity depends far more than on their abstract perfection; associations and habits, into the formation of which Time enters as an essential ingredient: that such changes, therefore, are apt to dissolve the law of continuity which should distinguish all political development, and by inducing habits of fickleness and levity in place of sobriety and caution, may precipitate changes still greater and more questionable; and, whatever their character, may ultimately involve a revolution. This is, perhaps, the weightiest consideration of all; but it requires much knowledge of human nature and much reflection to see it in its full force.*

Yet nothing is more certain: abundant experience proves that it is quite a mistake to suppose that the sudden introduction of even a better constitution will necessarily carry with it that great element of all political excellence—*Stability;* and the reason is that just given: that such stability is founded less upon ideas of theoretical perfection than upon association and habit. To induce men to revere any system, whether it be worthy of their reverence or not—at all events, to excite any regret or reluctance to change it, they must be accustomed to it; and that bond of custom, slight as it may seem, and absurd as it often is, is a thing almost omnipotent in politics; the chief cable, in short, which holds the vessel of the state to its anchorage. 'Custom,' says Bacon, with his usual profundity, 'is the principal magistrate

* This topic did not escape the usual sagacity of Aristotle. While treating the subject of innovations in general with much the same caution as Bacon, he replies at once and decisively to the *falsely analogical* argument that improvements in government may be introduced just as we may introduce improvements in any of the arts and sciences, that is, at once and easily. 'The example drawn from the arts,' says he, 'is a fallacy; for there is no analogy between innovating 'in an art and innovating in a law: inasmuch as a law has no power 'of inducing obedience *unless by habit;* and this can only be effected 'by lapse of time; so that *lightly* to exchange the existing laws for 'other and new ones is to *enfeeble* the force of the law'—*ὁ γὰρ νόμος ἰσχὺν οὐδεμίαν ἔχει πρὸς τὸ πείθεσθαι πλὴν παρὰ τὸ ἔθος, τοῦτο δ' οὐ γίνεται εἰ μὴ διὰ χρόνου πλῆθος, ὥστε τὸ ῥαδίως μεταβάλλειν ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων νόμων εἰς ἑτέρους νόμους καινοὺς ἀσθενῆ ποιεῖν ἐστὶ τὴν τοῦ νόμου δύναμιν.*—Pol. Lib. ii.

'of man's life.' Apart from it, a political theory which has been proposed to day, and which has neither the experience of benefits derived from it, nor the associations of time, to plead in its defence, may be supplanted by an equally shining novelty to-morrow. Nor indeed is there any reason why a darling system of this man or this party should not be taken on trial, as well as that of another man or another party, both being equally confident of the result, and both being prompted by the strongest of all principles, (with the exception of habit,) which can rule in the human breast — a desire to realise our own ideal, and a perfect conviction, till experience has chastised our presumption, that of all possible systems, the one proposed by us is the very best. Hence the rapid series of constitutions which issued from the 'pigeon-holes' of the Abbé Sieyès; hence all the other schemes of his fellow manufacturers of paper constitutions — till Napoleon at length arose, and shattered the frail tubes from which were issuing so many gorgeous bubbles!

The intensity with which the human mind may be convinced of the profound wisdom of an untried folly, is strikingly exemplified in the recent development of the Communist and Socialist theories of France. The wildness of those theories is only to be paralleled by the unscrupulous fanaticism with which they seem to have been pursued. It is now, we think, ascertained that the proceedings connected with the Reform Banquet were only a pretext for the late revolution — the accidental touch which broke the thin film that covered the huge chronic ulcer, and let out its foul and purulent contents. It is evident that ever since 1830 parties had been organising themselves, and *proclaiming* their organisation, for the purpose of operating a revolution on the first favourable opportunity; living, in fact, in the habitual exercise of *treason*. No country but France could have furnished a parallel; and she has just outdone it by exhibiting the example of a section of the late Provisional Government implicated in the very schemes which were to terminate in its overthrow, and the preparation of a clear stage for the working out of their more perfect schemes of human regeneration! Nothing can equal the insanity of those schemes, except the fraud and recklessness with which they seem to have been pursued. That human nature, even so conditioned, and so strangely trained as in their revolutionary school, might not be easily moulded to their hands, never seems to have entered their thoughts. They never seem to have had an idea that the art of political change is an art of *grafting*, and not of *planting;* not to say that most of their schemes of society would require a

totally different animal from man to admit of their adoption, under any circumstances or any preparatives. Yet many of these men — and very learned and able men too — seem to have been sincerely convinced of the perfection of their theories, and willing to do anything and risk anything to realise them, — with a fanaticism worthy of our fifth monarchy-men, and a treachery and atrocity worthy of the worst disciples of Loyola. It is a curious and instructive spectacle.

But, without going any such lengths, most men, we fear, are apt to flatter themselves that they have a *constructive* talent of this kind in the highest perfection; and all the failures of so many of the wise will not convince us that politics are not the easiest of the sciences. Perhaps there is nothing which equals man's real power to demolish systems, except his imaginary power of constructing them. The self-deception is the more likely to escape us, because to every charge of failure it is always so pleasantly easy to find a satisfactory reply. 'If such and such 'events had not happened, and disturbed the grand experiment 'in the very moment of projection!' or, 'if men had but been 'of one mind, and worked the system honestly!' To these 'ifs' the objector opposes a 'perhaps;' for it is easy for both sides to draw upon the inexhaustible fund of possibilities. But, at all events, and without any 'perhaps,' those 'ifs' ought surely to have been taken into account *before* the experiment, and abated confidence in the result. The very test of a political arrangement should be its practicability. The very problem for solution is: Given the actual condition of a nation, and the position of events, to construct a working system. It is easy to contrive systems of paper optimism. Far less than a Bacon or More is required to invent an Atlantis or Utopia. M. Cabet is quite equal (and very welcome) to the government of his fabulous Icarie.

Sir James Mackintosh never uttered a profounder or a truer word than when he said that 'political constitutions are not 'made, but grow.'* They are living things; and not mere skeletons of parchment. The figure, indeed, is as logically just, as it is felicitous in the conception; since all such constitu-

* 'History of England,' vol. i. p. 72. The remarks of the same writer on the latent power of development and adaptation involved in the vague construction of the Great Charter (pp. 217—222.) are well worthy of the attention of every Englishman; as well as his observations on the causes of the solidity of the fabric of our constitution, from the reciprocal influence and intimate admixture of the social elements among us (pp. 265—270.). Seldom has history given us anything more sagacious.

tions imply, in common with other forms of organised life, perpetual processes of minute change and imperceptible assimilation of parts, and the pervading influence of a vital energy from within, turning blood into muscle, and cartilage into bone — in other words, hardening ductile first impressions into solid habits of reverence and affection to institutions. The law of continuity, therefore, and the influence of time are not accidental, but essential conditions of all political solidity. The true constitution is not that inscribed in the statute-book, but that engraved on the hearts, and cherished in the habits of the people. Solon could not have more practically shown his wisdom (whether the story be true or fabulous, the moral is the same) than by binding the Athenians not to change any of his laws for a term of years; as well knowing, not only that time was necessary to test their value and disclose their defects, but that until thus consecrated by association and habit, endeared by the remembrance of benefits conferred, and guarded by the fear of exchanging what was known for what was unknown, there was no guarantee that the constitution which he had given them one day might not be exchanged for another, apparently more eligible, on the morrow; and that until a goodly portion of the fabric was thus *consolidated* before innovation began, it would not be the hand of reform that would touch it, but that of revolution. A somewhat similar story which is told of Lycurgus and his Spartan code, carries with it a similar lesson.

There is no constitution to which the above words of Sir James Mackintosh so strictly apply as to our own. It has been a very slowly developed growth of centuries — an aggregate of laws and usages which have been imperceptibly depositing themselves during a thousand years — the most venerable and the most curious of the intellectual structures of civilised man. It is a pile, majestic indeed, but of varying orders of architecture, and of parts that have to be referred to the most widely distant eras; much of it hoary with age, and some of it the fresh-looking masonry of yesterday. But the whole erection has been marked by the law of continuity; and though, in fact, during the ten centuries of its existence, it has passed through changes which may be said to be tantamount to an entire change of constitution; and if they had been effected simultaneously, would in fact have constituted such a transformation, no portion has been removed at once so large as not to leave a far greater part standing untouched. It has been changed, like the sacred ship of Athens, plank by plank, fragment by fragment, till scarcely any part remains as it was. Still, as in the human body, continuity and change have co-operated and secured sub-

stantial identity, by the *simultaneous* processes of decay and reparation, it has been throughout different, and yet the same.

We speak, indeed, of the 'wisdom of our ancestors,' and too often, it is true, show our own folly in doing so; sometimes, by making it an apology for the retention of abuses, which a true imitation of their conduct would induce us at once to remove, and for deferring that judicious adaptation of laws to altered times and circumstances, for which we most justly admire them; and sometimes, perhaps, still more conspicuously by attributing to that vaunted 'wisdom' what does not really belong to it, and what, if we did not believe in an overruling Providence, might be more aptly attributed to happy accident. When we consider, indeed, how many constitutions, nay, how many empires have risen and fallen during the time in which the British constitution has been slowly pushing out its gigantic growth; how much genius and wisdom have been expended in devising and reducing to system paper theories of politics; how many of these have been confidently tried, and rapidly thrown aside; when we consider, too, that this constitution is not the fruit of the wisdom and experience of any one generation, or of any five, far less of any one man or council, as well as the storms which from time to time have rocked it from its base to its battlements (in which, however, it has oscillated only within the limits which sound architecture makes the test of solidity in all such structures), we are compelled to attribute its permanence, amidst the political wrecks which have strewed the nations around us, to something more than the sagacity of merely human wisdom — to nothing less than to the invisible control of the Supreme Disposer. If, in any thing, we can justly praise the wisdom of our ancestors, it is not so much for any sagacity in distinctly foreseeing the remote consequences involved in the changes they wrought, as for their general caution and aversion to any sudden or extensive changes; their rare combination of firmness with moderation of purpose; in a word, for that practical good sense which has been not merely the 'wisdom of our ancestors,' and still less of any particular class, but which still enters deeply, we trust, into the elements of the national character. There is scarcely a finer sentence in Burke's memorable Reflections on the French Revolution than that in which he characterises the general conduct of our countrymen in the political changes they have operated: 'A political caution, a guarded circumspection, a moral rather 'than a complexional timidity, were among the ruling principles 'of our forefathers in their most decided conduct. Not being 'illuminated with the light of which the gentlemen of France 'tell us they have got so abundant a share, they acted on a

'strong impression of the ignorance and fallibility of mankind. 'And He that had made them thus fallible, rewarded them for 'having, in their conduct, attended to their nature.'

No country, accordingly, has ever effected so many great changes by peaceful means, as England has done during the last one hundred and sixty years; and far less changes, more rapidly accomplished or attempted, have in other countries been either attended with many of the evils of revolutions, or have in fact produced them. It is their gradual character, and that alone, which has made them safe. The history of many of these great changes is, in this point of view, deeply instructive. The principles involved in them were at first slowly propagated from a few superior minds to many of inferior power,—gradually made their way into large sections, and at length masses of the community—were first maligned, then discussed—then familiarised—then embraced,—till at length 'having leavened the whole lump,' the legislature solemnly set its seal to the expression of matured public opinion. Nor do we in the slightest degree doubt that equally great changes may be peacefully effected, and will be witnessed, by our posterity, without any danger to the constitution; provided they are effected in a similarly cautious and temperate spirit—changes in our representative system; changes in the direction and distribution of taxation; changes in our system of judicature; changes in our colonial administration; changes in the Irish church; changes in the English church. But if by only raising our finger we could effect all these changes to-morrow, we would not do it; because certain that, until they enlisted a decided preponderance of the intelligence, wealth, and population of the country in their favour, we should only do harm by it. Many of our greatest changes have been half a century in maturing; and this brings us to notice another of the commonplaces of sophistical invective, in which the unreflecting are fond of indulging against governments. 'Ministers are ever behind the people,' they exclaim; 'They never 'do any thing of importance, till they are compelled.' We answer at once, 'May it ever be so!' We have no wish to see the minister who will take it upon himself to propose any great change, on his own individual conviction, or on that of his official colleagues, that it will be for the benefit of the nation; nor, until the nation has unequivocally expressed its decidedly preponderant will. This were, in fact, to wrest out of the hands of the people that Sovereignty, of which they are usually so jealous. We would strictly keep it in their hands; and would deny to any minister, 'heaven-born' or otherwise, the right of presuming what ought to be, or what in a few

years will be, the will of the nation. His part, and his duty, is to wait till he sees the great bulk of the nation already marshalling him to his course; and so far from blaming, we would rather applaud the caution, which will not be satisfied until that course is very unequivocally indicated; otherwise, he might be giving effect not to the voice of the nation, but to the suggestions of a few individuals. Thus what is often urged against the conduct of a government—that it is behind the people—is most generally its highest praise. All that a wise minister will commonly attempt to do, is to sail into harbour at the top of the tide. If he attempt it before, he will only bring the vessel on the breakers. The tide must be at flood before he can safely raise his anchor.

As to many of those changes which we have recently seen propounded, especially as connected with our representative system, we have no hesitation in saying that they are far too vast for sudden experiment. We know too little of the effect which they might produce to justify their adoption. We acknowledge, indeed, that this is an argument from our ignorance; but to know our ignorance is a great part of wisdom, and not least in politics: And, except under the most imperious necessity, such an argument ought to be a sufficient reason for a very gradual approach to the most desirable ends. It is precisely where we know that the effects of changes must certainly be great, but their precise character is *not* certainly known, that we ought to pause before we venture upon them. What changes in given circumstances are thus safe, is a problem of limits, to be determined by political sagacity; but the highest exercise of that sagacity will still be the resolution of *certainly* keeping within those limits; and of erring, if there must be error, on the safe side.

But even if it could, with a greater degree of probability, be determined that such large changes (as those advocated for example, by Professor Newman) would be in themselves beneficial, we should still pause before attempting a sudden realisation of them, for the reasons already assigned—the want of due preparation in the public mind, and a dread of dissolving the continuity of association; of involving that change 'in the 'spirit of a nation which is the greatest of all revolutions,' and in which the balance between a salutary dread of innovation, and a temperate desire of improvement, would be destroyed. In a word, we should fear lest the political machine should acquire too great a momentum, and hurry down the declivity with a velocity beyond the power of any *brakes* to stop it.

It is hard to say whether he who should affirm, in such a crisis as the present, that very much should be done, or that nothing

should be done, would be the more mistaken. Happily, however, the conflict between the two opposite forces will probably compel our statesmen to move in the path of their *resultant*, and to effect changes moderate, indeed, but continuous. It is the only safe course, indeed, whether in peaceful or turbulent times; for as Bacon wisely says, 'If time, *of course*, alter things to the 'worse, and wisdom and counsel shall not alter them to the 'better, what shall be the end?' But it is especially incumbent on statesmen in turbulent times to take this course; for the people will hardly be satisfied with less being done *then* than ought to be done at *any* time. They are not likely to prefer that precise moment for standing stock still.

It is curious to see how little experience suffices to correct the vague and extravagant impressions of good to be realised from a measure yet untried. If 'hopes are the dreams of the 'waking,' according to the melancholy, and, alas! too often truthful expression of Plato, it is especially true of the 'hopes' of politicians. The bitter disappointment the people often express at the effects of measures, the passing of which they anticipated with so much confidence and enthusiasm, ought to have convinced them by this time, that the 'latent evils' in an untried measure are not so easy to calculate as they imagine; that it is hard either to foresee the difficulties which it will encounter in its working, or to calculate on the ingenuity of human cunning and wickedness, in abusing or frustrating it. Yet they still go on, firmly convinced as ever that the next measure is to be the panacea of their political ills; and no abuse is too strong, and no charge too heavy, for those who venture to doubt the perfection of the new remedy, or to suggest the possibility of fresh disappointment. Every one remembers the enthusiasm with which the Reform Bill was carried, and every one now sees the terms of disappointment and contempt in which too many of its former advocates suffer themselves to speak of it. No child was ever more enamoured of the rattle or the hobby-horse, which it was paradise only to anticipate, than multitudes of the good people in England were with the 'bill, the whole bill, and *nothing but* the bill.' And no child was ever more disappointed than they now are. Yet that measure, in the eye of sober calculation, has effected quite as much as could well be expected, and as much perhaps as, according to our views of the necessity of continuity in all political changes, would be safe within the limited time. Whatever its defects, and whatever its failures, it will be for ever identified with the abolition of slavery, municipal reform, cheap postage, the freedom of commerce, the abrogation or reduction of many of the worst and most burdensome taxes, and especially

with the repeal of the corn laws. Still the disappointment, whether rational or irrational, ought to have convinced men that it is not so clear that a mere change in the representative system will effect the good that is anticipated. For our own parts, we frankly confess more than a doubt whether, under any system of suffrage, however universal, or any parliament, any government can do more than a *comparatively* little to remedy the most pressing evils of this country; and venture to express our firm belief that the chief remedies must come from God and ourselves. But we shall return to this topic by and by; and in the meantime, we must say a few words on Universal Suffrage, and Professor Newman's project of Parliamentary Reform.

The plea for the right of (so called) universal suffrage, is rested principally on two grounds,—either on some imaginary abstract or aboriginal right of man; (much as if the claim to have a voice in the election of a member of parliament resembled the claim to personal freedom;) or, more plausibly, from some supposed principle of the British constitution, that it is the undoubted right of every one, who *in any way* contributes to the funds of the state, to have a direct voice in the making of its laws. Either principle proves too much.

The moment that the advocates of the supposed right come to *define* the parties who shall exercise it, we find them, with all the rest of the world, laying down limitations, perfectly arbitrary in their own nature, and determined simply by a tacit reference to *Expediency*. In fact, the different views entertained among those who yet insist that the suffrage is a right inherent in every citizen, sufficiently show the absurdity of representing it among the indefeasible rights of human nature. Such rights cannot be conferred on *Men* alone, and denied to *Women;* nor restricted to an arbitrary legal standard. They must exist whole and entire in every individual of the human family; and never can be alienated by any thing but crime. It would at once appear absurd to say that the rights of personal freedom could be thus variously restricted,—that they belonged indeed to *one* sex, but not to the other! If we take the theory of those who go furthest in this matter, and who flatter themselves that they have arrived at perfect consistency; who laugh at every other as full of irrational and anomalous limitations, and who would generously extend the privilege in question to every sane man, untainted by crime, and not dependent on the poor rates, we find, on examination, that they are chargeable with inconsistencies exactly similar to those with which they taunt their opponents; that they exclude by one comprehensive excision an entire half of the species; though *why* they should do

so may well puzzle any body to conjecture. For ourselves, we fear not to affirm that we have never been able to extract from the universal suffragists with whom we have had the fortune to converse, any plausible reason for such exclusion, upon *their* principles; nor, indeed, any reason at all that was not manifestly inconsistent with those principles. Sometimes it is said, that the excluded sex are *virtually* represented already in their male relatives. But first, what has *virtual* representation to do with the matter? This professes to be a real representation, founded on the principle, either of a universal right of humanity, or on the principle that whoever pays taxes should have a voice in the making of the laws: And as long as women are human beings, and not exempt from paying their quota to the revenue, they cannot be justly excluded, on such principles, from their equal share of the suffrage. Secondly, the argument, if it be of any worth, may as rightfully be applied to justify other, and *less* comprehensive, limitations of the suffrage; to exclude for example the grown-up sons and other dependents of those to whom the franchise is already granted: in a word, to exclude as many as it may be expedient to exclude. Thirdly; the mere mention of *virtual* representation is tantamount to an abandonment of the argument; and resolves the whole question into one of expediency, with which it is loudly proclaimed that this system has nothing to do. Fourthly, the allegation, consistent or inconsistent, is not true. In thousands of cases women are not represented by any near relatives, and while contributing their full proportion to the demands of the state, their property is without political weight in the legislature. As to their *fitness* to exercise the franchise, we presume it will scarcely be doubted that there are thousands of women in this country, whose superior education and general intelligence far better qualify them for the privilege, than the stark ignorance of tens of thousands of day-labourers to whom it is proposed to confide it.* In short, though the female claim, when urged upon the advocates of this theory, has been customarily met by a smile of something like contempt, as though it needed no other answer, we shall venture to believe, till a better answer is offered, that it is, upon this theory,

* Mr. Cobden tells us, in his speech on Mr. Hume's motion, that, upon pressing a universal suffragist with this argument, the latter fairly admitted its force, and claimed the vote for women. We can truly say that we never got any other fair answer to it; and, upon the calmest reflection, we are confident it does not fairly admit of any other. It is pleasant to have to deal with an argument which proves too much.

unanswerable; and that the disposition thus quietly to ignore the rights of half the population, arises simply from that vulgar assumption of superiority in the other half, which is by no means least characteristic of the most clamorous advocates of popular rights, but which is as certainly most unbecoming in them. The theory, as it stands, is an appeal to the abjured principles of Expediency; on which principles we can fully and consistently admit the wisdom of the proposed exclusion, but by no means on those of the proposed theory.

Similar reasoning applies to the age at which it is proposed to limit the privilege of the suffrage. Inalienable and indefeasible rights, which yet come into exercise only on the attainment of a perfectly arbitrary majority, are suspicious things. Nor is it much to the purpose to say, that the right is indeed universal, but the time of exercising it must be necessarily limited by law; and that it is as well to fix on the period of attaining legal manhood as upon any other. Certainly it will be as well; where every period alike would be arbitrary, and infallibly exclude many who ought, upon the alleged principles, to exercise the franchise. In truth, however, it cannot be pretended that the arbitrary limit chosen gives (which is the object) as large an extension of the suffrage, as should be given on the principles contended for; since there can hardly be a doubt that there are multitudes of persons below the magical age of twenty-one, possessed of education and intelligence, which far better qualify them for the franchise than the uneducated peasant of threescore. In this, as in other cases, however men may flatter themselves that they have arrived at some universally applicable principle, recommended by its simplicity, and admitting of no exception, politics refuse to recognise any such principle, nor does the infinite variety and complexity of human affairs admit of any such.

And surely the only reasonable limit of the suffrage is, not any supposed *inherent right* of any portion of the population, but an enlarged view of Expediency, founded on the special condition of each nation. It will vary accordingly in different countries, and in the same country at different times. Undoubtedly it will be true political wisdom to make the basis of representation as wide as may be consistent with safety; and directly to enlist as large a portion as possible of the intelligence, virtue, and property of a nation in the maintenance of its institutions. But in every community, it seems plain enough that the object should be, to assign the suffrage those limits which shall secure the just ascendancy of all the principal elements of its greatness taken together; and to fix the constituency at that point

—whether the numbers be greater or smaller—which shall furnish the highest probability of an independent, intelligent, and unbribed choice of representatives. Where the constituency has been fixed so as to attain that end best, there it has been most wisely fixed—whether the basis of the franchise be comparatively wide or comparatively narrow. The *tendency*, indeed, in every wisely governed country will be to enlarge, and not abridge, the area of that representation: But it will be an enlargement which will keep pace with intelligence, property, and virtue. In some countries it will be comparatively small; in our own it may safely be large; and we can even conceive of a state of things, in which intelligence and education, reverence for law, habits of self-government, and the influence of religion, have made such progress as to render what is *called* universal suffrage perfectly safe. But we frankly confess we have never yet either heard or read of a nation in this happy predicament; and we doubt exceedingly whether both France and Prussia will not soon have to repent the day when they hastily conferred a privilege, for which so many facts show us that a very large portion of their population is wholly unprepared, and which it is more easy to give than to take away. At all events, it will be wisdom in us to wait, and see the result of that great foreign experiment, before making any large or sudden changes in our own representative system.

In our own country we think it highly probable that, in nine cases out of ten, the influence even of a very large extension of the suffrage would produce, *in ordinary times*, no sensible effect on the representation whatever. Wealth, rank, intelligence, education, and all the other elements of political power, would still exert their legitimate, and, alas! often also their illegitimate influence. Then, too, as now, many, very many of those who have promised great things at the hustings to their applauding constituents, and amidst the huzzas of a mob, (and that not insincerely but under the excitement of present feeling,) would adopt a very different tone, when they found themselves members of a great deliberative assembly; and in the presence, not of an excited crowd, but of their fellow-representatives. Then, as now, complaints would be loud of members who, after their election, seem little better than 'tame lions;' who, having 'looked in the 'glass' of their constituency, 'go away and forget what manner 'of men they were.' Uttering, in the pleasant exhilaration of their triumph, the most extravagant things, they are found saying little to justify their professions, when they have taken their place in Parliament. It is not always just to attribute

such conduct, as constituencies generally do and will, to insincerity or hypocrisy. It is simply because the worthy man has not been able to distinguish between the candidate and the legislator; and truly wise must he be, beyond the generality of candidates, who *can* distinguish between the tone natural to the atmosphere of a crowded hall, ringing with the plaudits of his admiring retainers on the day of his election, and the constrained and sober tone which he will be compelled to assume in a deliberative assembly. Wise and under more than usual self-control must he be who, in the former case, can realise his future position; and anticipate the hour when the fumes of the champagne shall have evaporated, and the transient stimulus of the nitrous oxide shall have been expended. While human nature is constituted as it is, we do not, we confess, expect to find, under any system of representation, candidates who will not often incur the customary reproach, and stand in need of the same indulgent allowance. Sad, indeed, will be the day, should it ever arrive, when representatives shall go to the hall of deliberation with the same feelings with which they harangue the excited throng of their constituents; and though we lament the existence of any such discrepancy in their conduct, we had much rather see it than not, unless we could see it corrected in the only legitimate way — by the candidates' having self-knowledge, self-control, and honesty enough to anticipate their future position, and to measure their present tone and present promises by their future capabilities of performance.

But though it appears to us among the most widely prevalent political fallacies, to suppose that any change of the representative system would, *under ordinary circumstances*, lead to the election of a very different House of Commons from that we possess at present, unless the English character were to be wholly changed, and deliberative assemblies to forget the caution which properly belongs to them; and though we think therefore that any English parliament would, in nine cases out of ten, continue to call down upon themselves the reproaches of the ignorant and unreflecting, for being a 'good-for-nothing' and 'do-nothing' house, we cannot disguise from ourselves that, in that unhappy tenth case, a parliament, chosen under the influence of a sudden and strong excitement, like that revolutionary feeling with which all Europe has so recently sympathised, and which has passed over it like an electrical current, *might* proceed at once to changes of an organic and sweeping character; — changes which might be made in a moment, but which could never be repaired — and the consequences of which might lead on to an absolute *bouleversement* of our present

constitution. The continuity of which we have said so much, and which all experience shows to be so necessary, would be broken; as, indeed, it would already have been in any such sudden and large extension of our electoral system as should even approach universal suffrage.

For similar reasons we refrain from discussing the scheme of Mr. Newman. Whether right or wrong, good or bad, we can tell nothing about it, till tested by experience; for, whether it would work well or ill, it is, in fact, the substitution of a totally different system from the present. He proposes — 1. That a fixed number of seats in the Commons (say 100) be given to *representatives of electors who belong to a higher scale of wealth.* 2. That an additional representative in many populous towns be given to all the males *above the age of forty*, who are not included in the present franchise, which is not to be disturbed. 3. That other representatives be given, in the counties, to the males *above the same age.* 4. That any constituency of the lower franchise under the number of 6000 be forbidden; and, with a view to this, that various small towns be joined together. 5. Supposing the number of the House of Commons thus increased to 800, that the House should elect 250 of its number to sit and vote with the Lords! 6. That the Upper House have *only a suspensive veto* upon the Lower, being able to negative a bill only twice. 7. That all Peers shall have right both to elect and to be elected into the Lower House. 8. That all public servants at the call of the Minister take a seat, but without a vote, in either or both Houses. 9. That a new order of Peers be instituted, to whom the right of intermarriage with the royal family should be exclusively reserved. (Pp. 25—27.)

Such experiments we cannot wish to see tried; so long as all history serves to show that the future of politics is a dark cavern, through which those who pass may be said to grope their way, but can hardly be said to see it.

It is but fair, however, to Mr. Newman to state that he seems to have a just and salutary dread of 'universal and equal suffrage,' as 'a system for making Youth, Ignorance, and Poverty 'predominant over Age, Cultivation, and Wealth'—his extensive and profound acquaintance with history no doubt convincing him that the remedy for *class legislation* which universal suffrage proffers, would inevitably lead to class legislation of the most odious kind.

But while we would thus approve only of changes which operate gradually and continuously, and are of a kind to harmonise with principles already in action, we are so far from wishing no changes, that we would have those of this character in

perpetual operation: and so provided for, as to supersede the temptation to re-agitate this great question at an interval of every few years, and to preclude the necessity of all sudden or questionable reforms. Why might it not be enacted as a principle, that no place with a certain (but not low) *minimum* of population should be henceforth without its representatives; that every place rising above such a minimum (as shown by the decennial census) might claim to be admitted to its privileges; and that way should be made for it, by the quiet transfer of the right from the constituency which stood lowest on the list? This would introduce a principle of slow but *continuous self-adjustment*, and prevent the necessity of any such sudden and extensive extinction of boroughs, as had become necessary at the passing of the Reform Bill. To this might perhaps be added, to make way for present claimants, the disfranchisement of some few constituencies, either utterly contemptible for their insignificance, or still more contemptible for their corruption; or which would be better still (for we do not like disfranchisement except in extreme cases), the amalgamation of two or three not very distant boroughs into one constituency. To these moderate changes might be added some of those which Lord John Russell recently pointed out in his speech on Mr. Hume's motion; and which, whatever might be the interpretation hastily put upon his former too absolute expressions as to 'finality,' showed that he did not thereby mean the exclusion of *all* change. But no measures can be of more real service than those which tend to diminish corruption and bribery; and for this end not only ought the incurably infected classes of voters, called by an odd misnomer 'freemen,' and left as a fatal legacy by the Reform Bill, to be disfranchised, but the most rigid and summary punishment should be inflicted in every case of gross corruption duly proved before a parliamentary committee. As there are plenty of places which have already a far better claim to enfranchisement than those in which such scenes are enacted, we should not be sorry in such cases to see the electoral privileges instantly transferred. Such, at all events, we apprehend, should be the general character of the measures which would best meet the acknowledged defects of our present representative system.

With respect to the Ballot, we are rather surprised to find so much importance attached to it, whether by those who object to its introduction, or by those who advocate it.

As a safeguard against intimidation, we feel convinced that the ultimate consequences of free trade in corn will render any such measure nearly superfluous, at least in the agricultural districts. Though extraordinary circumstances may for

a year or two have transiently raised the price of that commodity, and although it will never cease to fetch a fair one, the time will assuredly come when, under the influence of wholesome competition, a landholder will be too well pleased to have a tenant who punctually pays a *maximum* rent, to trouble his head about his political opinions; and, in fact, will as little concern himself about them as the landlord of a house or a shop in a town generally does about those of *his* tenants, if they do but *pay* punctually. — As a safeguard against bribery and corruption, we doubt whether the influence of the ballot has not been egregiously miscalculated (at least in all tolerably manageable constituencies), in consequence of that prevalent disposition, already mentioned, to overlook, in the estimate of the benefits of an untried measure, the adroitness of human wickedness in turning it to a fraudulent account. If a man were to pay for *promises to vote*, instead of paying for actual votes, but on the *actual* condition that he is *elected*, it appears to us that the agent of corruption would be playing at least a safer game than at present, and one probably not less effectual. He now spends some thousands — often many — for nothing; and he is justly punished for his crime by the loss of the 'wages of iniquity.' On the other supposition, he would always have his pennyworth for his penny. If elected, he would have what he paid for; if not elected, he would not pay a farthing. Nor would it matter *to him* whether the man who received his bribe promised to vote for him, and did not; or promised, and really voted for him: he would be well contented to take his election as a safe evidence of the fact.

But, at best, it is to be feared that where there is a settled disposition either to intimidate or corrupt, men will be ingenious enough to compass their bad ends, whether the ballot be adopted or not. The political reformer may say, with the ecclesiastical, that 'the old Adam will be too strong for the 'young Melancthon.' Not that this would be a sufficient reason in itself for leaving untried either the ballot or any other method which promised effectually to guard against such grave perils, or even materially to diminish such abominable crimes. But it certainly should have the effect of tempering extravagant estimates of its results.

As to the division into enormous electoral districts, which, next to universal suffrage, forms the chief feature in the Charter, we should be exceedingly loth to see it introduced. Though the chief incongruities and anomalies of the present system might be gradually corrected in some such modes as we have suggested, it may well be questioned whether it would ever be for the

interests of the country to effect any such sudden and wholesale shifting of the political elements as is involved in the plan of electoral districts. Nor, in our judgment, would any approach to an exact territorial division, even though, as Mr. Cobden says, it might not be into 'squares and parallelograms,' work well. If constituencies be nearly all of one size, and all very large, representatives would be too much of one or two sorts: men of large wealth to support the expense of elections, or men of very large professions, who would pay those expenses in *promissory* notes of another kind — who would trade in the flatteries and delusions of an unprincipled demagogism, and practise with increased assiduity those arts of cajolery, and that study of the 'cries and gestures, appetites and passions' of the θρέμμα μέγα καὶ ἰσχυρόν, in which Plato places the sum of the wisdom of the sophistical politicians of his time. There must always be a considerable body of *moderate* constituencies, if England would enlist in her service every species of available talent, or is to be represented in her senate, as well as at her elections, by every variety of her citizens. Strange as it may sound in the ears of the demagogue, we believe it to be perfectly true, that there are many men among us, of ardent love to their country, and of excellent ability to serve it, to whom it would be as alien from their disposition and habits, as it would be impossible from the absence of wealth, to solicit the votes of a large constituency; and that Lord John Russell's statements on this subject in his recent speech (however decried or derided) are strictly in accordance with facts.

Another favourite maxim of our sweeping reformers is, that the elective franchise ought, according to the *theory* of the British constitution, to be invariably annexed to the payment of taxes. This certainly has never been the *practice;* and, as already shown, it would be difficult to point out any system — assuredly it is not that of the Charter — which recognises the right of every person to vote, who in any way contributes to the national revenues. It may be safely said, therefore, that if such be the *theory* of the British constitution, a theory it must always remain. The Charter itself proceeds upon the inevitable principle of making many and enormous exceptions to this principle. Still less, we apprehend, would it be practicable to make out the *equity* of an equal vote to every man who contributes, in whatever proportion, to the state, or whatever the stake he has in the community. Certain rights and privileges, it is true, there ought to be, in every free state, in which all who profess allegiance and do their duty to that state, should be allowed to participate. But such privileges are already possessed by every British

subject: 1st. In the enjoyment of those civil rights and immunities which make up the glorious heritage of all Englishmen, and which none but the ungrateful will consider an inadequate compensation for being subjected to the lowest scale of taxation; — the secure possession of personal liberty, the protection of property, the general security of the laws — privileges which, whatever the remaining defects of our political system, make this country justly the envy of Europe, and which, in their aggregate, are plainly of infinitely more value than a share in the elective suffrage. Surely it is a strange supposition that these are worth no payment; or that any citizen can fairly expect to enjoy them without contributing his quota — whether he possesses the franchise or not. 2dly. In the right, in case of necessity, to a share in the accumulated wealth of the community — a legal provision for helpless poverty or sickness. 3dly. An exemption from many and heavy forms of taxation which are imposed on the wealthier portions of the community. This last privilege ought, we fully agree, to be more and more extended to the unenfranchised. At the same time, it cannot be denied that the whole tendency of recent legislation has largely and very properly been in this direction — much has been done, though much remains to do. 4thly. In the universal right of *petition* — a right not lightly thought of by our ancestors, nor, in truth, despicable when honestly and properly used; not *abused*, as we have seen it recently, in the 'monstrous' fraud of the 'monster' petition. It is by no means to the credit of our countrymen that they choose often to speak of this right contemptuously. When petitions really embody the wishes of a large portion of the nation, they cannot be, and they never are, treated disrespectfully; and when they embody *nearly* the universal wishes, they will always speak with a voice which no parliament and no government can afford to disregard. But it must be admitted that the abuses of this right have recently done much to depreciate its value.

While the chief weight of taxation *ought* to fall (as in some respects it does) on the classes to whom is intrusted — whatever that class may be — the immediate control of the government, we freely admit that it should do so still more. Those privileged classes must justify their possession of their peculiar privileges by cheerfully bearing a proportionate share of the burdens of the nation; as, on the other hand, if equal and universal suffrage were carried, it would as equitably follow that no special impost — no property or income-tax, no poor-rates, — ought to be levied on those classes alone. We know that this would not follow; just the reverse; but, on the principle of equality, so it *ought* undoubtedly to be.

Much, we have just said, has been done of late to meet the claims of the people. Many of the articles of prime necessity or very general consumption have been relieved from fiscal burdens. The repeal of the corn laws and the remission of other injudicious taxes have done much already to relieve commerce and industry; and we are greatly mistaken if, notwithstanding the heavy calamities of the past few years, partly the visitation of Providence, and partly the consequences of our own folly, we shall not soon reap far greater advantages from them. Even now they may be truly said to have been the anchor on which the nation has rode out the recent storms;—God grant that the present harvest may not afford us a further demonstration that they came but just in time!—It is to the gradual, but persevering, prosecution of a similar policy, and to the equalisation and judicious distribution of our taxation, that we look for the chief part of the comparatively little service which any government can directly render to relieve our gigantic difficulties. This is now the most pressing duty of every enlightened statesman; this the course by which he may effect most good, and in which, if he pursues it honestly and vigorously, he may reckon on the cordial support of the constituencies.

But to devise and perfect such measures the time of cabinet councils and parliaments must not be consumed, as it has been during the past session, by necessary discussions on the best means of guarding against popular outbreak, or the duty of suppressing popular sedition! It would be difficult to compute how much has been lost to the community in this way, during the past twelve months. How many cabinet meetings—how many debates in parliament—have been thus unprofitably squandered! How much loss must there have been to the revenue! how much of that revenue expended in securing public tranquillity!—to say nothing of the loss of time and solid cash to the people—the obstructions and interruptions of trade. The salvation of the nation absolutely depends on its quiet cultivation of the arts of peace; and it is at such a moment that our English and Irish agitators think it fit to excite the people to sedition and rebellion! As a *remedy* there is nothing to match it, except the inimitable method which the rustic incendiaries of 1830 took to relieve destitution—that of burning down farm-yards and corn-stacks!

But financial reform must, like every other, be cautious and temperate, to be of any avail. Democracies have been too apt to imagine that it requires but a summary and enormous taxation of the rich to heal the miseries which oppress a people; but it is in vain to attempt to bind the Proteus by such chains. The

bonds are either slipt off, or (worse still) it is found that wealth and capital are birds of passage, and will migrate to the lands where the summer sun will continue to shine on them. — On the other hand, it is equally certain that not only are the rents of the landowner and the revenues of the rich dependent on public *security*, without which they cannot exist; but that far less than revolution — the impoverishment of a people by unequal or excessive taxation — will suffice to destroy them. It is the grossest fallacy to suppose that the landowner can be prosperous while manufactures decline. Lands as fertile as those of England now lie desolate, not by the curse of nature, but because there are no populous cities in their vicinage to render their cultivation profitable.

The most popular and most desirable financial reform would be an equitable re-adjustment of the property and income tax. We are deeply convinced, with Mr. Cobden, of the equity of some such tax; and of the needless wrongs inflicted by it in its present shape. Perfectly well aware that it is impossible to impose either this or any other tax without some inequalities and many individual cases of extreme hardship, we cannot conceive that this is any reason for adopting the most unjust of all possible forms, and including the largest possible number of cases of inequality. And yet this, we believe, is nearly the case as the law now stands. Indeed, the injustice of the law in its present form is apparent, even on the principle which justly excludes a large class of incomes from its operation. For why are *they* excluded? Manifestly and most equitably, because it is felt that there is a *minimum* below which it is impossible to subsist; and from which it would be cruel to subduct any thing for the exigencies of the state. But surely, for the same reason, it must be unjust to levy the *same rate* of tax upon incomes *immediately* above that point, or without any reference to the amount or nature of the income itself. It is in vain to say that upon any system there will still be cases of hardship. This is most true: but the only question is, whether the inequalities, as the law stands, are the least possible, in number and amount. The only proper answer is, not that there would be cases of hardship in any system of direct taxation — for if there would be *fewer* under one system than another, this is sufficient to demonstrate the superiority of the former — but, that every attempt to *diminish their number* must end in disappointment. After attentively reading what has been recently said in the parliamentary debates on the subject, we feel convinced that nothing would be more easy than to devise methods, not, indeed, of removing all inequalities, but of so far abating them as to reconcile the

people of England to the continued imposition of the tax. Let us, for example, and just for argument's sake, suppose that a *maximum* (and that a moderate one — say five per cent.) were first fixed upon; that all incomes at and beyond a certain amount, say two thousand a-year, contributed at this maximum rate; and that for every 250*l.* a-year less, the tax diminished by one half per cent. down to 250*l.*; that incomes between that and 100*l.* a-year received a further relief of one and a half per cent.; and that incomes below the last amount were entirely exempt. We presume that the maximum of five per cent. (as this rate was so lately proposed by the minister for *all income*) can hardly be supposed excessive for the highest. But could it be for a moment pretended that, under such a system, (which we have given merely for illustration's sake,) though there would doubtless be some cases of hardship, there would not be a nearer approximation to equity than under the present system? A still nearer approximation might be effected by fixing the maximum for absolute property and precarious income respectively at five and four per cent. But we have specified particular amounts simply for illustration. We are not now bound to show what would be the nearest practicable approximation to equity; but that any scale which includes a maximum and minimum would be better than no scale at all.*

* Since these remarks were in type, we have read the observations of Mr. John Mill, in his 'Principles of Political Economy' just published. He takes a different view of the expediency of a *graduated* income tax; but we cannot say that his arguments have convinced us. He would, however, leave (as Bentham proposed) a *minimum* for bare necessaries *untaxed;* and always subduct that amount from every income, great or small, before subjecting it to the impost. This would be a great improvement, doubtless, on the present system; but we cannot help thinking that the concession virtually involves the *equity* of the principle (if capable of being applied) of *graduation.* For, without having any more sympathy than Mr. Mill with what each class may deem *necessary* for their dignity or vanity, we cannot but feel, and we think Mr. Mill, on reflection, will feel with us, that no invariable sum (say 50*l.*) will represent the *real* necessaries of all classes. A respectable tradesman who treats his apprentices to workhouse fare, neither can nor will get any; and a professional man who chooses to dress, eat, and live like a ploughman, will, in ordinary circumstances, neither get nor retain a practice. It is in vain to say it *ought* not to be so; society *will* make a difference, and the man *cannot* help it. Another of Mr. Mill's arguments, on which he appears to lay great stress, we cannot help regarding as a superfluous refinement. He seems to fear lest the proposed graduation should 'impair the

Nor can it be pretended that, under such a plan, any new or complicated machinery would be required for the collection. On the contrary, all the necessary machinery is at this instant in existence, and in active operation. The various returns of property and income are already duly exacted; and all that would be required would be to apply to them a graduated instead of a fixed rate of taxation. Upon calculation, we believe it would be found that the sum thus realised would be about the same as that realised by the present system. But we will venture to say that while it would inflict no hardships worth mentioning on any class, it would go far to remove many of the most palpable anomalies of the existing tax; and even where it did not effectually do this, it would tend more than any thing else to reconcile the minds of the people to the impost, as showing that there was at least a desire to remove inequalities, and to tax the people according to their ability to pay, and their stake in the welfare of the country. We believe that Mr. Cobden never uttered a truer word than when he said, in a recent debate, that the people of England were not unreasonable

---

'motives on which society depends for keeping up the produce of 'its labour and capital.' (Vol. II. p. 353.) But this surely could not be the case unless the differences of tax were enormous. If the intervals of the scale were very moderate, as proposed in our hypothetical example, we think it clear that no such effects would follow. Let us suppose, for instance, that a man possessed 250*l.* a year, and was taxed 2½ per cent. Is it conceivable that it would ever enter his head to make less exertions to obtain 500*l.* a year, because he would then have to pay 3 per cent. upon it instead? We should as soon think of a man's poisoning himself, to hasten the payment of his life-policy. Further, it seems to us, that Mr. Mill has by implication admitted the equity of the contested principle, in his unanswerable arguments for making a difference between perpetual and precarious incomes. He there contends, as we also have done, that there ought to be a difference in the rate of taxation; and the same arguments of fairness and equity, *mutatis mutandis*, seem to us to apply in the other case. To the objection that it is impossible to remove all inequalities, he answers on *this* point as we do in reference to both, 'the impossibility of doing perfect justice is no 'reason against doing as much as we can.' It is out of our power within the limits of a brief note to examine Mr. Mill's arguments in detail; but as our object, if we know ourselves, is the interest only of truth and equity, we commend them to the careful consideration of the public. In his remarks on the injustice and inexpediency of an *exclusive* tax on 'realised property' we cordially concur, as also in his remarks on many other points upon which we have touched in the course of this article.

in this matter; that a fair attempt to satisfy their demands *would* satisfy them; and that for any inevitable inequalities they would be willing to take the *will* to remove them for the *deed*. At all events, the people will ever think it unjust to tax an income, whatever its nature, however precarious or however certain,—a professional income, for example, which, brought into the market, might, perhaps, fetch 2000*l.*, and an income of the same amount from landed property which would fetch 20,000*l.*,—according to the same invariable standard; or, again, to tax at that same uniform rate an income from which a man is barely able to win a subsistence, and an income from which, after paying every tax, a man has not only ample means left for the purchase of every necessary and of every luxury, but the means of accumulation into the bargain. It cannot be equitable to demand a similar rate of payment from one whose unavoidable wants are such that the abstraction even of a single sovereign brings him within the chance of insolvency, and from one who has only to exercise common prudence, to be secure in the possession not merely of sufficiency, but of wealth. Sure we are that the pregnant sentence of a powerful journalist, whose labours on this subject have deserved well of the public, is worthy of the timely consideration of any minister; 'that it is as certain 'as any thing can be, that the time will come, and come soon, 'when three things will be done with the property and income 'tax: it will be graduated; it will descend to lower incomes; 'and it will be extended to Ireland.' A considerable approximation to an equitable adjustment is, at all events, within our reach; and the three years' lease of the tax in its present shape will never be renewed.

The Legacy and Probate Duty is another of the points on which the nation will assuredly demand fiscal reform: and justly. There is no reason, that we ever heard of, which will apply to the species of property on which that impost is now levied, which will not, *a fortiori*, or at least with equal force, apply to those which are exempted from it. We do not say that it would be wise to allow that impost to remain, at its present rate, on *any* species of property; and if it would be oppressive as applied to that which is now exempt, let the rate be diminished, and let it be then universally imposed; or else, let it be universally abolished. The nation neither will nor ought any longer to suffer this or any other similar instances of flagrantly partial taxation. Some such tax as this, however, if impartial in its operation, and moderate in its amount, would, perhaps, be as likely to be cheerfully paid as any other. People are seldom less disposed to grumble than when an accession is to be made to their fortune; and a trifling

percentage deducted from it before it passes into their hands, does not appear half so odious as one of still smaller amount, when they have once called the property *their own.*

But let us suppose all practicable reforms of this nature to have been effected, still the people must chiefly look to other aid than that of government, if they would retrieve their disasters and restore their prosperity: and on this topic we presume to offer a few remarks.

The people of England are naturally, and on the whole very properly, jealous of the interference of government. They justly deem that its great province is so to frame and administer laws as to secure equal protection and liberty to all; and by favouring the expansion of all the elements of national greatness, to enable the people to do for themselves what no government can do for them. This is the theory: But, unhappily, it is not always fairly acted upon. As we are all prone enough to attribute whatever good we enjoy to ourselves, and all the evil which afflicts us to others, so government is apt to meet with rather hard measure from us. It is a good convenient creature on which to lay all the blame of national calamities and disasters, while we impute to our incorruptible selves whatever renders us great or prosperous. To hear many men talk, one would imagine that in place of the salutary fiction of our constitution, 'that the king can do no wrong,' we had substituted another maxim not quite so innocent, 'that the people 'can do none.' The political physician, at all events, has a far less enviable position than he to whom we consign the treatment of our bodily maladies. To this last, our easy credulity gives all the praise of cure, and attaches none of the blame of failure. Does a patient recover? It is owing to the pre-eminent doctor's pre-eminent skill. Does a man die? He dies in the course of nature, or by the visitation of God. In the other case it is exactly the reverse. Is the nation prosperous? It is owing to the virtues, the energies, the industry of the people. Is it miserable? It is the corruption, oppression, neglect, rapacity of the government. The reasoning is about equally sound in either case, though the conclusion is different; and in neither is it perfectly Baconian. As both rulers and ruled happen to be after all but human beings, 'encompassed about' with precisely the same 'infirmities,' we have some doubts about the perfect equity of this distribution of good and bad qualities; we apprehend that governments present about the same mixture of wisdom and folly, good and evil as other human confederacies—directories of railroads and joint-stock banks, for example. We scruple to admit that it follows that a man (always one of the people till

he enters office) may be presumed unprincipled, rapacious, or selfish after that event; or that a man not in office is necessarily a man of probity and patriotism. This, however, (though we are aware it can hardly be the intention of even the most reckless declaimers to produce such an impression) is nevertheless the inevitable effect produced on the minds of unreflecting multitudes by the invectives of many of our chartist orators.

We of course have nothing to say against that wholesome vigilance which it becomes every free people to exercise in relation to their governors, any more than against that inspection which it becomes all masters to exercise over their servants; for mere temptation has made many men rogues, who would otherwise have been honest—and many governors amongst the rest. We are speaking of a too prevalent disposition to regard all government with systematic distrust and suspicion; not as a friendly institution to be cherished and reverenced, but as a hostile confederacy to be hated and opposed. In a word, the tone adopted too often tends to propagate the notion that all the evils of the nation, or the greater part of them, are attributable to the government; and that it is only *that* which prevents us from being as prosperous as our own undoubted virtue entitles us to be.

The least ill consequence of this is a spirit of jealousy between the governors and the governed — a predisposition on the part of the latter to judge harshly and unfairly all the acts and motives of the former; and of the former, to think that they serve a 'hard master,' from whom nothing but thanklessness and ill treatment are to be expected. Now systematic suspicion and perpetual objurgation are not the best methods of obtaining good servants even in private life; and as our old friend, the Aristophanic Demus, long since found, and as his more respectable successor, John Bull, will also find, they are not the best way to obtain good servants for the public. If ever there was a crisis in the history of any country, in which its rulers (no matter from what party they may have been called to power) required the most indulgent construction of their acts, and frank and cordial encouragement to do their best, it is the present crisis in our own. We can with the utmost honesty aver, that, as we look round from our obscure privacy on the thousands of our struggling countrymen, there is not one of them whom we pity more than the prime ministers of England; and if it were not ludicrous to implore exemption from evils which cannot possibly befall us, we should be tempted to imitate the superfluous devotion of the Scotch peasant, who is said to have prayed, every

morning, that he might not be made a king!— because he was not quite certain that he was fit for it.

A still worse consequence of this thoughtless conduct is a diminution of the respect which it is the duty and interest of every nation to entertain towards the governing power. But the greatest and gravest of the evils arising from this convenient resort to a vicarious substitute for all our own faults is, that it interferes with the due recollection of that most paramount truth which declares, that by far the greater part of the happiness or misery of a nation must always depend upon itself rather than upon those in authority over it. The disposition just adverted to prevents men, so far as it operates, from taking the appropriate share of their failures to themselves, and deludes them with chimerical hopes of the benefits to result from changes of government—hopes which can be realised only by the steadfast, persevering exertion of their own energies. Never, we believe, was this view of things more necessary to be inculcated than at the present moment. Much as a wise government may do, and it ought to do the very uttermost that it can, there is no government, whether conservative, reforming, or radical, which can do the hundredth part of what the people can and must do for themselves, if they are to bear up against inevitable burdens and recover permanent prosperity. The most extravagant expectations are entertained by many of some magical transformation, to be wrought by a fresh distribution of taxation, or by diminution of expenditure—measures which are of themselves to open a boundless source of employment to industry, and at once relieve the nation of its pressing evils. Now, we concede, of course, that every farthing that can be saved to the public ought to be saved; that every public establishment ought to be cut down within the strictest limits of economy, consistent with efficiency; that taxation ought, as far as possible, to leave untouched the great articles of consumption, whether for the purposes of subsistence or of manufactures; that it ought to be levied chiefly upon those who are best able to pay, and in proportion to their ability; in a word, that the commercial and financial policy should be such as to relieve to the utmost the burdens of poverty and the springs of industry. All these demands a suffering people have not only a right to make, but a wise government will, as far as possible, anticipate and accord. But, supposing all this done, does any reasonable man believe that the diminution of expenditure can be such as to work the wonders that have been so confidently predicted? Is it not to foster a sheer delusion to hold out such expectations? It is very difficult to get any of these sanguine politicians to do much more

than utter the usual vague statements about great extravagance and great reductions. We once more say, let the extravagance, be it what it may, be corrected, and the reductions, whatever they may amount to, be effected: But let us not delude ourselves with the hope that this is the whole or the chief part of what is now requisite for our national salvation. The interest upon the debt is the charge which chiefly burdens our taxation; and there is but one way of getting rid of any portion of that—that is, by the sponge or repudiation. Now we cannot find any man*—no,

* Professor Newman, to be sure, does not appear to think the national debt a legal debt, as against us, at all. He denies that it was in the power of our fathers to entail their liabilities on their posterity; or mortgage any thing with the object of redemption, beyond the then existing property of England. For our own parts, we are unable to conceive that the consequences of the acts of a community designed, whether wisely or unwisely, to defend and transmit uninjured the immunities which form the heritage of posterity, may not be fairly entailed upon that posterity. The reasons for the expenditure may have been possibly insufficient—the terrors which occasioned it groundless—the measures to meet them injudicious. But unhappily each generation is left to its own judgment in that respect; and cannot ask counsel of its unborn posterity. And if these measures, though financially not the wisest, were dictated by a sense of public danger, and passed with the concurrence of the constitutional authorities for the time being, it is hard to conceive that their posterity can justly refuse to share the liabilities of their fathers. If not, neither should we have any right to blame them for their want of patriotism, had it so *happened*, that a more economical policy had issued in our now being bondslaves of France. It is certain, at all events, that upon no other supposition could a nation get a loan negotiated.

We know that it is a very favourite and easy argument that the wars were needless, and chargeable upon the ambition of a few individuals. Mr. Pitt, for example, is often represented as being to England what Mercury, in the 'Peace' of Aristophanes, says Pericles was to Athens:—

> ὦ σοφώτατοι γεωργοὶ, τἀμὰ δὴ ξυνίετε
> ῥήματ', εἰ βούλεσθ' ἀκοῦσαι τήνδ', ὅπως ἀπώλετο.
> εἶτα Περικλέης . . . .
> . . . αὐτὸς ἐξέφλεξε τὴν πόλιν.
> ἐμβαλὼν σπινθῆρα μικρὸν Μεγαρικοῦ ψηφίσματος,
> ἐξεφύσησεν τοσοῦτον πόλεμον, ὥστε τῷ καπνῷ
> πάντας Ἕλληνας δακρῦσαι, τοὺς τ' ἐκεῖ, τοὺς τ' ἐνθάδε.

We are assuredly no admirers of the foreign policy of Mr. Pitt, and heartily wish it had been strictly defensive. But we do not think that any candid reader of the history of the late wars can deny three things:—1. That the expenses were incurred with the due observance of all the constitutional forms then prescribed. 2. That neither Mr. Pitt nor his successors could have done what they did,

not even a chartist — who now recommends such a dishonesty. The required reductions, therefore, must be made upon the remaining 18,000,000*l.* of our expenditure; and he must be sanguine indeed, who imagines that, with such an empire as ours, any such reduction can be of sufficient amount to relieve the tremendous difficulties which oppress the nation.

But, after all, those difficulties are not such as need appal our hearts, if the several classes of the community will do what is respectively incumbent upon them. However incapable

---

wise or foolish, unless they had had the support of a vast majority of the intelligence, wealth, and numbers of the nation, let that majority have been ever so patriotic or ever so stupid, just as the reader pleases. In fact, the evidence is abundant enough of the national *enthusiasm* with which most of those wars were prosecuted; for a long period, the people of England were more than satisfied with high prices, abundant freights, solid cash, and less substantial 'glory' (as they call it), in exchange for all the expenses they were incurring. 3. That whatever may have been the wisdom or folly of our *earlier* policy, Napoleon was not an enemy who, if he had had the power to enslave us, would have been disarmed by a face of innocence and supplications for mercy.

Mr. Newman, however, frankly acknowledges that it is impossible, even on his principles, to make an estimate that is worth a farthing, of the liabilities which *properly* devolve on the nation; and equally impossible to saddle the bulk of the debt on the parties whom he thinks justly chargeable with it. He, therefore, proposes to the public creditors a compromise — their claim to cease in sixty years. We should be heartily glad if, in the plenitude of their own generosity, and the promptings of their own patriotism, they could prevail upon themselves to anticipate this request: But we expect it about as much as that the landowners should give up their estates for the same purpose. Individuals might, perhaps, in time be brought to do much; and, under the pressure of some great emergency, and the influence of high-wrought enthusiasm, even considerable numbers of them. But it is vain to expect any such sacrifice in ordinary times; or of ordinary human nature, in any times. At all events, we must demur to employ Mr. Newman's rhetoric or logic (whichever it be), to enforce the appeal to do what, if done at all, ought to flow from spontaneous generosity. It is in effect, 'You had better take 'this, or — perhaps you will get nothing.' We have some faint notion that this is not becoming language in a debtor to a creditor — even though the debtor be a nation and the creditor a fraction of it. But the thing is put, we must confess, uncommonly well (p. 14.); nor will the closing sentence of the appeal be without its force, should a *general* effort and a *general* sacrifice be loudly demanded. '*Others* also are about to make sacrifices; we ask, therefore, this 'moderate sacrifice of you.'

of being met, as we firmly believe, by any organic changes in our institutions, or by any fiscal regulations whatsoever, they *are* capable of being met, if with the moderate reforms which may be necessary, the nation will in sundry particulars be prevailed upon to REFORM ITSELF. We are not afraid to acknowledge that we stand more in dread of the consequences of extravagance, luxury, and selfishness in the more wealthy classes, of periodic fits of mad speculation in the middle classes, and of habits of improvidence and reckless marriages in the working classes, than of any now remaining abuses in our institutions; and on each of these topics a few words may be tolerated.

We will begin with the lower classes. To the question, what is the adequate remedy for their evils? we answer, that there is none,—none either in any reforms of our institutions, or in any changes in the amount of taxation, until they learn to exercise provident habits, and to contract prudent marriages — till they will learn to put by, when trade is prosperous, a portion of their earnings for days of depression, and to delay marriage until they can indulge some reasonable expectation of supporting a family. Great as is unquestionably the distress which prevails through large portions of the country, it is equally unquestionable that there are thousands of those that feel it who have at times been in the receipt of wages, which, with economy, would have enabled them to put by something to meet the severity of this stormy day; and it is equally true, that at this moment, amidst all our commercial distress, there are thousands in the weekly receipt of more than they need spend, and who yet spend every farthing of it the moment it is paid. Though we admit that in such times as have recently passed over us, there must have been great distress in spite of the most provident habits, yet the more general prevalence of such habits would have prevented so sudden an accumulation of misery, and made all the difference between a manageable evil and one almost beyond remedy. Still more important is the second point to which we have adverted; and until the working classes can be induced to exercise greater discretion and self-control in the matter of marriage, we do think it will be impossible to give them effectual aid. They are beyond the reach of human statesmanship. Whatever may be thought of the doctrine of the abstract tendency of population to increase in a ratio disproportioned to the means of subsistence,—a doctrine on which we have no occasion here to enter,—all men will practically admit, that no miracles are to be expected, to support those who have rushed into marriage without a reasonable prospect of meeting the exigencies of a family. Man is a reasonable creature: and that great social

union is to be formed with a regard to prudence; no supernatural help is promised or will be afforded to him who neglects it. If the lower animals increase too fast, the remedy is easy,—they are knocked on the head. But direct infanticide is not likely to be in fashion among us. The correction indeed will come, from increased pressure, sooner or later; and is coming now, as the registry of marriages will show. But if it come late, it will come from bitter experience, not from a salutary dread of it; from famine and pestilence, not from the operation of prudence and self-control, which can alone produce an easy, because gradual, adjustment. The great laws which govern the universe here, as in so many other cases, are, in their primary design, moral, and not physical. The latter principally come into play only to correct or avenge man's neglect of the former;—to reclaim him to wisdom, or to chastise him for his folly.

The dictates of prudence will of course vary with the conditions of different ages and countries; and in a state of high civilisation like ours, a man must often accept the greater advantages of such a condition, as a compensation for delaying the period of marriage, if he would preserve his *status* in society. This is no impossible lesson, though often an unwelcome one. It is one which is frequently practised by the middle classes, who in thousands of instances postpone marriage for one, two, three, five years, and sometimes even for longer periods, rather than sink to a lower level in society, or encumber themselves with a family they cannot hope to rear, except to a heritage of misery. Such instances of abstinence in the lower classes (where it is still more needed) are of the rarest possible occurrence.

Yet, until such maxims are more generally acted upon, no effectual remedy will meet the case of our redundant population. The great problem of the labour market, though there are circumstances which may complicate it at different periods, is, in regard to the main elements which must ever determine it, as clear as any in the whole range of political economy, if not clearer. In spite of all the theories of all the Louis Blancs and Cabets that ever lived, the one thing which will for ever regulate the state of that market, is the relation between the demand and the supply. If there are ten men who want employment, and there is employment only for five, the ten must inevitably, in the struggle for subsistence, subject each other to the severest competition, and their wages will be low. If there are five men only who ask employment, and the demand is for ten, the five will subject their employer to a like competition; and their wages will be high. Whatever temporary elements may enter into the

problem, and transiently affect the rate of wages, this is the one element which, as long as human nature remains the same, will decide the relation of the working classes to their employers; and in the statement above given, brief and simple as it is, the whole question of the condition of the working classes, is virtually involved. We admit, indeed, that having already got into a false position, and having by the neglect of prudence given birth to a larger population than we know how to employ, extraordinary remedies may be temporarily required; and, among the rest, greater facilities to Emigration,—a subject which has lately, and justly, claimed so large a share of public attention.

Emigration has a double aspect: it would tend to relieve us, to a certain extent, of that human capital (so to speak), under the excess of which we groan, and to throw it upon those shores which are groaning as loudly for the want of it. In the first of these aspects, as we have already observed in our review of Mr. Mill, the question is of far too great importance, as well as difficulty, to be disposed of incidentally. But the time has arrived, and is at our door, when a comprehensive investigation of the whole case in all its bearings can no longer be deferred. As regards its other aspect, the effect of colonisation on the colonies, we will say no more on this occasion than that (to be really beneficial to them) it must bear a due proportion to the present demands of their labour market, and to the amount of actual capital which may be expected to employ the emigrants on their arrival.

Nor is it difficult to show that equally important reforms are needed in many members of the manufacturing and commercial classes. We trust, indeed, that the nation has learnt some important lessons from the recent insanity of speculation, and the various and wide-spread miseries which have attended it. Still the madness which prompted those speculations is apt to be periodical and epidemic with Englishmen; nor is it impossible that the 'haste to be rich' may sometime or other involve yet more disastrous consequences. Though a very large portion of our recent commercial distress was owing to visitations of Providence, in which all that man could do was to submit in silence; though many sufferers were the victims of the faults of others rather than of their own; yet is it impossible to look back upon the phrenzy of 1844 and 1845, or read the account of the wind-up of some of the bankruptcies of 1847–48 *, without feeling

* 'There are about thirty-three houses, comparatively speaking large houses, which have failed in London: they have failed to the amount of 8,129,000*l.* With the exception of the first seven, which

that our mercantile character has been most grievously tarnished, and that there has been an immense amount, not only of folly, but of guilt, in our commercial transactions. Trade has been too often carried on, not upon those principles which alone will insure the 'wealth of nations;' not on the calculation of probabilities, and the fair hope of moderate profits as the reward of honest and painstaking diligence, but on principles in no way distinguishable from those of the gambler, who plays for double or quits — wealth or ruin — at every throw of the dice. We hope and believe that the severe lessons which experience is teaching us will not be thrown away; and that by the exercise of a severe economy and a timely recurrence to just and cautious principles of trade, we may retrieve our affairs, and get once more into a healthy condition. But to do this obviously requires, as in the case of the poorer classes, self-denial, frugality, perseverance, and self-control: that is, we look here also to moral causes for those changes which are the indispensable conditions of improvement, rather than to any regulations, whether of law or of finance.

The great truth, in short, is, that not even the most just and comprehensive principles of political economy, if separated from principles which no political economy can teach, will suffice to secure the well-being of any nation. Nothing more easy, as the recent history of speculation — of joint-stock banks, of the corn trade, and of railroads — shows, than for men to ruin themselves by mistaking their true interests, in the direction of free trade, as well as in the direction of monopoly. We have abundant proof in the history of 1825 and 1845 that the madness which every day seizes individuals may sometimes possess a very large portion of an entire community. It would be a gross fallacy to suppose that men will always pursue enlightened self-interest. We agree with Mr. Senior, that it is wise to investigate the principles of economical science as if nothing would interfere with their operation; and there are many advantages in this; but it is as impossible practically to apply them without such considerations, as to apply the theory of mechanics without reference to the laws of the material world in which they are to operate. Political economy can never in practice be dissociated from politics and ethics.

The upper classes have also their peculiar duties, especially imposed upon them in the actual crisis of our national affairs.

---

are expected to pay in full, it is believed that the average will not be more than 6*s.* 8*d.* in the pound.' (*Report from the Lords' Committee on the Causes of the Distress among the Commercial Classes.* 1848.)

Their influence on their inferiors must always be great, and, in the way of example, whether for good or for evil, inexpressibly great. Nor, if extravagant luxury and improvident expenditure characterise them, is it merely by provoking absurd imitation that their example is pernicious. In the long credit which tradespeople are compelled to give—in the inconveniences thus inflicted on that class, and which descend downwards to the very lowest—and in the questionable security which they are tempted to take in the shape of extortionate charges, the whole habits among the upper class of tradesmen are liable to be corrupted.* Of all the spectacles society can present, there is none at once more pitiable or more contemptible than that of a *poor rich man*—a pauper of some 5000*l.* a year! We are happy to believe that improvement in this respect is going on among the higher classes; nor have we any doubt that there will be all the more, in consequence of the destruction of those coveted monopolies, the fall of which they so much lamented. Not a little indebted will they be to any fiscal changes which may compel them to look properly after their own estates, and strive to make the most of them.—Nor must they forget, if they would place their estates in inviolable security, the unwelcome maxim, that property has its duties as well as its rights; that it is instituted not so much for the selfish enjoyment of those who hold it, as to be a source of benefits to the entire community. They must busy themselves in the welfare of their dependents and inferiors; actively engage in all attempts to ameliorate the condition of the lower classes; largely employ their wealth for these purposes; nor deem they have done all when they have done *that*,—but work with their heads for those who are working with their hands for them. Thus employed, property need have no fears that a gloating, envious eye will ever be cast upon it; it will be felt to be a salutary institute. A busy benevolence is its best, perhaps its only, security. On the other hand (to quote the words of the illustrious author whom we have so often cited), 'The great must submit to the dominion of prudence and 'virtue, or none will long submit to the dominion of the great. '*This is the feudal tenure which they cannot alter.*'†

---

* On these and some related topics, some excellent remarks, well worthy of the attention of the wealthier classes, will be found in an admirable little volume, entitled, 'English Life, Social and Domestic, 'in the Middle of the Nineteenth Century, considered in reference to 'our Position as a Community of professing Christians.' We strongly recommend it to general perusal.

† Burke's Letter to W. Elliot, Esq.

But the most important duty of the aristocracy of this country at present, and which, if rightly fulfilled, will be amply rewarded by a wider and firmer support in the estimation of the people, is a timely and graceful concession of such moderate reforms and changes as the public welfare demands. An earnest co-operation for this end would not only soothe the irritation, but conciliate the gratitude of the people; while a cheerful disposition to shift to their own broad shoulders, by an equitable adjustment of taxes, any portion of the pressure which galls the community at large, is certain of being repaid, not only in these modes, but by a vast accession to the public security. A very small outlay of this nature would have a large return, in the maintenance of that national credit and confidence without which peer and peasant will be ruined together. But to attain this object, as well as the rest, implying, as it does, high-mindedness, generosity, self-denial, we look rather to moral causes than to political for our amendment.

Thus, then, we found our chief hopes of the redemption of our country, on the increase of intelligence, education, morality, religion; and we freely acknowledge that, in our judgment, nothing else will extricate us. Without these, the very best civil and political institutions will be of little avail; — forms without vitality — beautiful statues without life or motion. It may, we think, be laid down as an axiom, that the higher the physical and intellectual civilisation of man is carried, the more strict must be its dependence, for stability, on proportionate moral improvement. A scanty population, in a large and fertile territory, is easily ruled; a dense and crowded population, possessed of perfect political freedom, placed in the widest extremes of human condition, and subject, if imprudent, to the severest pressure of distress, nothing but a widely-diffused virtue can effectually control. We have in this fact a striking homage to the Moral constitution of the world; it shows that the greater man's *general* improvement, the stricter must be its connexion with the moral laws of his being, to secure its permanence; and that if he will not be happy on such conditions, neither intelligence, nor freedom, nor wealth, nor art, nor science, will enable him to fabricate social systems which will not crumble to dust of themselves.

It is unwelcome to a nation as to an individual, though both know it very well, to be told that their well-being depends upon their moral character: yet it is in truth only as the nation can be brought to feel this truth, and to act upon it, that any sober politician will now venture to look the future difficulties of England in the face. Nor, under *any* circumstances, is

there any criterion by which the most sagacious politicians will venture to pronounce on the future destinies of a people — no, not for fifty years — except by that derived from their moral condition. While no other criterion will, in its absence, serve the turn, — whether political constitution, or extent of commerce, or fertility of climate, — on this one he may venture, not merely to conjecture, but to prophesy. Though the present happiness of the individual is not always insured by virtue, nor his misfortunes to be always attributed to his vices, the rule holds infallibly with regard to the collective virtues and vices of a nation, and their effects; just as, though we cannot calculate upon the life of an individual, we can pronounce, with mathematical accuracy, on the rate of mortality among a large number of them. Amidst all the uncertainty which attaches to the influence of the moral laws of the universe, they are yet incomparably surer in their operation, than any others which have influence on human happiness; and while, of a hundred *intelligent* men, or a hundred *rich* men, or even a hundred *free* men, there is not a man of any sense who would venture to say he had any sufficient data for calculating their success or happiness from these elements alone, there is no man who would not take any odds that, of a hundred *honest, industrious, and upright* men, the vast majority were *certain to do well.*

It was this evidently which chiefly guided the prophetic mind of Burke, so many years before the outbreak of the first French revolution, in his anticipations of some such event; and which, after its occurrence, could alone justify the confidence of his tone and the strength of his assertions, as to its consequences. In the same manner, though it was not possible to anticipate the time, and still less the form of the recent outbreak, it was not difficult to see, long ago, that permanent and solid political prosperity was not for a nation which exhibited the social characteristics of France; and we will now venture to predict that such *solid* prosperity cannot for a long time to come be theirs. Without intending to depreciate the merits of that great nation, and without denying that their character exhibits many traits of what is noble and generous, it is impossible to ponder on the *extent* to which certain great stains have long been conspicuous on the surface of their society, without feeling that it were mockery not to foresee also the consequences which necessarily follow. When we reflect that while, by the census of 1829, the proportion of births to deaths in Paris was 28,721 to 25,591, — of those births nearly 10,000 were illegitimate, and of those illegitimate children, 7850 were abandoned by their parents! When we reflect on all that this indicates —

how terribly that great domestic institute, which is at the root of all social welfare, must have been corrupted and poisoned: When we reflect on the political corruption and venality which it is admitted on all sides characterised public officials, and which, if it cast discredit on the government of Louis Philippe, equally disgraces a large portion of the people, since it is only when men are to be bought that they can be sold: When we reflect on the disclosures of sordid peculation made in the political trials of last year: When we consider the extraordinary number of plots and conspiracies which have followed each other so rapidly since the revolution of 1830, and that Paris seems always to have on hand an immense number of men ripe for the most desperate crimes: When we further consider the wild theories, mere codes of anarchy, with which the people have been amused, and which, promising universal equality, can produce it only by an equality of misery: When we consider the spirit of much of their popular literature, and especially of their fictitious literature, ministering as it does to the vilest passions, and, in its eagerness to gratify a morbid appetite, distorting and exaggerating all moral deformities, and depraving (if we may so speak) depravity itself: When we think how large a part of the religion of France is but a form, and how large a part of France has long been without even that — we can hardly wonder that a nation, so long and largely characterised by such social phenomena, has been the theatre of those recent conflicts which have startled Europe, or dare to hope that the curtain has as yet finally fallen on that darkened stage! Nor, until it has altered in many of the above-mentioned respects, would a constitution issued by a commission of angels, and subscribed by the sign-manual of heaven, be much better than a dead letter.

It is with hope mingled with fear that we turn from this agitating spectacle, to the condition of our own country; with fear, because we see some of the same elements in an incipient state of action; no inconsiderable number of the people, nursed in ignorance and vice — retaining reverence for none of the forms of *Religion*, but neglecting church and chapel alike — losing with it much of that *reverence* for *Law*, which has so long been the glory of our country — taught by demagogues to lisp the language of treason and sedition — bewildered with vain theories of communism, to which, in the wide-spread distress that afflicts them, they give a too willing ear — stimulated and diseased by some of the most pernicious species of cheap literature.

All this we see, and cannot help seeing. Still we believe — and, indeed, recent events have shown — that the bulk of the nation is sound at heart: So that, when we look at the brighter

parts of the picture, we hope more than we fear. When we reflect that an immense majority among us still cherish their hereditary reverence for the Law, — and that a very large and, we believe, increasing portion of the nation is deeply imbued with a spirit of Religion; when we reflect that, as a nation, none has more liberally expended its wealth and its energies in the cause of humanity and freedom; that none is richer in those institutions which are the heritage of the poor, the sick, the orphan, and the widow, or has more ardently asserted, or lavishly paid for, the rights of the slave; when we reflect that our wide colonial rule has, on the whole, though with *much* selfishness, and *some* crimes, been one not only of power, but of beneficence, and is, we firmly believe, becoming more and more so; and, lastly, that there is no nation that has dedicated itself so earnestly, or contributed so largely, to the diffusion and propagation of our common Christianity — we cannot refrain, amidst many causes of humiliation, from hoping well for our country. The Evil Principle and the Good would seem to be contending within our land for victory. In this contest every other is involved. Let the friends of order, of education, and religion, look to it. They have plainly not an hour to lose.

ART. IV. — *Wanderings in China.* By ROBERT FORTUNE. 1 vol. 8vo. London: 1847.

IT was the humour of some philosophers of the last century to be credulous about the virtues, genius, and accomplishments of the Chinese; and, the other day, the Pottinger Treaty appears to have found too many of our countrymen equally ready to be deceived. According to their sanguine anticipations, the opening of the five ports was to be the beginning of a new world.

Horticulturists were naturally among the most forward of these expectants. The Chinese glorify their country with the title of the Flowery Empire. Their tea plant lays us under tribute morning and evening; and they have already presented our gardens with the Pæony and Chrysanthemum, with the Azalea, Camellia, and divers other flowers. In addition to which, an obscure belief prevailed at one time (and is not perhaps at present quite exploded) that the English taste in landscape gardening, if not derived from the Chinese, is at all events the same with it. It is not at all surprising, therefore, that in the general rush to China, our gardeners should have wished to be suitably represented. Accordingly, in 1843, the Horticultural Society of London sent out Mr. Fortune as its botanical col-

lector: a judicious choice, as far as we can judge from the present unpretending volume, which is his account of his two years' wanderings among the Chinese Flora. We rejoice to learn that the zeal and ability displayed by Mr. Fortune on this occasion have received an appropriate reward; and that he has been recently appointed by the East India Company to examine more completely the Tea districts of China, with the view, we believe, of afterwards superintending the naturalisation of the *Thea viridis* in the Himalaya, either as a plant or a manufacture,—as the case may be.

Mr. Fortune performed, we have no doubt, all that could be reasonably looked for. But, with only the opportunities and qualifications which Europeans possess at present, the question still remains, what this *all* amounts to? Not allowed to pass into the interior, and ill acquainted with the language, there are few problems concerning China which foreigners can be supposed to be yet in a state for solving on their personal responsibility. For example, the objects of Mr. Fortune's search lie comparatively open. What he saw with his own eyes, we believe implicitly in. But what did he see? With the exception of a hasty excursion to Soo-chow-foo in a boat and in disguise, his range of observation was confined to the immediate neighbourhood of the privileged maritime towns, with the names of which English readers are by this time pretty well familiarised. For all beyond, he could have nothing but the word of a Chinese.

It will be long, we fear, before strangers can observe at their ease or communicate with confidence in China. Mr. Fortune was stared at in the neighbourhood of Amoy as an object of curiosity and alarm.

'When the day was hot, I would sit under the shade of a large banyan tree, generally found growing near the houses; and then the whole village—men, women, and children,—would gather round, gazing at me with curiosity, not unmixed with fear, as if I were a being from another world. Then one would begin to examine my clothes, another would peep into my pockets, while several others were examining my specimens.' (P. 37.)

He was robbed at Chinchew:—

'A few of the natives began to follow me very closely, and, from their manner, I suspected that their intentions to me were not good; but as they pretended to take me to some place where I should see some good plants and flowers, I allowed them to accompany me, and tried to keep them all in good humour. We arrived at last in sight of a large mansion, standing in a retired part of the country, and I was proceeding with perfect confidence towards it, when the Chinamen began to press more closely round me; and upon feeling a hand in my pocket, I turned quickly round, and saw the thief running off

with a letter which he had abstracted. As soon as he saw he was discovered, he threw it on the ground and made off; but when I put my hand into my pocket, I found that I had lost several things of more value. This incident stopped my progress, and made me look about for my servant, whom I saw at some distance, attacked by about eight or ten of the fellows. They had surrounded him, presenting their knives, and threatening to stab him if he offered the least resistance, at the same time endeavouring to rob and strip him of every thing of the slightest value, and my poor plants, collected with so much care, were flying about in all directions.' (P. 57.)

He was cheated at Ningpo, Shanghai—and most probably everywhere else. Among the objects, which he was always inquiring after, was a reported yellow camellia: and he was rash enough at Ningpo to offer the sum of ten dollars to any Chinaman who would bring him one:—

'Any thing can be had in China for dollars! and it was not long before two plants were brought me, one of which was said to be light yellow, and the other as deep a colour as the double yellow rose. Both had flower-buds upon them, but neither was in bloom. I felt quite certain that the Chinaman was deceiving me, and it seemed foolish to pay such a sum for plants which I should in all probability have to throw away afterwards; and yet I could not make up my mind to lose the chance, slight as it was, of possessing the *yellow camellia*. And the rogue did his business so well. He had a written label stuck in each pot, and *apparently* the writing and labels had been there for some years. I fancied I was as cunning as he was, and requested him to leave the plants, and return on the following morning, when he should have an answer. In the mean time I asked a respectable Chinese merchant to read the writing upon the labels. All was correct; the writing agreed with what the man had told me: namely, that one of the plants produced light yellow blooms, and the other deep yellow. "Did you ever see a camellia with yellow "flowers?" I enquired of my friend the merchant. "No," said he, in his broken English; "My never have seen he; my thinkie no have "got." On the following morning the owner of the plants presented himself, and asked me if I had made up my mind upon the subject. I told him that I would take the plants to Hong Kong, where I was going at the time; that they would soon flower there; and that if they proved *yellow* he should have his money. This, however, he would not consent to; and at last we compromised the matter, I agreeing to pay half the money down, and the other half when the plants flowered, providing they were true. On these conditions I got the camellias, and took them with me to Hong Kong. It is almost needless to say that when they flowered there was nothing yellow about them but the stamens, for they were both semidouble worthless kinds.' (P. 94.)

With the same absence of good faith, a Shanghai nurseryman charged him an exorbitant price for some pœonies, because they could only be procured at a great distance; though in fact he

brought them, with the earth upon their roots scarcely dry, from a nursery garden hard by. These vexations, however, were lightly treated by Mr. Fortune, who, whether robbed or defrauded, pursued his vocation with uniform temper and perseverance.

The province of Che-kiang, in which the town of Ningpo is situated, excites our collector to unusual raptures by its abundant flowers. Festoons of the beautiful Glycine sinensis adorn the hedges: —

'Most people have seen and admired the beautiful Azaleas which are brought to the Chiswick fêtes, and which, as individual specimens, surpass in most instances those which grow and bloom on their native hills. But few can form any idea of the gorgeous and striking beauty of these azalea-clad mountains, where, on every side as far as our vision extends, the eye rests on masses of flowers of dazzling brightness and surpassing beauty. Nor is it the azalea alone which claims our admiration; clematises, wild roses, honeysuckles, the glycine noticed above, and a hundred others, make us confess that China is indeed the central flowery land.' (P. 67.)

So much for the wild flowers of China. Their artificial state is not so captivating. When at Ningpo Mr. Fortune visited the gardens of several mandarins. They are fancifully laid out with ornamental shrubs, and generally contain many specimens of dwarfed trees — some trained to represent larger trees, others, to imitate animals or pagodas. The process by which these vegetable toys are created will be read with curiosity, and be probably attempted by many a schoolboy in his holidays. A description of one of the gardens, which strangers are taken to to admire, is sufficiently characteristic. Its owner having accumulated an independent fortune by trade, is amusing his old age after the following fashion: —

'This old gentleman has the different parts of his house joined together by rude-looking caverns, and what at first sights appears to be a subterraneous passage, leading from room to room, through which the visitor passes to the garden, which is behind the house. The small courts, of which a glimpse is caught in passing through, are fitted up with this rockwork; dwarf trees are planted here and there in various places, and creepers hang down naturally and gracefully until their ends touch the little ponds of water which are always placed in front of the rockwork. These small places being passed, we are again led through passages like those already noticed, when the garden, with its dwarf trees, vases, rockwork, ornamental windows, and beautiful flowering shrubs, is suddenly opened to the view.' (P. 99.)

This description will apply apparently, more or less, to all the private gardens which were seen by Mr. Fortune; while

their nursery gardens may be considered to be favourably represented by the celebrated Fa-tee Gardens, within three miles of Canton.

'The plants are principally kept in large pots arranged in rows along the sides of narrow paved walks, with the houses of the gardeners at the entrance, through which the visitors pass to the gardens.' It is in the spring that 'the Fa-tee gardens possess the greatest attractions. They are then gay with the tree pæony, azaleas, camellias, roses, and various other plants. The azaleas are splendid, and reminded me of the exhibitions of the Horticultural Society at Chiswick; but the Fa-tee exhibitions were on a much larger scale. Every garden was one mass of bloom, and the different colours of red, white, and purple, blended together, had a most beautiful and imposing effect.' (P. 153.)

Shanghai is the most northern of the five ports at which foreigners are permitted to trade. Mr. Fortune passed some time here, from its being a favourable field for his botanical pursuits; and it was from hence he started on his great adventure to Soo-chow-foo.

'Every one who has been in China, or who is at all acquainted with Chinese history, has heard of the city of Soo-chow-foo. If a stranger enters a shop in Hong Kong, in Canton, or in any other of the towns of the south, he is sure to be told when he enquires the price of any curiosity out of the common way, that it has been brought from this celebrated place; let him order anything superb, and it must be sent for from Soo-chow; fine pictures, fine carved work, fine silks, and fine ladies, all come from Soo-chow. It is the Chinaman's earthly paradise, and it would be hard indeed to convince him that it had its equal in any town on earth.' (P. 250.)

In the neighbourhood of the city there were likewise reported to be a number of excellent gardens and nurseries: Mr. Fortune, therefore, determined at once, if he could obtain a conveyance, to defy the celestial laws* and, if possible, to visit this far-famed

* Mr. Fortune's success in gratifying his curiosity has been of bad example: and the several excursions since made to Soo-chow and other places beyond our boundary, may easily lead to unsatisfactory results, public as well as private. No later than last May, our consul at Shanghai addressed a notification to the British community in consequence. Such direct violations of the treaty by British subjects, can only tend, as is there stated, 'to place her Majesty's government 'in a false position with the Chinese authorities, and deprive the 'former of the protection claimed for them on the faith of treaties.' *The Friend of China*, speaking of the party that visited Soo-chow, observes, 'They were fortunate in not being maltreated: the news 'of their arrival spread like wildfire, and thousands were congregating 'to look at them: they hastened from the town, taking the precaution

city. At length he procured a boat, and set off in the proper direction without telling the boatman where he wished to go. His servant repressed curiosity, and allayed the customary jealousy, by informing all inquirers that his master was '*perfectly harmless*'—that he would do no mischief, and get nobody into trouble—that he was only a man in search of plants. Sooner or later, however, the object of his journey must be communicated to his travelling companions: So having reached a spot thirty miles distant from Shanghai, he thought the time was come for making his intentions known to his servant, who was more able than any other person to assist him in his scheme. The promise of five dollars to this person, and double pay (Mr. Fortune had bought his experience) to be paid on their return, to his boatman, induced them to proceed. The difficulties of dress and appearance were now to be overcome; and our author had to be metamorphosed in various ways—among others, to cut off his hair, and wear a Chinese wig and tail. He was evidently a little nervous about the success of his disguise. The people in the large towns are not easily deceived; still less their dogs, which are very averse to strangers. Men, however, and dogs passed him without notice. And when he was crossing the bridge near the city walls—the first Englishman, as far as he knew, that had ever done so: for Lord Macartney's embassy is not said to have quitted their boats as they went by—it was no little triumph to him to find that he passed without being remarked by a single individual of the throng that was around him. The city, seen in the only way that he could see it, seems scarcely worthy of the pains that were taken to reach it. It has the merit, however, of prosperity: for it is connected with the central provinces of China by a hundred ramifying canals of various sizes; and being thus a chief mart for their produce, has an important and increasing trade both with Europe and America.

'In its general features, it is much the same as the other cities in the north, but is evidently the seat of luxury and wealth, and has none of those signs of dilapidation and decay which one sees in such towns as Ningpo. A noble canal, as wide as the River Thames at Richmond, runs parallel with the city walls, and acts as a moat, as well as for commercial purposes. Here, as at Cading and Tatsong-tseu, a large number of invalided junks are moored, and

---

'to return by another path. Soo-chow is so infested with robbers, 'that at times the respectable inhabitants dare not leave their houses 'at night.' A pleasant picture this, of the interior of China, and of its earthly paradise, Soo-chow!

doubtless make excellent Chinese dwelling-houses, particularly to a people so fond of living on the water. This same canal is carried through arches into the city, where it ramifies in all directions, sometimes narrow and dirty, and at other places expanding into lakes of considerable beauty; thus enabling the inhabitants to convey their merchandise to their houses from the most distant parts of the country. Junks and boats of all sizes are plying on this wide and beautiful canal, and the whole place has a cheerful and flourishing aspect, which one does not often see in the other towns in China, if we except Canton and Shanghai. The walls and ramparts are high, and in excellent repair, having considerable resemblance to those in Ningpo, but in much better order. The city gates seem to be well guarded with Chinese soldiers, and all the streets and lanes inside are intersected at intervals with gates, which are closed at nine or ten at night. The governor-general of the province resides here, and keeps those under his control in excellent order.

'The number of nursery gardens in this city had been exaggerated by my Chinese friends at Shanghai, but nevertheless there were several of considerable extent, out of which I was able to procure some new and valuable plants. Among these I may notice in passing a white Glycine, a fine new double yellow rose, and a Gardenia, with large white blossoms like a Camellia. These plants are now in England, and will soon be met with in every garden in the country. The Soo-chow nurseries abounded in dwarf trees, many of which were very curious and old, two properties to which the Chinese attach far greater importance than we do in England. The ladies here are considered to be the most beautiful in the country, and, judging from the specimens which I had an opportunity of seeing, they certainly deserve their high character. Their dresses are of the richest material, made in a style at once graceful and elegant; and the only faults I could find with them were their small deformed feet, and the mode they have of painting or whitening their faces with a kind of powder made for this purpose.'

In January, 1845, the season of the year being unfavourable for further botanical operations in China, Mr. Fortune paid a short visit to the Island of Luzan, of which Manilla is the capital. His object was orchidaceous plants, especially one kind, the Phalœnopsis Amabilis, a singularly beautiful species, the queen of Orchids; for the first imported specimen of which the Duke of Devonshire paid a hundred guineas. It was a prize of no little importance; so the woods of which it is a native were sought with proportionate eagerness. Many were the vexations and annoyances which were met with — almost impenetrable thickets on the mountains, and swarms of two kinds of leeches in the moister plains, which made wounds upon the legs of the whole party, and were nearly as alarming as the banditti. But no hindrances were regarded: and his perseverance at last had its reward.

'I was very anxious,' he says, 'to get some large specimens of the plant, and offered a dollar, which was a high sum in an Indian forest, for the largest which should be brought to me. The lover of this beautiful tribe will easily imagine the delight I felt, when one day I saw two Indians approaching with a plant of extraordinary size, having ten or twelve branching flower-stalks upon it, and upwards of a hundred flowers in full bloom. "There," said they in triumph, "is not that worth a dollar?" I acknowledged that they were well entitled to the reward, and took immediate possession of my prize. This plant is now in the garden of the Horticultural Society of London; and although it was a little reduced, in order to get it into the plant-case at Manilla, is still by far the largest specimen in Europe.' (P. 337.)

The trials of a botanical collector in China are not over when he has packed his plants into their glass cases. Our collector had still to fight for his plants and for his life. Returning home by way of Chusan, the little fleet of wood junks, on board of which he had embarked, was attacked by four or five pirate vessels, when about sixty miles from Shanghai. The defence of the whole party was left to his single arm, assisted by his double-barrelled gun. The exploit itself and his account of it are so Homeric, that his readers will be apt to think he has mistaken his profession. Had he been brought up to military instead of peaceful pursuits; had he always lived either in a fleet or in a camp, and never entered one of those glass houses from which our proverb expressly excludes all ideas of violence and aggression, he could not have acted with greater coolness and intrepidity.

We must take this opportunity of telling the public—what our merchants know pretty well already—that piracy bids fair to be as formidable off the coast of China as in the Indian Archipelago. In his day, Sir Henry Pottinger proposed to Keying that a flotilla for the suppression of piracy should be supported at the joint expense of China and Great Britain. The offer was rejected; and the crime has gradually increased, until no Chinese vessel can make a coasting voyage without imminent danger of capture, unless she is in charge of a convoy. It is now some months since 700 grain junks were blockaded in a port near Shanghai; and an expedition, it was reported, was to be fitted out for their relief. By the latest accounts, nothing had been done; and it was feared that the Chinese government would have to compound with the pirates for the release of the rice fleet. Meantime a British sloop of war had taken more vigorous measures; and had just destroyed two piratical junks that were lying in wait close in shore for the Amoy sugar junks, which at that season were daily going northward. The *Friend of China*

(June 17.), whom we are citing, may well bespeak the gratitude of the native merchants. The Chinese are a people to themselves. But we have some points in common; and if robbers are as much at their ease elsewhere in the interior, as they are said to be at Soo-chow, and if the coasting trade of the empire is at the mercy of bands of pirates, something more than a mechanical government must be raised up, or there will be ere long a change in, if not an end to, the most ancient form of society now existing in the world.

But to return. Mr. Fortune must have felt infinite pride and satisfaction, when in May, 1846, he saw the beautiful productions of the flowery land, which he had collected with so much skill and perseverance, deposited in excellent order in the garden of the Horticultural Society at Chiswick. What proportion they bear to the botanical wealth of China, further experience alone can show. It is but a small space of this vast country, we must remember,—its sea-board only,—which has been actually explored. For the rest we have to depend on the presumption which the contents of the public gardens visited by Mr. Fortune may afford. Considering its celebrity, every district of the empire might be expected to send the choicest representatives of its Flora to the nursery gardens of Soo-chow-foo; yet our collector, it would seem, fell in there with very little which had not also found its way to the nursery gardens of the seaport towns.

But whatever aid our gardens may have received or may be destined to receive from this quarter in their vegetable *matériel*, or the plants themselves, the other very improbable notion that the peculiar style or character of the English garden, as distinguished from that of the European continent, had been copied from the Chinese, is plainly without foundation. The notion is thus noticed by Gray, in a letter to Mr. How, in 1762. He is writing about a book lately published by Count Algarotti, and observes: 'He is 'highly civil to our nation: but there is one point in which he 'does not do us justice: I am the more solicitous about it, because 'it relates to the only taste we can call our own; the only proof 'of our original talent in matter of pleasure,—I mean our skill 'in gardening, or rather laying out grounds: and this is no small 'honour to us, since neither Italy nor France have ever had the 'least notion of it, nor yet do at all comprehend it when 'they see it. That the Chinese have this beautiful art in high 'perfection, seems very probable from the Jesuits' letters, and 'more from Chambers's little discourse, published some years 'ago; but it is very certain we copied nothing from them, nor 'had any thing but nature for our model. It is not forty years

'since the art was born among us; and it is sure that there was 'nothing in Europe like it; and as sure that we then had no 'information on this head from China at all.' (Letters, p. 385.) We have looked over the Jesuits' letters, as well as the large work of Duhalde, who was likewise a Jesuit in the mission, for their information on the state of Chinese gardening. There are very few passages in either of them relating to it: What is said, however, is certainly evidence, in some cases, of considerable skill; though whether it be evidence of any general skill in the art of landscape gardening, is a very different question. Duhalde, for instance, describing the better class of Chinese houses, tells us, 'On y voit des jardins, des lacs, et tout 'ce qui peut récréer la vue; il y en a qui forment des rochers et 'des montagnes artificielles percées de tous côtés avec divers 'détours en forme de labyrinthes, pour y prendre le frais: quel-'ques-un y nourrissent des cerfs et des daims quant ils ont assez 'd'espace pour faire une espèce de parc: ils y ont pareillement 'des viviers pour des poissons et des oiseaux de vivière.' (Description de la Chine, p. 85.) Here we have signs of something more than the cultivation of flowers; though so little is intimated about scale, that we are not absolutely sure that the lakes were more than ponds; or the enclosures and their ornaments much larger than those of a modern 'tea garden,' of which the description a little reminds us.

The following account in the Jesuits' letters, by Père Benoist, is more explicit, and is doubtless what Gray alluded to:—'C'est dans l'année 1745 que, par ordre de l'Empereur, je suis 'arrivé à Peking, sous le titre de Mathématicien. Deux ans 'après je fus appellé par sa Majesté pour diriger des ouvrages 'hydrauliques. A deux lieux de la capitale, l'Empereur a une 'maison de plaisance où il passe la plus grande partie de l'année, 'et il travaille de jour en jour à l'embellir. Pour vous en don-'ner une idée, si nous n'en avions pas une petite description 'dans nos lettres édifiantes et curieuses, je vous rappellerois ces 'jardins enchantés, dont l'imagination brillante de quelques 'auteurs on fait une si agréable description qui se réalise dans 'les jardins de l'Empereur. Les Chinois dans l'ornement de 'leurs jardins employent l'art à perfectionner la nature, avec 'tant de succès, qu'un artiste ne mérite les éloges qu'autant que 'son art ne paroît point, et qu'il a mieux imité la nature. Ce 'ne sont pas, comme en Europe, des allées à perte de vue, des 'terrasses d'où l'on découvre dans le lointain une infinité de 'magnifiques objets, dont la multitude ne permet pas à l'ima-'gination de se fixer sur quelques-uns en particulier. Dans les 'jardins de Chine la vue n'est point fatiguée, parce qu'elle est

'presque toujours bornée dans un espace proportionné à l'étendue 'des regards. Vous voyez une espèce de tout dont la beauté 'vous frappe et vous enchante, et après quelques centaines de 'pas, de nouveaux objets se présentent à vous, et vous causent 'une nouvelle admiration.

'Tous ces jardins sont entrecoupés de différens canaux ser-'pentans entre des montagnes factices, dans quelques endroits 'passant par-dessus des roches et formant des cascades, quelque-'fois s'accumulant dans des vallons et y formant des pièces d'eau 'qui prennent le nom de lac ou de mer, suivant leurs différentes 'grandeurs. Les bords irréguliers de ces canaux et de ces pièces 'd'eaux sont revêtus de parapets mais bien différens des nôtres, 'formés avec des pierres travaillées avec art, et qui font dispa-'roître le naturel, ces parapets sont formés de pierres qui parois-'sent brutes, solidement posées sur pilotis. Si l'ouvrier employe 'quelquefois beaucoup de temps à les travailler, ce n'est que 'pour en augmenter les inégalités, et leur donner une forme en-'core plus champêtre.

'Sur les bords des canaux ces pierres, dans différens endroits, 'sont tellement situées, qu'elles forment des escaliers très-com-'modes pour pouvoir entrer dans les barques sur lesquelles on 'souhaite se promener. Sur les montagnes on a poli ces pierres 'en forme de roches, quelquefois à perte de vue, d'autres fois 'malgré la solidité avec laquelle elles sont posées, elles parois-'sent menacer de tomber et d'écraser ceux qui s'en approchent. 'D'autres fois elles forment des grottes qui serpentant par des-'sous des montagnes vous conduisent à des palais délicieux. 'Dans les entre-deux des rochers, tant sur le bord des eaux que 'sur les montagnes, on a ménagé des cavités qui paroissent na-'turelles. De ces cavités sortent ici des grands arbres, dans 'quelques-autres endroits des arbrisseaux, qui, dans la saison, 'sont tout couverts de différentes fleurs. Dans d'autres on voit 'différentes espèces de plantes et de fleurs qu'on a soin de re-'nouveller suivant les saisons.' (Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses, vol. xxiii. p. 535.) There is a similar description in the twenty-seventh volume, by Frère Attiret, who is celebrated not only as an excellent painter, but for having had the courage to refuse the Mandarin's button.

We have no fault to find with Père Benoist, except in the extent of his generalisation, and the facility with which he has transferred to Chinese gardens in general, a description, the truth of which we suspect that he had only verified in the imperial gardens. So far as it professes to be a description of the Emperor's autumnal residence of Yuen-min-yuen, or 'eternal spring,' also called Hae-tien, all that is most characteristic in it was fully

confirmed by Lord Macartney's embassy in 1793. This garden is, in fact, a park, twelve miles in circumference. Sir George Staunton informs us that 'Mr. Barrow, who saw more of it than 'any other person of the embassy, thought it a delightful place. 'The grand and agreeable parts of nature were separated, connected, or arranged in so judicious a manner as to compose one 'whole, in which there was no inconsistency or unmeaning 'jumble of objects; but such an order and proportion as generally prevail in scenes entirely natural. No round or oval, 'square or oblong lawns, with the grass shorn off close to the 'roots, were to be found any where in those grounds. The 'Chinese are particularly expert in magnifying the real dimensions of a piece of land by a proper disposition of the objects 'intended to embellish its surface. For this purpose, tall luxuriant trees of the deepest green were planted in the foreground, from whence the view was to be taken; whilst those 'in the distance gradually diminished in size and depth of colouring; and, in general, the ground was terminated by broken 'and irregular clumps of trees, whose foliage varied, as well by 'the different species of trees in the group, as by the different 'times of the year in which they were in vigour; and oftentimes the vegetation was apparently old and stunted, making 'with difficulty its way through the clefts of rocks, either 'originally found or designedly collected upon the spot. The 'effect of intricacy and concealment seemed also to be well 'understood by the Chinese. At Yuen-min-yuen a slight wall 'was made to convey the idea of a magnificent building, when 'seen at a certain distance through the branches of a thicket. 'Sheets of made water, instead of being surrounded by sloping 'banks like the glacis of a fortification, were occasionally hemmed 'in by artificial rocks, seemingly indigenous to the soil.' Yuen-min-yuen and also Zhe-hol, the Emperor's summer residence, in Tartary, of precisely the same character, are modern constructions. Father Ripa, who was attached to the court of Pekin from 1711 to 1724, says that they had been both built by his patron, Kang-hy, the reigning Emperor: and such as he describes them, Sir George Staunton found them.

As Sir George Staunton saw Zhe-hol himself, and as the excursion was sufficiently in detail to last several hours, we are bound to give his account of it, by way of comparison and confirmation of Mr. Barrow's sketch of Yuen-min-yuen.

After riding through a verdant valley, and along the shores of an extensive lake nearly covered with lilies, 'the party stopped 'at a number of small palaces near the water's edge, there being 'no considerable edifice. There were other buildings erected

'on the pinnacles of the highest hills, and some buried in the 'dark recesses of the deepest valleys. They differed in con- 'struction and ornament from each other, almost every one 'having something, in the plan of it, analogous to the situation 'and surrounding objects. . . . Figures in stone of a few 'animals stood in a flower garden, besides monstrous and dis- 'gusting lions and tigers in porcelain, before several of the 'buildings. . . . In continuing their ride, the party found that 'the grounds included the utmost inequality of surface — some 'bearing the hardy oaks of northern hills, and others the tender 'plants of southern valleys. Where a wide plain happened to 'occur, massy rocks were heaped together to diversify the 'scene; and the whole seemed calculated to exhibit the pleasing 'variety and striking contrast of the ruggedness of wild and the 'softness of cultivated nature. The gardens were enlivened by 'the movements, as well as sounds, of different kinds of her- 'bivorous animals, both quadrupeds and birds; but no me- 'nagerie of wild beasts was perceived. Some monstrous 'varieties of gold and silver fishes were seen playing in ponds 'of pellucid water, upon a bottom studded with pebbles of 'agate, jaspar, and other precious stones. Throughout these 'grounds they met no gravel walks, no trees planted in belts 'nor collected in clumps. Every thing seemed to be avoided 'which betrayed a regularity of design. Nothing was observed 'to be directed, unless for very short distances, by straight 'lines, or to turn at right angles. Natural objects seemed 'scattered around by accident, in such a manner as to render 'their position pleasing; while many of the works of human 'labour, though answering every purpose of convenience, were 'made to appear the produce of rustic hands, without the 'assistance of a tool. Some of the elegancies and beauties, 'which are described as taking place in Chinese gardens, were 'not perceived by the present visitors; but the gardens of 'Yuen-min-yuen, near Pekin, from whence those descriptions 'are chiefly taken, are supposed to be more complete than those 'of Zhehol.' Our readers, however, have already been intro- duced to the more suburban gardens of Yuen-min-yuen, and they will not have discovered any difference in this respect between the two.

These gardens appear to have become favourite models for imperial retreats. A missionary who, in 1768, on his way between Canton and Pekin, passed another of these *maisons de plaisance*, which had been presented to the Emperor by the farmers of the salt revenue, observes that it was a copy of that at Yuen-min-yuen. Father Ripa's history was not published till 1832, at

Naples. But his notice of these now celebrated gardens was probably the earliest European description extant of them, by an eye-witness: For he says expressly that he was the first European, on whom the distinguished favour of seeing the whole of Zhe-hol had been conferred. We presume that he should be understood to be speaking of the Emperor's houses only (for, from his position, he had little or no opportunity of observing any other) when he adds, 'This (Yuen-min-yuen) as well as the other 'country residences which I have seen in China, is in a taste quite 'different from the European: for, whereas we seek to exclude 'nature by art—levelling hills, drying up lakes, felling trees, 'bringing paths into a straight line, constructing fountains at a 'great expense, and raising flowers in rows,—the Chinese, on 'the contrary, by means of art, endeavour to imitate nature.'

Gray's second or rather principal authority, was the Dissertation on Oriental Gardening, by Sir William Chambers. The author was a man of some celebrity, and must have been a youth of greater promise; for he went to China as supercargo at so early an age that he had returned home by the time he was eighteen. He was a good draughtsman, became an architect, built Somerset House and many other less important buildings, erected the well-known Pagoda at Kew, and sought to introduce what he called Chinese ornaments and taste into English gardens. He did not publish his dissertation till he was fifty years old. Supposing it to have been founded upon observation at all, they were the observations of a boy under the age of eighteen, and reported at the distance of more than thirty years. It was probably made up of a little misinformation from others, improved upon by misunderstandings and exaggerations of his own.

Nevertheless, it attracted great attention, on account of the position, the ability, and acquirements of the author. Its object was to praise Chinese gardening, and recommend it for imitation. Two short extracts will give a sample of the book:—'The 'usual method of distributing gardens in China is to contrive a 'great variety of scenes to be seen from certain points of view; 'at which are placed seats or buildings adapted to the different 'purposes of mental or sensual enjoyments. The perfection of 'their gardens consists in the number and diversity of these 'scenes, and in the artful combination of their parts; which they 'endeavour to dispose in such a manner as not only separately 'to appear to the best advantage, but also to unite in forming 'an elegant and striking whole.' (Dissertation, p. 21.) Again: 'Such is the judgment with which the Chinese artists situate 'their structures' [in their gardens] 'that they enrich and beau- 'tify the particular prospects, without any detriment to the

'general aspect of the whole composition, in which nature 'appears almost always predominant; for though their gardens 'are full of buildings and other works of art, yet are there 'many points from which none of them appear; and more than 'two or three at a time are seldom discovered, so artfully are 'they concealed in valleys, behind rocks and mountains, or 'amongst woods and thickets.' (P. 81.)

This Oriental picture is summarily dismissed by Sir John Davies:—'Sir W. Chambers's description of Chinese gardening,' he says, 'is a mere prose work of imagination, without a 'shadow of foundation of reality. Their taste is, indeed, ex'tremely defective and vicious on this particular point; and, as 'an improvement of nature, ranks much on a par with the 'cramping of their women's feet. The *only* exception exists in 'the gardens at Yuen-min-yuen, which Mr. Barrow describes as 'grand both in plan and extent; but for a subject to imitate 'these would be almost criminal, if it were possible.' (Davies's Chinese, vol. i. p. 367.) We have little doubt but that Chambers would have acted more prudently had he confined his observations to Yuen-min-yuen, some account of which was most likely at the bottom of his romance. But on these occasions it is difficult (it seems) to restrain our language within the limits of the evidence we may happen to possess. For instance, considering the scantiness of our present evidence, it is almost as rash to aver, with Sir John Davies, that the gardens at Yuen-min-yuen are the only exception; as for Mr. Barrow, like Père Benoist, to have closed his description of them with a universal statement—of 'the just ideas which the Chinese conceive of 'ornamental gardening, and the taste with which they dispose 'of every object to the greatest advantage.'

The gentlemen in Lord Macartney's suite had few opportunities for excursions. However, while at Han-choo-foo they were invited to one across the lake See-how. 'The lake,' says Sir George Staunton, 'formed a beautiful sheet of water, about 'three or four miles in diameter, surrounded to the north, east, 'and south by an amphitheatre of picturesque mountains, be'tween the base of which and the margin of the lake the narrow 'slip of level ground was laid out in a pleasing style, suitable 'to the situation. It was ornamented with houses and gardens 'of mandarins, as well as a palace belonging to the emperor, 'together with temples, monasteries for the priests of Fo, and 'a number of light and fanciful stone bridges that are thrown 'across the arms of the lake, as it runs up into the deep glens 'to meet the rills which ooze from the sides of the mountains. 'Upon the summit also were erected pagodas, one of which

'attracted particular attention. It was situate on the verge of 'a bold peninsula that juts into the lake, and was called the 'temple of the thundering winds.' This is a scene, in which nothing appears wanting, in the choice either of the situation, or of the embellishments. The sense of natural beauty, which it expresses, cannot have had its beginning and its ending in the fact that the emperor had a palace there. We have extracted the passage accordingly on this account; for, assuming the description to be true, the inference of a more extensive taste among the Chinese than a mere court-fashion seems, so far as this, indisputable. Yet the supposition raises an anomaly which it is not easy to explain,—though, according to Gray, the English should be less surprised at it than most other nations. A pleasure in beautiful scenery, and the power or wish to imitate or create it, we should have thought most unlikely to be found in a people so palpably deficient in taste on other occasions; and who, in every thing connected with the fine arts, are incapable of reaching any elevation of sentiment, or of appreciating the merit even of resemblance. For such is the character of the Chinese, or nearly so. The shape of their buildings is formal and the colour glaring; their sculpture has neither form, nor attitude, nor proportion; in painting, they are not only 'ignorant of 'the principles of perspective, and of the gradations of light 'and shade, but are insensible to their effect.' A few words, therefore, may be allowed us on the extent of their national understanding and feeling for landscape gardening: the evidence of which, if more than can be disregarded, is not as full and complete as might be desired. Giving it its highest value, it brings on another question — how it has come to pass, in case they have the taste, that they should not have carried out the practice further than in the few instances which our present imperfect knowledge of China has recorded? The answer will probably be found in the state of society.

On the first point, though the only gardens deserving of the name of landscape, with which Europeans have become acquainted, appear to belong to the sovereign, and to be of comparatively recent date, there is reason to believe that the style itself is of long standing, and was once much more general. This is evidently the opinion of Humboldt: whose opinion is entitled to great consideration, even upon such a subject. For, probably no man of letters ever saw so many countries; while certainly no traveller ever compassed so wide a range of literature and science — still less acquired an indulgent and indeed enthusiastic sympathy with the different forms of beauty to which different races have been most sensible.

After noticing, in the second volume of his 'Cosmos,' that the Semitic, Indian, and Iraunian nations had a deep feeling for nature, that the earliest ornamental parks mentioned in history belonged to middle and southern Asia, and that the Asiatic terrestrial *paradises* were early celebrated in more western countries, he adds, that this feeling is manifested in their frequent veneration of trees, single or in groups, and 'in 'a more varied manner, by the horticultural arrangements of 'the early civilised nations of Eastern Asia. In the most dis- 'tant part of the old continent, the Chinese gardens appear to 'have approached most nearly to what we now call English 'parks. Under the victorious dynasty of Han, gardens of this 'class were extended over circuits of so many miles, that agri- 'culture was affected, and the people were excited to revolt. '"What is it," says an ancient Chinese writer, Lieu-tscheu, '"that we seek in the pleasures of a garden? It has always '"been agreed that these plantations should make men amends '"for living at a distance from what would be their more con- '"genial dwelling-place, in the midst of nature, free and un- '"constrained. The art of laying out gardens consists, there- '"fore, in combining cheerfulness of prospect, luxuriance of '"growth, shade, retirement, and repose, so that the rural '"aspect may produce an illusion. Variety, which is a chief '"merit in the natural landscape, must be sought by the choice '"of ground with alternation of hill and dale, flowing streams, '"and lakes, covered with aquatic plants. Symmetry is wea- '"risome, and a garden where every thing betrays constraint '"and art, becomes tedious and distasteful."' In exemplifica- tion of the spirit of this extract, Humboldt refers not only to 'the great descriptive poem, composed in the middle of the last 'century by the Emperor Kien-long, to celebrate the former 'Mantchou imperial residence, Moukden, and the graves of his 'ancestors;' but also to a poem called 'The Garden,' written as far back as the year 1086, by See-ma-kuang, a distinguished statesman.

The extract from Lieu-tscheu is part of a much longer pas- sage to the same effect, cited by the author of an Essay on Chinese Gardens (1782), in the eighth volume of the 'Me- 'moires concernant les Chinois.' The essay is of considerable length; and its author is occasionally too rhetorical to inspire an unlimited confidence in his use of his supposed authorities. But he is most express on the point in question. The best European gardens, compared with the Chinese, remind him only of the eclogues of Fontenelle compared with those of Virgil. And the taste is described, as being a very ancient one. According to

him, from the reign of *Tcheou*, the Nero of China, some thirteen hundred years before Christ, down to the seventh century of our æra, their pleasure-grounds were to the Chinese emperors what their forests were to our Norman princes: and a passion for trees and flowers and landscape gardening was shown to be capable of producing as much misery, as a passion for preserving game. The garden of Tsin-chi-hoang is called thirty leagues round, and is said to have contained three thousand different kinds of trees! But the Emperor *Ou-ty* of the dynasty of *Han*, appears to have outdone his predecessors: being of opinion, that the size of his gardens should grow in proportion to that of his empire. The principal one is mentioned, as being fifty leagues in circumference! — (Father Ripa, by the by, says it took him only an hour to ride round Zhe-hol) — thirty thousand slaves were employed on it, to keep it in order; and all the provinces throughout the empire were bound to send to it, at each season, their most beautiful plants and shrubs. Architecture and sculpture were afterwards called in, as in Italian villas; and under the Emperor *Yang-ty* the foppery of a false refinement was combined with the excess of extreme magnificence, so far as to replace the parsimony or decay of nature by leaves and flowers of silk, and by artificial perfumes! The abolition of these follies, which, by their encroachments and their costliness, had become ruinous to the state, was one of the popular reforms of the *Tang* dynasty.

During this dynasty and those of *Song and Yuen*, that is, from the seventh to the fourteenth century, a more modest taste was generally maintained; though the national predilection for ornamental pleasure grounds is described as so decided, that it was as much as the censors of the empire could do to prevent the emperors from relapsing into the extravagances of their predecessors, and more than they could do to keep private persons, whose gardens were now greatly multiplied, within the moderation which was consistent with the public good. This is mentioned as having been the period in which the great improvement took place in the cultivation of flowers. By what seems a singular inconsistency in their taste, the same care, which changed a common pœony into a moutan, was equally interested in reducing the cedar and the fir to a gnarled and twisted plant, a few inches high. The Chinese have been called the Dutch of the East. But even when the tulip-mania was at its height, the Spaniards would not have found the Dutch as much absorbed in their gardens as the Chinese are reported to have been found by the Tartars. It is satirically said, that they consoled themselves for a defeat by disputing on the merits of a flower show;

and thought more of a storm which might injure a favourite shrub, than of the invasion of a province. Yet this will have been scarcely satire, if it be true that it was one of the articles of capitulation, that the military, to whom the granaries, treasures, and entire cities were given up, should respect their parterres and gardens. Perhaps, however, it may read as some sort of excuse for the conquered, that the gardens which were thus respected, proved, in time, the Capua of the conquerors. Instead of razing the towns and turning the country into pasture ground for their horses, as was first talked of, the Tartars, we are told, added the further embellishment of *jets d'eaux* and water-works to the gardens which they had spared. The abuse went on, as is the nature of abuses, till it became so great, that a thorough reform was necessary. This it was reserved for the dynasty of *Ming*, to introduce. They reconciled the claims of the farmer and gardener, (as we shall have to reconcile the claims of the farmer and game-preserver,) and settled the pleasure grounds of China on the scale at which they continue to the present day.

Our readers must judge for themselves what is the degree of credit to which this historical narrative by an anonymous missionary, probably Père Amiot, is entitled. His observations on the actual state of Chinese landscape gardening, however, and of the causes of it, are so sensible and so like truth, that they raise a presumption in his favour; notwithstanding the historical scepticism which may have come over us during the earlier part of his story. 'We must dismiss,' he says, 'all the false ideas 'of the West concerning the pleasure gardens now in China. 'The constitution of the present government has so fixed the 'occupation of land, the division of inheritances, the limit of 'private properties, the proportion of fortunes, and the ad- 'ministrative police, and has so directed the national mind to 'the public good, that the necessities of agriculture for the sub- 'sistence of an immense population have rendered odious 'whatever would diminish its resources or embarrass its ap- 'plication. Accordingly, although the law has never actually 'proscribed pleasure gardens, it has, nevertheless, determined 'so irrevocably the yearly payment due from each person to 'the state, it offers such flattering rewards to all improvers of 'waste grounds, and punishes with such severity whoever 'leaves his fields uncultivated, that there is scarcely any pre- 'eminence of rank or fortune which can exempt from the plough 'an amount of land, sufficient to make a landscape garden. If 'we except the emperor, the princes, and the great officers of 'state, all persons who have real gardens have had the pre- 'caution to annex them to their burial grounds, in order to

'procure for them the protection of the respect immemorially 'entertained for the dwelling place of the dead.'

Without supposing pleasure grounds of this kind to be flowers of the prerogative, we can understand, therefore, how it happened that, during the long inland journey of Lord Macartney's embassy, 'few parks or pleasure grounds were seen, 'excepting those belonging to the emperor.' How should it be otherwise in a country which has no meadow and very little pasture,—whose entire surface, 'with trifling exceptions, is 'dedicated to the production of food for man alone;' where 'sumptuary laws regulate the dwellings as well as the apparel 'of the opulent,' grudging them houses above a story high; and where all institutions and usages have a tendency to level wealth, until it is a common remark among them,—'that fortunes, 'either by being parcelled out to many heirs, or by being lost 'in commercial speculations, gaming, or extravagance, or ex-'torted by oppressive mandarins, seldom continue to be con-'siderable in the individuals of the same family, beyond the third 'generation?' Under these circumstances, neither the size of properties, nor the state of families, nor public opinion, would allow of private persons indulging a taste for landscape gardening on any extensive scale.

But it is one thing that the taste for landscape gardening should not spread: it is another, that a taste as good as we have been describing, while exercised in ornamenting parks and pleasure grounds, should degenerate at once when it is brought down to the body of the people, and is displayed in private gardens. It is true, we probably do not as yet know enough to warrant any universal conclusion. But all that we do know points the same way; and agrees in this respect with the general opinion ventured upon by Sir John Davies. Had Mr. Fortune remained in this country, it was his intention to have published another work, which would have been confined to Chinese gardening and gardens; and it is to be hoped that he will now avail himself of his additional opportunities. All the gardens of the mandarins, however, which he saw (and he believes that he saw more than had been seen before by any other person) were exceedingly small, like that at Ningpo. They may be described in a few words; as very limited in extent, intersected by ornamental walls which have carved stone windows to admit of a glimpse through them, and full of beautiful flowering plants and dwarf trees, with here and there some pretty rock-work representing the rugged hills of the country. A Chinese garden of this humbler kind, attached to one of our English gardens, might be interesting as a curiosity; but would hardly be ac-

cepted as a model by those who could find room for something better than the *fausse campagne*, it affects. Not but that we are sensible of the charm of those trim monastic gardens, where Milton in his day could still see pacing up and down the figure of 'retired Leisure;' and the enjoyment of which he at least must have thought consistent with an admiration for the grander style of landscape gardening — of which in the Paradise Lost he is supposed by some to have sown the first idea. It will be well indeed always to keep them distinct; as the author whom we have quoted says that the Chinese at present keep them. Speaking of their landscape gardens, he observes that 'if you meet there 'with any squares or borders of cultivated flowers, their small 'extent seems to announce that it is a license which requires an 'apology.'

Even in England itself, at this time, more attention is paid to the raising of flowers than to the manner of displaying them — to the ornamental contents of the garden, than to its general appearance and effect. And there are obvious causes for this preference: flowers can be raised at a small cost compared with the sum required to form a well decorated pleasure ground; while many of them are so beautiful, that their intrinsic brilliancy and fragance make them objects of sufficient satisfaction without the addition of accompaniments. Nevertheless, we confess, we miss the embellishments which our ancestors would certainly have bestowed upon their frame and setting. In modern times, we see, attached to houses of no lower than the third, and sometimes even of the second class, holes cut in the turf for the reception of flowers; arranged, it is true, more or less according to some pattern, but without any further conversion from the primary field, than a little levelling and some gravel walks. Had these gardens been formed in the days of the Tudors and the Stuarts, there would have been the stairs and balustrades, the vases and various stone work, the terraces, the alleys, and formal lines, which were certainly very imposing ornaments in the immediate neighbourhood of their buildings. Nor need the adoption of such accessories in the slightest degree cast our favourite flowers into the shade; for no parterres will more prominently display, than those of a formal garden, the sparkling jewellery of our modern Flora. It must still be the natural, and indeed necessary, arrangement, that the flower beds should form the life and light of the decoration: and as nearest the house, be constantly in view. There was a time, however, when this architectural and elaborate taste was carried too far. The higher class of gardeners, the decorators of grounds, who had arisen as horticulture improved, were, at first, uniformly its advocates. While Le Notre practised it at Versailles and

other palaces in France, London and Wise adopted it in England, in the king's gardens, at Blenheim, and in many gentlemen's residences. It did not leave enough to nature. Things became worse, when, on the accession of King William, the Dutch taste was engrafted on the French. Formality, before too stiff, was now rendered rigid; and ornamental gardening was turned into an art, of which it appeared to be a first principle that nature was to be studiously contradicted and suppressed, as something inconsistent with the object of a garden. Even trees were not permitted to retain their natural shapes: yews were clipped into peacocks, and box-trees into statues; so as to provoke the observation, that not only might one have had a wife like the fruitful vine and children like olive branches, but uncles and aunts like box and yew. All this was absurd enough. But these errors might have been reformed without rushing into the opposite extreme. This, however, was what was done: and we are still suffering from the violence of that reaction.

Sir William Temple, many years before, had maintained, in his pretty Essay on gardening, that the Countess of Bedford's garden at Moor Park was the 'perfectest figure of a garden,' and the sweetest place he had ever seen either at home or abroad. He praised the terraces and cloisters, the steps and the balusters, and said the whole might 'serve for a pattern to the 'best gardens of our manner, and that are most proper for our 'country and climate.' (Essays, p. 229.) When the tide turned, Moor Park and Sir W. Temple were accordingly selected as the favourite butt of the new race of *connoisseurs*. Emboldened by Gray's approval of the later style as more proper 'for our 'country and our climate,' Mason ventured to break forth —

> 'Behold what Temple called
> A perfect garden! There thou shalt not find
> One blade of verdure, but with aching feet
> From terrace down to terrace shalt descend,
> Step following step, by tedious flight of stairs.
> On leaden platforms now the noon day sun
> Shall scorch thee; now the dark arcades of stone
> Shall chill thy fervour: happy if at length
> Thou reach the orchard, where the sparing turf,
> Through equal lines, all cent'ring in a point,
> Yields thee a softer tread.'
>
> (English Garden, p. 24.)

In the same strain Horace Walpole laughed at going down steps out of doors, and said, 'any man might design and *build* as 'sweet a garden (as Moor Park) who had been born in and 'never stirred out of Holborn.' (Essay on Modern Garden-

ing, p. 256.) Pope, in one of his Essays, and in the 'Guardian,' and Addison in the 'Spectator,' added their condemnation of the taste of former times; until, at length, the public voice was determined by the concurrence of such great authorities; and a tribe of landscape gardeners sprang up who founded their fame upon avoiding all appearance of design. Because their predecessors had slighted the excellent maxim, 'ars est celare artem,' Kent, Bridgman, Brown, Wright, Southcote, and their disciples, caricatured it; and because they conceived nature to abhor a straight line, they cleared the country of its ancient avenues, and brought their tortuous flower-beds and winding walks up to the very house walls, which (as Cowper says of the sunbeam) they would also have made crooked had they been able. The hand of man was to be kept out of sight as much as possible; objects never seen in nature were to affect being natural. We cannot find it in our hearts to quarrel with that application of the principle, by which even handsome residences were clothed with ivy and other plants. But now-a-days it will scarcely be believed, we hope, that Kent, in order the more effectually to conceal every vestige of design, had some dead trees put in when he planted Kensington Gardens.

Meantime many a beautiful place was irreparably injured. Cowper had a deep love of the country — much deeper than that of either the brick and mortar maker of Strawberry Hill or the poetical '*maker*' of Windsor Forest. His sorrowful lamentation over the process will live longer than Mason's descriptive satire on Moor Park: —

> 'Improvement, too, the idol of the age,
> Is fed with many a victim. Lo, he comes!
> Th' omnipotent magician, Brown, appears!
> Down falls the venerable pile, th' abode
> Of our forefathers — a grave whisker'd race,
> But tasteless. Springs a palace in its stead,
> But in a distant spot, where more expos'd
> It may enjoy th' advantage of the north,
> And aguish east, till time shall have transform'd
> Those naked acres to a shelt'ring grove.
> He speaks. The lake in front becomes a lawn;
> Woods vanish, hills subside, and valleys rise;
> And streams, as if created for his use,
> Pursue the track of his directing wand.'

Gray had made a list of the places in England which he thought worth seeing. We should have liked to have had from Cowper his more melancholy list of places, where the beauty which had been taken away by these improvers had had a superior

character and charm about it — at least what he could not but feel to be so — to that by which it was replaced.

Whately, one of our best writers upon the subject, is made so, very much in consequence of his not having so intense a horror of regularity and order as the rest. He admires, it is true, the gardeners of the natural school, and prefers their creations to those of London and Wise — and we quite agree with him, if there must be nothing but exclusiveness and extremes. Still he could tolerate a straight line, and the admission of architectural ornaments in gardening. There are cases, too, in which he would permit what was artificial to be visible. 'Choice and arrangement, composition, improvement, and preservation,' he writes, 'are so many symptoms of art which may 'occasionally appear in several parts of a garden, but ought to 'be displayed without reserve near the house; nothing there 'should seem neglected; it is a scene of the most cultivated 'nature; it ought to be enriched; it ought to be adorned; and 'design may be avowed in the plan, and expense in the execution.' (P. 141.)

This is wholly at variance with the opinions of his contemporaries, who must have despised such old-fashioned notions. On certain other points, his taste was still more completely different from theirs. 'Even regularity is not excluded (he continues): so 'capital a structure may extend its influence beyond its walls; 'but this power should be exercised only over its immediate 'appendages: the platform upon which the house stands is 'generally continued to a certain breadth on every side; and 'whether it be pavement or gravel, may undoubtedly coincide 'with the shape of the building. The road which leads up to 'the door may go off from it in an equal angle, so that the two 'sides shall exactly correspond: and certain ornaments, though 'detached, are yet rather within the province of architecture 'than of gardening; works of sculpture are not like building, 'objects familiar in scenes of cultivated nature; but vases, 'statues, and termini, are usual appendages to a considerable 'edifice; as such they may attend the mansion and trespass a 'little upon the garden, provided they are not carried so far as 'to lose their connection with the structure.' (P. 141.)

These distinctions appear to us to be very just; nothing can have a less satisfactory appearance than a mansion standing in a meadow or a forest. However beautiful the landscape may be, something is wanting to connect it with the house; the transition, at one step, from a large and decorated building to a wild external space, bearing no marks of the human hand on it, is unpleasing from its abruptness. The eye wishes for some blending,

for some junction. Looking away from the house, it desires the architecture to merge by degrees into the landscape; looking up to the house, it desires nature to be visibly tempered with art before it terminates against a building, which must always be artificial. How this union should be carried into effect; where obvious design should cease; at what distance from the mansion no art except *ars celata* ought to be employed, must vary with the circumstances. The space may be so small as necessarily to confine the floriculturist to a judicious selection and exhibition of his flowers. If larger, the style and arrangement ought to be governed not only by the nature of the grounds which are themselves to be adorned, but also by that of the surrounding country, as far as it is admitted into the view.

Many persons at present consider flower-beds cut out in turf a sufficient connecting link between the landscape and the building; and there are cases, and those indeed the most numerous, where nothing more is necessary, nor perhaps appropriate. If a formal pattern be adopted, and an artificial appearance maintained, in the disposition of the colours, flower-beds may answer the purpose, round a villa or a cottage. We cannot, however, agree with those who think that this does all that is required, when the character of the building is more important. Round an ornamented house of any pretensions, it is indispensable for its full effect that the garden should likewise have architectural decoration. A terrace has many advantages; but whatever forms may be adopted, taking care to 'consult the genius of the place 'in all,' they should be combined with lawn and walks, and with parterres broad in their lines and regular in their forms — a regularity which, in its turn, should gradually disappear and die away in the natural landscape. We have not a word to say, however, under any circumstances, in favour of the small irregular flower-beds, in the shape of butterflies, or hearts, and kidney beans, dotted here and there, without any reference to one another, by which so many of our modern gardens are disfigured. For the improvement of the natural scenery into which the formal garden should merge, among some over-refined suggestions, Whately offers many which are really valuable: And it was certainly no excess of refinement in Sir Uvedale Price, but great good sense, to advise us, if we would well lay out our grounds, to study the compositions of the best landscape painters. Though it may seem at first to be reversing the order of things to strive to render the nature, which we have to deal with, like their pictures, yet it will be only giving nature back the benefit of her own lessons — restoring her a part of what the *oculus eruditus* of the artist had originally borrowed from her.

This is particularly true of those points of view from which vistas or openings are to be made, in order to show a landscape as it appears at a given spot. A landscape gardener ought to learn as much from the Water-Colour Exhibition, as any horticulturist can learn at Chiswick.

But we have no intention of being carried away into a discussion on landscape gardening. Our first object has been, to compare the conflicting accounts which had been given of the taste and practice of the Chinese, and to see how far they could be reconciled with each other; our next, to show that, whatever distance separates the spacious parks of the emperor from the ordinary and all but topiary garden of the mandarins, an almost equal diversity has prevailed—we are not sure that we might not say prevails—among ourselves. Not that we are a whit more indebted to Chinese precedents for the one style than the other. In a country like England, the two styles were pretty sure to spring up and maintain their ground, first one and then the other—or both together; and to have admirers in every class, according to the originality of individual fancies or the current fashion of the day. On such a subject as the natural and the elaborate,—and between different forms of art, according to the style or ornament preferred,—each will always have its zealous advocates: provided only, when the several systems are put in opposition, that other circumstances are equally advantageous. No theory and no experience have yet established which of them produces the highest, most permanent, and most extensive pleasure. Lord Byron had a pride in thinking that our national taste, as it is conceived to be shown in what is called an English garden, had grown up less under the influence of our landscape painters than that of our descriptive poets *—more especially Milton and Pope. We should not wonder, notwithstanding—so variable a thing is taste in matters of this kind—if Temple were now to find almost as large a

* There is a very striking description in Mr. Stirling's 'Annals of 'the Artists of Spain' (624.), of the gardens of Aranjuez, its rivers and fountains and marble statues, its cathedral walks of hornbeam, and its few camels parading to and fro with garden burdens. The description is introduced by a notice of the many sketches made by Velasquez of its sweet garden scenes, as, for example, of the Avenue of the Queen, and the Fountain of the Tritons: And it is another instance how sociable are the arts, that Mr. Stirling should be in this manner conducted to do honour to Boccaccio, and the garden of his immortal palace; creations which, he justly says, 'can never be suf-'ficiently studied by the painter and the landscape architect.'

party to follow him to Moor Park, as would accompany Thomson and Pope to Stowe.

A taste for flowers and scenery is now so widely spread and diligently cultivated, that it is only reasonable to expect a great improvement in the arts relating to them. The layer out of a garden has at present abundant power of forming his taste: statements of various systems are before him—comparisons of them and discussions without end. There is no excuse for him if he does not make himself so well acquainted with these, as to at least avoid the manifest errors that they point out. He can likewise select for the decoration of his spaces, from so large and admirable a catalogue of trees, shrubs, and flowers, that any shape or colour can be acquired. Cheap glass puts within his reach the vegetable productions of every climate. Never were means so ample. We confidently hope that a good use will be made of these facilities: But that this may be so, we cannot be too much on our guard against any extreme and exclusive system.

ART. V.—1. *Researches into the Physical History of Mankind.* By JAMES COWLES PRICHARD, M.D., F.R.S., M.R.I.A., Corresponding Member of the National Institute of France, &c. &c. 3rd edition. London: 1836—47. Five volumes, 8vo. pp. 2547.

2. *The Natural History of Man; comprising Inquiries into the Modifying Influence of Physical and Moral Agencies on the different Tribes of the Human Family.* By JAMES COWLES PRICHARD, M.D., F.R.S., &c. &c. London: 1843. 8vo. pp. 556.

3. *Report of the Seventeenth Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, held at Oxford, in June,* 1847. London: 1848. 8vo. pp. 523.

AMONG the new sciences which the progress of human knowledge is calling into existence from time to time, and which find devotees no less earnest and sincere than those who continue to worship at the older shrines, Ethnology, or the Science of Races, is not the least interesting nor the least practically important. It may be difficult to assign the period when the investigations with which the ethnologist is concerned, first began to assume a really scientific form, instead of presenting their results as a mere chaos of *disjecta membra*—crude materials, waiting the hand of the architect to work them up

into an edifice worthy of the object for which they were collected. As yet, we fear, we must satisfy ourselves with the design, rather than boast of its execution; and please ourselves with the anticipation of what is to be accomplished, rather than dwell with complacency on what has been already effected. When we look, indeed, at the amount of toil which ethnological investigations require for the development of even their least extended results, and the small number of labourers who are professedly devoted to their advancement, we might doubt whether Ethnology would emerge in our own time from the lowest grade among the sciences, — the place with which its votaries must be at present content, and where indeed they may think themselves fortunate that they can secure a place at all.

But we may well take courage, when we reflect, not merely upon the industry and enthusiasm of its votaries, but also upon the fact that the number of those who are *indirectly* contributing to the progress of Ethnology is far greater than that of its professed followers. For whilst the traveller who examines into the physical characters and the mental condition of the new races of men with whom he comes into contact, who studies their vocabulary and inquires into their grammar, who is a spectator of their religious observances, and pries into the dark mysteries of their traditions and superstitions, who watches their habits of life and acquaints himself with their laws and usages, — furnishes the most important quota to the accumulation of materials: scarcely less valuable are the materials collected by him, whose tastes lead him to attend rather to the physiognomy of the country than to that of its human inhabitants, to its climate and its soil, its products and its capabilities, rather than to *their* faculties and actions. For in the determination of the important problem, how far the characters of particular races are dependent upon those of the countries they inhabit, the latter set of data are as useful as the former; and no satisfactory result can ever be anticipated, until both have been ascertained with equal accuracy. So, again, the philologist who is working out, in the solitude of his study, the problems involved in the history and science of Language, though he may little think of connecting his conclusions with the affinities of nations, is an invaluable ally. In the same manner anatomists and physiologists, in scrutinising the varieties which the typical form of humanity undergoes, and contrasting the extremes of configuration, of colour, and of constitutional peculiarity, as observable among the inhabitants of distant climes, cannot enlarge the boundaries of their own sciences, without at the same time rendering the most essential assistance to the ethnologist.

In thus drawing within its grasp, and converting to its own purposes, the results supplied by the investigators of various and widely dissimilar branches of science, Ethnology bears a striking analogy to Geology; an analogy of which Dr. Prichard has dexterously availed himself, in vindicating the claim of Ethnology to rank as one of the departments to which the attention of the British Association should be primarily directed. They are both histories of the *past*, and depend for their successful cultivation on the unconscious co-operation of many minds, often ignorant of each other's labours.

Of all the problems of Ethnological Science, the relation in which the various races of mankind stand to each other and to ourselves, is perhaps the most attractive. The determination of this relation is, in fact, the ultimate aim to which its departments severally converge, however widely they apparently divaricate. The Anatomist examines the configuration of the body, and compares together the peculiarities of various tribes, with the view of determining how far structural differences prevail over resemblances, and of ascertaining whether these differences possess that constant and untransitive character which the naturalist requires as a justification of specific distinction. The Physiologist searches into the history of the vital functions in the several types of humanity, and seeks for information with regard to the permanence of anatomical differences, the effects of external agencies in modifying the configuration or constitution of the body, and the tendency to spontaneous variation in the forms presented by individuals, families, or tribes, known to be of the same stock. The Psychologist has a most interesting subject of investigation, in the study of the psychical constitution of the several races; in the extraction of their respective mental and moral characters from their habits of life, their languages, and their religious observances. It is his business to inquire how far one common psychical nature is to be inferred from such diverse manifestations: that is,—how far the differences which he cannot but observe in intellectual capacity, and in moral and even instinctive tendencies, are fixed and permanent; or are liable either to spontaneous variation, or to alteration from the modifying influence of education and other external conditions. The Physical Geographer lends his aid, by bringing to bear upon the inquiry his knowledge of the outward circumstances under which these variations in bodily and mental constitution are most constantly found. And it is from the materials which he contributes, that the physiologist and the psychologist have to determine the degree in which these circumstances can be justly considered to be the causes of variation: more especially, whether the coincidences between particular

bodily configurations or mental constitutions and certain combinations of climatic and geological conditions, are the result of *induced* differences among the human races which are respectively subject to them, or are to be attributed to *original* dissimilarity of stock.

But in order to carry on these researches, Historical information is continually needed, on the actual descent, migrations, conquests, &c. of the nations whose physical and mental characters we are comparing. The question of the *fixity* of all or any of the characters by which the races of mankind are at present distinguished from each other, requires for its solution a comparison of the present with the past. No valid proof of their permanence can be drawn from the limited experience of a few generations; and no evidence of change can be reasonably looked for, except from the long-continued agency of modifying causes. The required information is sometimes supplied by direct historical testimony; but this is frequently insufficient. And here it is that the comparative study of languages becomes so important to the ethnologist as an auxiliary to history; extending, combining, and confirming the evidence derived from sources which the historian has exhausted.

Independent of the aid which Philological research affords to other departments of Ethnology, it directly bears upon the great problem of the unity or identity of mankind. Since it not merely answers a common purpose with historical testimony, in establishing the genealogical relations of tribes long since dispersed from their original centres, and separated at present by strongly-marked physical and psychical differences; but it also furnishes a powerful argument for the *common*, or at least the *similar* origin of all races. For it shows that an articulate language, relating not merely to objects of sense, but to our spiritual nature — capable, of describing the phenomena of the external world, as well as of giving utterance to the thoughts and feelings which constitute our internal existence, —and susceptible, too, of decomposition into a limited number of elementary sounds, which may be expressed by written signs applicable alike to all tongues, — not only now exists among all nations, but has every where existed from the earliest period of which we have any knowledge. From this it is reasonable to infer an original similarity in the endowments of which language is the manifestation; and the inference is confirmed by the fact that the thoughts, which are capable of being expressed in one language may be translated into any other found in use among a people equally advanced. Any two barbarous languages, or any two that are highly cultivated, are so pervaded by a sameness of character, notwithstanding they may not have a word in common,

that the identity of the internal nature, whose states of consciousness they serve to express, can scarcely be doubted by any one who attends fairly to the evidence.'

To give our readers an idea of the present range of Ethnological Science, we must bring under their notice a summary of the labours of these several inquirers. The differences between different races, in form, features, and complexion, have naturally attracted most attention. Accordingly, we will begin by examining, with the Anatomist and Physiologist, the most striking variations in bodily structure;—with the view of ascertaining how far they possess that fixed and definite character, by which alone the hypothesis of a diverse origin, in the races that now exhibit them, can be sustained.

The first attempt to establish such distinctions on a scientific basis, was made by the celebrated anatomist Camper, whose name is preserved in connexion with the 'facial angle' so commonly appealed to as a test of the relative elevation or degradation of a race or individual. This angle — included between two lines, one of them drawn from the orifice of the ear to the base of the nose, the other joining the most advanced points of the forehead and of the upper jaw-bone, — was thought to afford a measure of the capacity of the anterior part of the skull, and of the size of the corresponding lobe of the brain. And, with the large dimensions of these parts, common consent seems to have connected the idea of intellectual power, even from remote times. Thus, whilst the facial angle in the skulls of living Europeans averages 80°, in the ideal heads of the Grecian gods it is increased to 90°. Camper, too, inferred from his measurements, which were made upon a small number of skulls, that a regular gradation is exhibited by the different races of men, connecting the highest European type with the Apes:—the facial angle in the skull of a Kalmuck being 75°, that of a Negro being only 70°, and that of different species of Apes being 64°, 63°, and 60°. So that, by this test, the Negro would stand in as near a relation to the higher Apes as to a Kalmuck, and a great deal nearer than to a European. But he committed an important mistake in his estimate of the facial angle of the Apes; for his measurements were all taken from young skulls; in which the forward extension of the jaws, which takes place on the second dentition, had not yet occurred. In the adult Chimpanzee, the facial angle is no more than 35°, and in the great Orang it is only 30°, as we learn from the measurements of Professor Owen. However, under any circumstances, this method of comparison is of very little value; for the facial angle is too much affected by the degree of prominence of the jaws,

to afford any certain information concerning the elevation of the forehead or the capacity of the cranium.

It was by the venerable Blumenbach, that this department of Ethnology was first cultivated in a manner worthy of its object. He collected, with immense labour, a vast mass of materials for a systematic account of the anatomical peculiarities of the different races of mankind; which he arranged into five primary groups — chiefly according to the configuration of the skull, — designating them by the names either of the people comprised in each form, or of the regions of the world where each was supposed to have originated. These divisions and their designations having been adopted by Cuvier, and having passed into our ordinary forms of expression, require a brief notice; although they are no longer scientifically appropriate. 1. The *Caucasian* form, which prevails among European nations, was so termed from Mount Caucasus, to which ancient traditions refer the origin of many celebrated nations; and in the neighbourhood of which live the Georgian and Circassian tribes, commonly regarded as displaying the highest type of human beauty in shape and feature. There is not, however, any sufficient reason for regarding the *Caucasian* tribes as the ancestral stock of the Indo-European nations, whose cranial conformation places them under this category: — the Greek skull might be selected with as much propriety for its type. 2. The *Mongolian* form, characteristically seen among certain races inhabiting High Asia, was improperly named from a single and subordinate nation of that continent; one, too, which does not happen to possess the distinctive type in any remarkable degree. 3. The term *Ethiopian*, as applied to the great mass of African nations, is faulty for a similar reason; since the Ethiopia of the ancients is but a small part of the African continent, and the people inhabiting it are not those among whom the peculiarities of the African conformation are most strikingly displayed. 4, 5. The terms *American* and *Malayan* are much less objectionable, as collective designations of groups of nations. It has been found impossible, however, to assign to them any very definite types of cranial configuration, on account of the varieties which abound in the tribes inhabiting the several portions of the great American continent, and the remote islands of the vast Malayo-Polynesian Archipelago.

This distribution was as complete as the ethnographic knowledge of the time permitted it to be; but to hold it up as the system under which all subsequent observations were to be marshalled and arranged, would be about as absurd, as if we were to take the primary divisions of the animal kingdom, ac-

cording to Linnæus, for the groundwork of our present zoological classification. Dr. Prichard has shown that there are but *three* leading types of cranial conformation; of which all others are variations or combinations. Minute anatomical descriptions of them will be found in Dr. Prichard's works. We must content ourselves with their most striking characteristics.

The *oval* or *elliptical* form of skull, corresponding with that which Blumenbach termed Caucasian, is distinguished by the symmetry of its form — there being no excess either of prominence or compression. The cranial cavity is large, the forehead full and elevated, the face small in proportion; thus indicating the predominance of the intellectual powers over the instinctive propensities more directly connected with sensation. The Greeks are probably the most favourable examples of this symmetry; but other instances of it may be found in almost any of the great group of nations now termed Indo-Atlantic. These nations extend over the surface of the globe in a north-westerly direction, from India and Persia, through Syria and Asia Minor, stretching along the portion of Africa north of the Great Desert, and covering almost the whole area of Europe. Nearly all of them have acquired a certain amount of civilisation, living by agriculture, and possessing settled habitations; and among them, or among the offsets which have proceeded from them, we find all the nations which have been most distinguished by intellectual advancement.

The form described by Dr. Prichard as the *pyramidal* skull corresponds with that termed Mongolian by Blumenbach, but which is most characteristically seen in the Esquimaux. The striking peculiarity of these skulls is the great lateral prominence of their cheek-bones and zygomatic arches, together with an extreme flatness of the upper half of the face, whilst the forehead rapidly narrows at its highest part; so that, on a front view, the portion of the skull above the line joining the cheek-bones has an almost pyramidal form, that line serving as the base. The orbits of the eyes are large and deep; and the bones surround them in such a manner that, in most instances of this conformation, the opening of the lids has a decided obliquity, the inner angle being directed downwards. The whole face, instead of approaching the oval as in Europeans, is of a lozenge shape; and the larger proportion which it bears to the capacity of the cranium indicates in the pyramidal skull a more ample extension of the organs of sensation. The greater part of the races of this type are nomadic: some of them wandering with their flocks and herds over the vast plains of High Asia; whilst others creep along the shores of the Icy Sea, sup-

porting themselves by fishing. It is a remarkable fact, however, that we encounter the type again in a remote part of the globe, and in a race apparently of a totally different descent — the Hottentots and Bushmen of Southern Africa. They also were formerly a nomadic people, and wandered about with herds of cattle over the extensive plains of Kaffirland. The Mongolian character of their skull and physiognomy has been noticed by all travellers familiar with both.

The third type of configuration of the skull has been very happily named by Dr. Prichard *prognathous*, to express its most distinctive character, namely, the forward prominence of the jaws. This character is best seen in some of the Negro races of the Guinea coast; but it is far from being confined to African nations, being almost as decided in some of the Polynesian and Australian races. From the usual appearance of the skull, it might be supposed to have been compressed at the two sides; consequently, instead of being flattened in front, as in the preceding case, the bones of the face project far forwards, and the occiput backwards. This projection is especially manifested in the upper and lower jaw-bones; and its effect is increased by the circumstance that the front teeth are not implanted vertically in their sockets, so as to meet in the same plane when their edges are brought together, but have a forward slant, so that they meet at an obtuse angle. It is this projection of the jaw, which is the chief cause of the reduction of the facial angle remarked by Camper; and it produces the effect even where, as in some instances, the forehead rises after the European model. In the typical prognathous skull, however, there is certainly a want of elevation of the forehead; but it does not appear that there is any corresponding diminution in the capacity of the cranial cavity, the retreating form of the forehead being partly due to the backward elongation of the entire skull. As the cavity for the lodgment of the organ of sight is peculiarly spacious in the pyramidal skull, a similar enlargement of the cavity of the nose, and of the openings which lead into it both before and behind, occurs in the present instance. The apparatus for hearing, too, seems to be unusually developed. And thus we have in the prognathous skull the same increase in the proportion of the face to the cranium which we noticed in the pyramidal, though obtained by a different arrangement. This configuration is to be met with, in various degrees, among the greater part of the nations of tropical Africa, south of the Great Desert; and it especially prevails among those which have been rendered most familiar to us, from their having been carried across the Atlantic into slavery. It is quite erroneous,

however, to regard it, as Blumenbach did, in the light of a type common to the African nations generally; the fact being that in many of them it is scarcely to be discerned, whilst it is frequently found elsewhere. It is always associated, in our minds, with the idea of degradation; and not unjustly so: for wherever it is well pronounced, we have squalor and destitution, ignorance and brutality. Instead of following an agricultural or pastoral life, such people are, for the most part, hunters, the savage inhabitants of forests, dependent for food upon the accidental produce of the soil or on the chase, and but little advanced in any of the arts of social life.

A more elaborate classification of skulls, taking cognisance of finer shades of difference, has lately been put forth by Dr. Retzius, the distinguished professor of anatomy at Stockholm; but it would not suit our present purpose to go more into detail.

We have now to consider whether these differences re-appear so constantly in all the branches of any particular national stocks, as to justify us in concluding that these stocks were originally distinguishable by the same characters; or whether, in the passage from one group of nations to another, we do not find them undergoing such gradual modifications as to render it impossible to draw any definite line between them: Again, we must further consider whether these characters are so invariably transmitted from one generation to another, where the purity of the race has been preserved, as to necessarily infer their permanency; or whether there is not occasionally adequate evidence of a departure from one or other of these types, and of the assumption of another. We think it better not to encumber ourselves here with the term *species*, of which so many different definitions have been given; especially since the question — whether the races of mankind are to be regarded as varieties of one species, or as distributable among several — is nothing else than the question of the unity, similarity, or diversity of the original stock, only expressed in other words.

When we examine the cranial conformation of the whole Indo-Atlantic group of nations, we perceive that, although the elliptical type prevails among them, it is in very different degrees of development. Certain races manifest a decided tendency towards the pyramidal, others towards the prognathous character; and considerable variations may be seen among individuals of the same race. If the so-called Mongolian group be surveyed in the same manner, the peculiarities of the pyramidal skull will be often found so much softened down, as to approach the elliptical form; sometimes throughout the whole of certain races — occasionally only in individuals. Between the proper

African nations (excluding those of Arabian descent) the difference is still more remarkable. Some of them present the prognathous type in its most complete development; in other cases, the pyramidal form is nearly as evident as among many of the Northern Asiatics; others again, discover a decided tendency towards the more elevated and symmetrical type of the so-called Caucasians. There is, at least, an equal dissimilarity in cranial configuration among the widely spread and isolated tribes by which Oceania is peopled. For, whilst the skulls of the Malayan portion of the population are referable to the pyramidal type rather than to any other, there are savage races in and around Australia which are nearly, if not quite, as prognathous as the African Negroes; at the same time, in many parts of the Polynesian Archipelago, we meet with tribes of higher civilisation, whose skulls can scarcely be distinguished from the best European forms. So, among the American races, the Esquimaux is the exaggeration of the pyramidal type; yet, in some of the southern nations the character of the skull inclines to become prognathous; in others elliptical. Such indeed is the extent of variation, that it would seem utterly impossible to establish any peculiar form as characteristically American. 'A Peruvian,' says a distinguished naturalist, M. d'Orbigny, speaking from personal observation, 'is more different 'from a Patagonian, and a Patagonian from a Guarini, than is a 'Greek from an Ethiopian or a Mongolian.'.

Those ethnologists, therefore, who uphold the doctrine of originally distinct types, have been obliged to admit, not three or five merely, but twenty or thirty; and, as we increase our acquaintance with the physical characters of tribes at present little known, we are continually adding to the number. There is this further difficulty. Although at the present time a considerable number of forms might be selected, with well-marked differences between them; nevertheless, on comparison of the whole, the types, which appear to be most remotely separated, are ascertained to be really connected by such a gradation of intermediate or transitional forms, that it is frequently impossible to say to which of the types a particular specimen should be referred. This fact of itself invalidates the supposition of the uniform transmission of physical characters from parent to offspring; on which supposition the presumption of the original diversity of races chiefly rests. For, on the theory of distinct stocks, each race should have fixed and definite characters, common to all its subdivisions: whereas, in nature, on the contrary, we find the characters shading off in families or individuals, so as to approach a common type.

By considerations of this kind we are conducted to the second head of our inquiry; namely—whether Historical evidence leads to the belief that the cranial characters of the several races are really thus transmitted, with little or no modification, from generation to generation—or whether an actual passage may be effected *in time* from one type to another? Now, of such alterations, Dr. Prichard has collected abundant evidence. One of the most striking examples, perhaps, is afforded by the cranial conformation of the Turks of Europe and Western Asia. It closely resembles that of the great bulk of the European nations; departing so widely from that of the Turks of Central Asia, that many writers have referred the former to the Caucasian rather than to the Mongolian stock. Yet historical evidence sufficiently proves—that the Western Turks originally belonged to the Northern Asiatic group of nations, with which the Eastern portion of their nation still remains associated, not only in its geographical position, but in its physical characters and habits of life—and that it is in the Western branch, not in the Eastern, that the change has taken place. Some writers have supposed, that this change, from the pyramidal to the elliptical form of skull, might be explained as the result of an intermixture of the Turkish race with that of the countries they have conquered, or by the introduction of Georgian or Circassian slaves into their harems. But the cause suggested is plainly inadequate to the effect. For we know that in the Christian countries subjugated by the Turks, the conquering and the conquered races have been kept separate by mutual hatred, fostered by their difference in religion and manners: While any improvement effected by the introduction of Georgian and Circassian slaves must have been confined to the higher classes, who alone could afford to purchase them. In either case the assigned cause, even if admitted to the utmost possible extent, would have merely produced a hybrid or intermediate race, instead of effecting the phenomenon for which we have to account—the entire substitution of a new type for the original one. So complete a change we can scarcely attribute to any other cause than civilisation and social improvement; the constant tendency of which is to smooth down the awkward prominences both of the pyramidal and the prognathous skulls, and bring them towards the symmetry of the elliptical. The Eastern Turks, retaining the nomadic habits of their ancestors, have retained also their cranial conformation.

Another instance of the same modification is to be found in the Magyar race, of which the Hungarian nobility is composed. This race, which is not inferior in physical or mental characters to any in Europe, is proved by historical and philological evi-

dence to have been a branch of the great Northern-Asiatic stock, closely allied in blood to the stupid and feeble Ostiaks and the untamable Laplanders. About ten centuries ago they were expelled by Turkish invasion from Great Hungary, the country they then inhabited, which bordered on the Uralian mountains; and they in their turn expelled the Slavonian nations from the fertile parts of Hungary, which they have occupied ever since. Having thus exchanged their abode, from the most rigorous climate of the Old Continent, — a wilderness where Ostiaks and Samoiedes pursue the chase during only the mildest season, — for one in the south of Europe, amid fertile plains, abounding in rich harvests, they laid aside the rude and savage habits which they are recorded to have brought with them, and adopted a settled mode of life. In the course of a thousand years, their type of cranial conformation has been changed from the pyramidal to the elliptical, and they have become a handsome people, of fine stature and regular European features. There is no reason whatever to regard this improvement as arising in any considerable degree from an intermixture of races; the Magyars being to this day distinct from the other inhabitants of Hungary. Nor would it have been produced by mere change of place, without civilisation. For, among the Lapps, — who, though inhabiting Europe, retain the nomadic habits of their Mongolian ancestors, — the pyramidal form is still preserved.

The Negro type is one which is not unfrequently cited as an example of the permanence of the physical characters of races. The existing Ethiopian physiognomy is said to agree precisely with the representations transmitted to us from the remotest periods, in those marvellous pictures, whose preservation in the tombs and temples of Egypt has revealed to us so much of the inner life of one of the most anciently civilised nations of the world: And this physiognomy, it is further maintained, continues at present identically the same from parent to child, even where the transportation of a Negro population to temperate climates and civilised associates (as in the United States), has entirely changed the external conditions of their existence. Now it is perfectly true that the Negro races which have made no advance in civilisation, retain the prognathous character even in temperate regions; and this is precisely what we should expect. But it is not true, when they have made any progress in civilisation, that they remain equally unaltered. The most elevated forms of skull among the African nations are found in those which have emerged, in a greater or less degree, from their original barbarism. This has chiefly taken place through the influence of the Mahommedan religion, which prevails extensively

among the people of the central and eastern part of Africa. And although there is no historical evidence of their original similarity in cranial conformation to the truly prognathous Negroes, yet all probability is in favour of the supposition. Otherwise, we must imagine that they have always been distinguished by the same elevation of the skull as distinguishes them at present. In which case we shall be obliged either to resort to the hypothesis of a great number of original stocks for the nations of Central Africa alone, or to imagine that the most degraded Negroes have sprung from the more elevated type: — which, to be sure, would be as great an admission as we can desire of the capability of modification in an instance which is usually regarded as the most permanent of all.

In regard to the transplanted Negroes, it is obvious that the time which has elapsed since their removal, is as yet too short to expect any considerable alteration of cranial configuration. Many of the Negroes now living in the West Indian islands are natives of Africa, and a large proportion of the Negro population, both there and in the United States, are removed by no more than one or two descents from their African ancestors. But according to the concurrent testimony of disinterested observers, both in the West Indies and in the United States, an approximation in the Negro physiognomy to the European model *is* progressively taking place, in instances in which, although there has been no intermixture of European blood, the influence of a higher civilisation has been powerfully exercised for a lengthened period. The case of Negroes employed as domestic servants is particularly noticed. Dr. Hancock, of Guiana, even asserts that it is frequently not at all difficult to distinguish a Negro of pure blood belonging to the Dutch portion of the colony, from another belonging to the English settlements, by the correspondence between the features and expression of each, and those which are characteristic of their respective masters. This alteration, too, is not confined to a change of form in the skull, or to the diminution of the projection of the upper jaw; but it is seen also in the general figure, and in the form of the soft parts, as the lips and nose. And Mr. Lyell was assured, during his recent tours in America, by numerous medical men residing in the slave states, that a gradual approximation was taking place, in the configuration of the head and body of the Negroes, to the European model, each successive generation exhibiting an improvement in these respects. The change was most apparent in such as are brought into closest and most habitual relation with the whites (as by domestic servitude), *without any actual intermixture of races*, — a fact,

which the difference of complexion in the offspring would at once betray.

There would thus seem to be a tendency in both the pyramidal and the prognathous types to pass into the elliptical, under the influence of those multifarious conditions which are embodied in the general term civilisation. The question how far the prognathous may be changed to the pyramidal, or *vice versâ*, from want of adequate historical evidence, is involved in greater obscurity. As already remarked, the Hottentot skull is decidedly pyramidal; with oblique eyes, yellowish complexion, sparse hair, and the other characters of the Northern Asiatics. Are the Hottentots descended from the common African stock? — and are their peculiarities of conformation to be accounted for by the influence of the physical peculiarities of their country, which, as Dr. Prichard has pointed out, present an extraordinary correspondence with those inhabited by the roving Mongoles and Tartars? Or are they in reality an offset from the Tartar stock, driven into the remotest corner of the African continent, by the gradual extension and increasing power of the proper African races? It is obvious that the study of the affinities of their language must be the chief means of deciding this question; and these are very imperfectly known. We observe that the Chev. Bunsen inclines to the belief that the Hottentot language is a degraded Kafir, as the Bushman tongue is a degraded Hottentot (Report, p. 286.). It is certainly a remarkable coincidence that a race presenting such a decided resemblance to the Mongolian stock, should be found dwelling in the only part of Africa in which the physical features of the country resemble those of Central Asia: And in the choice of difficulties we are disposed on the whole to agree with Dr. Prichard, in thinking that the Hottentots are probably a proper African race, whose change of type may be attributed to the prolonged influence of these conditions.

Of the possibility of a change from the pyramidal to the prognathous type, a more satisfactory instance is afforded by the inhabitants of Oceania. Even where they are most isolated from each other, the remarkable conformity in the fundamental characters of their languages, as demonstrated by Wilhelm von Humboldt, appears (with other considerations) to have established the common origin of all the Malayan, Polynesian, and Australian races. There is good reason to believe that together with the other inhabitants of south-eastern Asia, they must originally have presented some modification of the pyramidal form. At the present day, however, the prognathous character is highly developed in those natives of Australia and the adjacent islands,

which seem to have longest remained in the most degraded state;—whilst, on the other hand, very favourable examples of the elliptical type are produceable from among them.

But, we may illustrate our argument nearer home. Races which have advanced the furthest in civilisation, and attained the greatest perfection of physical form, produce also examples of physical inferiority in individuals or families. Among other consequences of long-continued want and ignorance, the conformation of the cranium appears to have been affected. The Sanatory Commission would arrive at this conclusion, we believe, were it to examine the worst part of the population of our great towns; the most convincing proof, however, is unfortunately furnished by the lowest classes of the Irish population. There are certain districts in Leitrim, Sligo, and Mayo, (as pointed out by an intelligent writer in the Dublin University Magazine, No. 48.) chiefly inhabited by the descendants of the native Irish driven by the British from Armagh and the south of Down, about two centuries ago. These people, whose ancestors were well-grown, able-bodied, and comely, are now reduced to an average stature of five feet two inches, are pot-bellied, bow-legged, and abortively featured; and are especially remarkable for 'open projecting mouths, with prominent teeth and exposed gums, their 'advancing cheek-bones and depressed noses bearing barbarism 'on their very front.' In other words, within so short a period, they seem to have acquired a prognathous type of skull; like the savages of Australia;—'thus giving such an example of deterioration from known causes, as almost compensates, by its value 'to future ages, for the suffering and debasement which past 'generations have endured in perfecting its appalling lesson.' The hordes of wretched Irish, whom famine has driven to seek subsistence in the sea-ports and manufacturing towns of Great Britain, must have enabled many of our readers to make this observation for themselves:—every gradation being perceptible, from the really noble type of countenance and figure seen in some of them, to that utterly debased aspect which can be looked at only with disgust. It is marvellous, indeed, how close is the physical resemblance between the lowest classes of the Irish population and the natives of Australia, as depicted in the voyage of the 'Astrolabe.' The delineations of the latter, when first seen, gave us the feeling of old acquaintanceship. In both cases, the same cause—a long-continued deficiency of food and social degradation (where a sufficient elevation to resist these depressing agencies had not been previously attained)—has terminated in the same results. And, although the ancestral types of the two were in all probability very different, the changes

thus induced have tended, in a most remarkable manner, to bring about a singular similarity. We shall hereafter see how short a time has been found sufficient to produce a corresponding alteration in certain branches of the Hottentot race. It is an untoward circumstance in human nature, that alterations for the worse appear to take place much more quickly and much more certainly, than alterations for the better.

We need not stop to examine the other peculiarities of the bony skeleton, which have sometimes been supposed to distinguish the races of men from each other. It has been maintained, for example, that the form of the pelvis differs so much in the European and the Negro, as to constitute a valid distinction between the two races; and that different races have *their* characteristic pelves; some light, some heavy, some with an oval opening, some with a round aperture, some approaching the quadrilateral form, and some being wedge-shaped. But the careful and extended comparisons of those eminent anatomists, the Professors Weber of Bonn, have shown that the real facts regarding the configuration of the pelvis are precisely analogous to those relating to the conformation of the cranium. No one form is assignable to any particular nation or group of nations, as a constant distinctive character; but specimens of each kind are found in the same races. At the same time, particular types are more common than others in particular races, a certain relation being discernible between the prevalent form of the pelvic cavity and that of the cranium. So the 'cucumber-shin,' broad flat foot, and projecting heel, which are popularly regarded as typical characters of the Negro race, are found, upon a more extended survey, to belong chiefly to that small proportion of it with which we happen to be most familiar, and to disappear wherever the cranium is more elevated. Even among the Guinea-coast Negroes, and their immediate descendants, individuals are occasionally found whose persons might be taken as models of symmetry and vigour; witness the celebrated athlete, a cast of whose body is conspicuously displayed in the museum of the Royal College of Surgeons of London. Such facts put a negative on the popular notion of the permanency of characters of this kind; on which assumption, however, the doctrine of the original diversity of the Negro and European races always has proceeded.

There is probably no evidence of original diversity of race, which is so generally and unhesitatingly relied upon, as that derived from the *colour of the skin* and the *character of the hair*. That the Ethiopian should change his hue, is by many con-

sidered to be as impossible as that the sun should rise in the west. And the retention of the characteristic hue of a race in the descendants of individuals who have long since migrated into a temperate climate, is continually appealed to as a triumphant argument in favour of a position, which, it is maintained, is conformable alike to the teachings of history and to every-day observation. Nothing is easier than to give a plausible aspect to this opinion; but it will not, we think, stand the test of a searching examination, any better than the doctrine of the restriction of particular conformations of the cranium to particular races. Let us proceed, then, to discuss it in the same manner; considering, in the first place, whether characters derived from the skin and hair are at the present time so *constantly* presented by different races, as to be capable of being employed for the purpose of scientific definition; and secondly, whether history, when carefully interrogated, really sanctions the idea that the hue of any race is permanent and unalterable — or whether there are not examples to the contrary, in which a decided change has taken place. Before we enter, however, upon this inquiry, it may be proper to submit a few general considerations upon the structure of the colouring tissue of the animal skin, and upon the value of colour as a zoological character.

We are accustomed to say that colour is 'only skin-deep': but in point of fact it is *not even skin-deep*; for it does not reach the true skin, being entirely confined to the epidermis or scarf-skin. It was formerly supposed that, between the true skin and scarf-skin, there lay a proper colouring layer, to which the term *rete mucosum* was given; and it was imagined that this layer was greatly developed in the dark-skinned races, but nearly wanting in those of fair complexion. This account of it, however, when submitted to the test of microscopic inquiry, has been found to be totally incorrect.

If Voltaire is to be believed, no well-informed person, formerly, passed by Leyden, without seeing a part of the black membrane (the *reticulum mucosum*) of a Negro, dissected by the celebrated *Ruysch*: the other part had been carried away to Petersburg by Peter the Great. Their error, however, is now universally admitted. The 'rete mucosum' has been discovered to be nothing but the latest layer of epidermis, the inner surface of which is continually being renewed as the exterior is worn away, just like the bark of a tree. There is no distinct colouring layer, it appears, either in the fair or the dark-skinned races; the peculiar hue of the latter depending upon the presence of colouring matter in the cells of the epidermis itself. Now, that this colouring matter may be generated, even

in the fairest skins, under the influence of light and warmth, we have a familiar proof in the summer freckle, which is nothing else than a *local* production of that which in some races is *general*. Persons who have been much exposed to the direct rays of the sun, become 'tanned' or 'sun-burnt' in like manner, owing to the formation of colouring particles in the cells of the epidermis, which are usually almost colourless. The face and hands, for instance, frequently undergo a considerable alteration in hue, while the parts of the body, which are habitually covered, retain their original fairness. The effect of such exposure varies, besides, according to the complexion of the individual. Fair skins become of a reddish brown; and those, in which there was previously any tinge of a black or swarthy hue (such as we often meet with in individuals even of the fairest races, in whose veins there is not the slightest intermixture of Negro blood), become much more swarthy. While, the influence of light is perceived to be greatly modified by the complexion of the individual, the complexion itself is sensibly liable to variation within the limits of families — much more, therefore, of races. This is a matter of familiar observation; two children of the same parents being frequently the one a *blonde*, the other a *brunette*. Further, it is not uncommon to find, in individuals of the fair races, large patches of the surface almost as deeply coloured as the skin of the Negro. On the other hand, *albinoism*, that is, the total absence of colour in the skin, is occasionally seen in dark races as well as fair. A curious case lately fell under our cognisance in which both these aberrations were combined — the hue of the skin, naturally rather swarthy, had been becoming darker for some years; but there were light patches on the face and body, in which there was a total absence of pigment; whilst, as if to compensate for these, peculiarly dark patches came out elsewhere. As the existence of colourless patches on the face produced a disagreeable disfigurement, an attempt was made to re-excite the chromatogenous function by stimulating applications. The attempt, however, was unfortunately rather *too* successful; for although the parts thus treated at first assumed the hue of the general surface, they did not remain in that state, but became in the end of the colour of the spots which were previously the most deeply tinged.

These facts will suffice to prove that any distinctions drawn from a character so superficial, and so liable to modification from external circumstances, as the hue of the skin, must be received with great caution. This is well known to the naturalist, who entirely discards it in every case in which the

least tendency to spontaneous variation is shown. It is quite true that there are instances in which he considers it a sufficient indication of permanent diversity of race, that is, of distinctness of species; for example, there are many butterflies and moths which can scarcely be distinguished from each other by any other character than the form, situation, and colour of certain spots upon their wings. But these spots are found to be *constantly* present — to have precisely the same form, situation, and colour — and not to show the least disposition to variation of type. They become, therefore, from their permanence, as positive indications of original diversity of race, as other criteria are allowed to be. But look at any of our domesticated animals, in which the colour of the skin or its appendages is disposed to variation — the horse, for instance. We there see diversities much greater than those which are relied on as distinctive characters among moths and butterflies; but these differences are so far from being constant, that they spring up among individuals which are known to be descendants of the same parentage; they are, therefore, utterly valueless even as evidence of breeds. In fact, any approach to permanence which they may possess, is entirely due to the agency of man in matching like with like; for all the races of wild horses with which we are acquainted, whether known to be descendants of domesticated ancestors or not, present one uniform brown hue.

To which of these two cases then has that of the human races the most resemblance? Are there definite hues or markings which are characteristic of all the individuals of particular races, and which are regularly transmitted from parent to offspring? Or do we find such a variation in this respect, among tribes or families known or presumed to have had a common parentage, as prevents any such line of demarcation from being drawn? To this question we shall endeavour, with Dr. Prichard's assistance, to give a satisfactory reply.

The problem may be thus stated. Given, a fair and ruddy specimen of the so-called Caucasian race, a jet black Negro, a swarthy Malay, an olive Mongolian, and a copper-coloured American Indian: let it be determined — whether their hues are typical of their respective races; or whether such varieties of colour may not be communicated to all, as to destroy the value of the distinctive character founded upon complexion.

The nations, whose agreement in cranial conformation has caused them to be associated together under the general designation of Caucasian, are very naturally arranged under two groups, differing from one another, but agreeing among themselves, in the fundamental peculiarities of their language. They

are sometimes designated as the Semitic and Japetic nations; but Dr. Prichard much more appropriately, in our apprehension, terms them the Syro-Arabian and the Indo-European,—names which at once indicate the nature of the subdivision. The former of these groups seems to have had its original seat in South-western Asia; but is now much more widely extended. For it seems to have diffused itself at a very remote period over Northern Africa, which has been again colonised from the parent stock at various subsequent times; And one of its offsets, the Jewish nation, has spread itself over a large portion of the habitable world. The Atlantic region of Northern Africa comprises the elevated country, mountainous in some parts, stretching from the Great Desert to the shores of the Mediterranean. Notwithstanding the subsequent admixture of foreign elements, the remains of the language of its earlier inhabitants are sufficiently distinct to have enabled Prof. Newman to class it among the primitive branches of the Syro-Arabian or Semitic group, coëval with the ancient Syrian, the Phœnician, &c. In this case, we can scarcely do otherwise than regard the people who speak dialects of this ancient Berber language,—and who correspond in general bodily configuration, not only with each other, but with the other branches of the same stock,—as forming part of the Syro-Arabian group. Now among the Kabyles of Algiers and Tunis, the Tuaryks of Sahara, the Shelahs or mountaineers of Southern Morocco, and other people of the same race, there are very considerable differences of complexion. In fact, there is perhaps no better example anywhere to be met with of the influence exercised by climate, and by tendency to spontaneous variation, in modifying the complexion. For the particulars to be inquired into in their case occur not only within a very limited range of country, but among races connected by the closest affinities of language, and who agree also in every other important physical character. Although the Kabyles in general have a swarthy hue and dark hair, the tribe of Mozabi is described by Mr. Hodgson as remarkably white; and the lofty table-land, called Mount Aurasius, is inhabited by a tribe so fair and ruddy, and with hair of so deep a yellow, that they have been supposed (though without any adequate foundation) to be a colony of Teutonic origin. On the other hand, some of the Tuaryk tribes bordering on the Great Desert, have a complexion as black as that of the darkest Negro.

Similar varieties of colour obtain in other branches of the Syro-Arabian stock. All travellers who have visited the high lands of Arabia represent the inhabitants as having light complexions, their eyes being often blue and their hair red. The Arabs near

Muscat are of a sickly yellow hue; those of the neighbourhood of Mecca are of a yellowish brown; whilst those of the low countries bordering on the Nile are almost jet black. Mr. Buckingham noticed that the Arabs of the valley of the Jordan, a region of very constant and intense heat, had darker skins, as well as flatter features and coarser hair, than he had seen elsewhere; and in the Haüran, a district beyond the Jordan, he met with a family who had Negro features, a deep black complexion, and crisped hair, of whose pure Arab descent he was nevertheless assured.

It would be easy to multiply proofs to the same effect; but we shall satisfy ourselves with adverting to the case of the Jewish nation, which — though frequently appealed to by the advocates of the permanence of complexion and other physical characters — really tells the other way, when fully stated. This case is particularly satisfactory, on account of the evidence of general purity of descent through a long succession of generations, during which the scattered residence of the race has subjected its members to a great variety of external conditions. Now, although the descendants of Abraham are still generally recognisable by certain peculiarities of physiognomy, we find a great variety of complexion among them. In this country blue eyes and flaxen hair are not unfrequent; but a light brunette hue with black hair is most common. In Germany and Poland, the ordinary complexion is more florid, with blue eyes and red hair. On the other hand, the Jews of Portugal are very dark; whilst those who have been settled from very remote times in Cochin and the interior of Malabar, are so black as not to be distinguishable by their complexion from the native inhabitants. Thus it may be stated as a general proposition, that the complexion of the Jews tends to assimilate itself to that of any nation in which their residence has been sufficiently prolonged: while of this assimilation, the introduction of a small amount of extraneous blood does not by any means afford an adequate explanation. It is a curious circumstance that there is at Mattacheri, a town of Cochin, a particular colony of Jews which arrived at a comparatively late date in that country, and which are called Jerusalem or White Jews. That they have not yet been blackened by the tropical light and heat, shows that *time* is in this case a necessary condition.

If we turn to the Indo-European branch of the Caucasian stock, we encounter a series of analogous phenomena. Passing from the mouth of the Ganges to the British Islands, not only does the same general type of cranial conformation everywhere reappear: but a fundamental conformity in the languages

of the various nations, as well as the concurrent testimony of their history and traditions all indicate an early connexion. Whatever may be thought of certain exceptional cases, no ethnologist of repute now disputes the eastern origin of the great body of the population of Europe. Here, then, we have a most striking example of variation of colour among the descendants of one common stock; for the complexion of the Hindoo does not less differ from that of a Scandinavian, than does that of the Negro; indeed, there is every shade of gradation interposed between the fair hair and blue eyes of the inhabitant of Northern Europe, and the jet black of the dweller in the plains of India. Even if the common origin of the Hindoo and the Germanic and other European nations should be disputed (which, however, can not be attempted without overthrowing the whole fabric of modern philology), it will be easy to show that similar variations are generated within much narrower limits. Thus among the Hindoo nation alone, we find the most marked diversities of complexion; some are as black as Negroes, some are of a copper colour, others little darker than the inhabitants of Southern Europe, and others have actually fair complexions with blue eyes, and auburn or even red hair. These diversities appear to be connected with two sets of conditions, as their operating causes. The first place must be assigned to the marked differences of climate, which prevail betwixt the mountainous elevations of Kashmir or Kafiristan, and the low plains bordering the great rivers of India: But the distinction of castes is scarcely of secondary consequence. Since it perpetuates the same mode of life in particular families from generation to generation, and also tends to render permanent any variety that may spontaneously spring up, and to restrain it within the limits of the caste in which it occurs. The high-caste people of the northern and more elevated parts of India are remarkable for the fairness of their complexions: while the Affghans, descended from the Median stock, and speaking a dialect derived from the ancient Zend, contain within their passes every variety of complexion, from that of the dark Indian to that of the fair European.

It is obvious, accordingly, that it is impossible to regard the hue of the skin as a sufficient test of the Caucasian race; since, whatever we may assume to be its typical complexion, that type is subject to every kind and degree of modification. The Arabs, the Berbers, the Jews, the Hindoos, the Affghans, and numerous other tribes that might be cited, exhibit many such modifications among themselves, not to mention those which distinguish them from each other: when the European nations are added to the list, the contrast becomes still more striking.

Let us next examine the African nations. Here, it may perhaps be said, no such variety embarrasses us: blackness, with a reddish or yellowish tinge, being the universal hue of the Ethiopian race. Such an assertion, however, would only exhibit the very limited information of the rash ethnologist who should hazard it; for no fact is better established, than that of great diversity of complexion among the different inhabitants of this great continent. Some of the Kafir tribes, among which we frequently meet with high foreheads and prominent noses, have also light brown complexions and reddish hair; yet there is no ground whatever for attributing to them an origin distinct from that of the proper Negro races, with which they are connected in different degrees of affinity. There are tribes even upon the Gold and Slave coasts, considerably lighter than ordinary Negroes. The Hottentot has a large admixture of yellow in his complexion; whilst the Fúlahs of Central Africa are of a dark copper colour.

The widest departure from the ordinary Negro complexion is shown in the African nations who border on the Red Sea. Little was known of them, prior to the French expedition into Egypt; much information, however, has been gained since, especially by M. d'Abbadie. They exhibit specialties on the one hand, which approximate closely to the Negro type; though in other respects, more particularly in the hue of their skin, the severance is complete:—so that they evidently constitute a series of links between the Negro and the ancient Egyptian race. This gradual transition has been attributed by writers who regard the ancient Egyptians as of Caucasian origin, to an intermixture of races from neighbouring confines. But M. d'Abbadie, a most careful observer, expressly states that these intermediate tribes are certainly *not* Mulattoes, having none of the characters of mixed races. On the contrary, they are each of them distinguished by the characteristic physical features and peculiarities of language, which mark them out as races distinct from the Negroes on the one hand, and from the white races on the other; though they possess at the same time points of resemblance to both. Here, as elsewhere, the lightest complexions and a superior physical conformation characterise the inhabitants of the highlands; whilst the dwellers on the low plains beneath the same latitudes approach nearer to the true Negroes of their neighbourhood, not merely in the blackness of their skin, but in the thickness of their lips, the flatness of their noses, and the crispness of their hair.

We must not allow ourselves to be detained by the evidence collected by Dr. Prichard respecting the physical characters of

the ancient Egyptians. The conclusion to which it conducts him is a conviction — that the ancient Egyptians were so closely allied to the Negro race, that the origin of both was probably the same. The complexion of the ancient Egyptians, as represented by their own artists, seems to have been of a red copper or light chocolate colour, and to have resembled the present complexion of the reddest of the Fúlah and Kafir tribes. Their peculiar physiognomy has been transmitted to us still better, perhaps, in their sculptures: where it is at once recognised as much more African than Arabian: the Negro features being only an exaggeration of it. We shall hereafter see that this conclusion is strengthened by philological considerations.

Complexion, therefore, must be admitted to be no such definite distinction, as can sever the Negro races from other branches of the human family. Nor will the character of their hair be found more conclusive; though it has been asserted by some to be a more lasting, and therefore more trustworthy, criterion — so much so, that the African nations have been collectively termed 'woolly-haired.' Now, it is clearly proved by microscopic examination, that the hair of the Negro is not wool; and that its intimate structure differs from that of the fairer races, solely in the greater quantity of pigmentary matter contained in its interior — as is the case with jet-black hair in our own country. The crisp, twisted growth of Negro hair is the only sign by which it can be really separated from the straight and flowing hair of Europeans. But a little consideration will show the futility of attempting to separate races on distinctions, which do not exceed such variations as may be observed within the limits of any single race. For instance, among the African nations, some have a dark complexion, and are conformable in other respects to the Negro type, yet at the same time have long flowing hair. On the other hand, there are many Europeans, having no admixture of Negro blood, with hair so crisp and frizzled as almost to deserve the epithet of woolly. But supposing the difference to be as great and constant as is commonly represented, it would still be by no means sufficient to establish a diversity of origin. For the zoologist knows that he can place little reliance upon characters derived from the hairy covering: they are so *peculiarly* liable to variation under climatic influences. Thus the sheep of one of the valleys of the Andes, descended from those originally introduced by the Spaniards, bear wool in the first instance, and continue to do so if regularly shorn. If neglected, however, the wool forms a large tufted mass, which finally breaks off in shaggy

portions; and beneath is found, not fresh wool, nor a naked and diseased skin, but a short fine hair, shining and smooth, like that of the goat in its best state: and this remains permanently, the wool never reappearing.

On instituting a similar comparison between the complexions of the various branches and offsets of the *Mongolian* race, it will appear that, although an admixture of yellow is one of its most constant characters, yet this may coexist with many other shades, and may even disappear altogether. Thus, in the remains of the aboriginal tribes of India, still existing in the hilly regions of the north, in the Deccan, and especially in Ceylon,—all of which appear from the characters of their language, their peculiar customs, and their traditions, to be descendants of the Northern Asiatic, rather than of the Hindoo or Arian stock,—we find a variety of shades of complexion; and this even within the limits of the same nation. For example, the Cinghalese are described by Dr. Davy as varying in colour from light brown to black; the prevalent hue of their hair and eyes is black, but hazel eyes and brown hair are not very uncommon; grey eyes and red hair are occasionally seen, though rarely; and sometimes the light blue or red eye and light flaxen hair of the Albino. Dr. Davy, in describing such a one, remarks that her complexion would scarcely be considered peculiar in England, certainly not in Norway; for her eyes were light blue, and not particularly weak, her hair of the colour that usually accompanies such eyes, and her complexion rather rosy. 'It is easy to conceive,' he adds, 'that an accidental variety of 'this kind might propagate, and that the white race of man-'kind is sprung from such an accidental variety. The Indians 'are of this opinion; and there is a tradition or story among 'them in which this origin is assigned to us.' This tendency towards a fair and even florid complexion, with light blue eyes and bushy hair, can be traced in several other nations of the same type, such as the Mantchoos in China, and also among the Chinese themselves. On the other hand, the hardy Samoiedes, Tungusians, and others living on the borders of the Icy Sea, have a dirty brown or swarthy complexion. A scantiness of hair, we may observe, is generally found in company with the Mongolian type; yet there are tribes having all the other characters conformable, and speaking languages obviously derived from the same stock, whose hair and beard are long and bushy.

If we pass on to the Oceanic races, any attempt to employ the characters of the skin and hair as a means of distinguishing them from the other supposed primary stocks, must utterly fail, so great and so numerous are the diversities. Thus the

Malays of the eastern Archipelago, who resemble the Chinese in features and general conformation, are of darker colour; retaining, however, somewhat of a yellow tinge in their complexion. This comes out very strongly in the natives of the Caroline islands, whose aspect is decidedly Mongolian, and whose complexion is of a citron hue, although it becomes brown by exposure. The Tahitians and Marquesans—especially in the families of their chiefs, which are secluded from the wind and sun—exhibit a clear olive or brunette complexion, such as is common among the nations of Central and Southern Europe; and the hair, though generally black, is sometimes brown, auburn, or even red or flaxen. The Hawaii or Sandwich islanders are somewhat darker, and their hair is frequently crisp and frizzled. The New Zealanders and Ombai islanders present remarkable varieties of complexion, as well as of general conformation; some of them being tall, well-formed, and comparatively fair, whilst others are dark or almost black, and inferior in stature and figure. Yet there is no sufficient reason for supposing in either of these cases a mixed descent; or for surmising that they have a different parentage from each other, or from the fairer races of other islands. Of the inhabitants of Madagascar, little is known as yet with any certainty: but it appears that some of them approximate towards the Malayan type, others towards the Negro. The probability of an admixture of race is here obviously considerable.

But besides the Malayan Polynesians, whose affinity to each other and to the Mongolian stock can scarcely be doubted, there are others whose settlement in particular islands seems to have been of much older date, and whose physical characters have a much nearer resemblance to those of the Negro. These tribes are described as ferocious and sullen, of savage and menacing aspect, averse to intercourse with strangers, exceeding in ugliness the most ill-favoured brood of the African forests, and rivalling them in the sooty blackness of their complexion. Some of them have the woolly hair of the Negroes of Guinea; but others have long straight locks which may be compared to those of the Esquimaux or Algonquins; while many astonish the beholder with their broad, bushed-out, and frizzly periwigs, reaching to the circumference of three feet, by which they obtained from Dampier the epithet of 'mop-headed Papuas.' The head-quarters of these 'Pelagian Negroes,' as Dr. Prichard calls them, are the insulated countries which lie around Australia. In some of these they constitute the sole population; but wherever the Malayan races have established themselves, the blacker tribes have been either exterminated or driven into the mountain

fastnesses of the interior. The relation of these people to the genuine Malayo-Polynesian race is difficult to determine, in consequence of our almost total ignorance of the language of the former. But there are many circumstances which lead to the belief of their common origin, and especially this:—In several of the islands peopled by the Malayo-Polynesian stock, the complexion of the mass of the people, who are continually exposed to the influence of the sun and air, grows darker, the features ugly, and the hair somewhat crisp, with a decided approach towards the Pelagian Negro type. Yet among the very same people, the superior caste, who pass their days in ease, and are carefully sheltered from the tropical sun, have a fair complexion and an almost European cast of features. All intelligent persons who have long resided in the islands of the Pacific, under circumstances favourable to accurate investigation, appear to have come to the conclusion, that these differences can only be accounted for by the diversified agency of climate and physical influences on the different branches of a race originally the same. If colour be once adopted as a test of separate origin, we must suppose that tribes speaking the same language, having the same customs and traditions, and closely related in general conformation, sprang nevertheless from ancestors who had no relation to each other; and we must assign a distinct pair to almost every island or group of islands, and in some instances even two or more pairs to a single island.

Lastly, in regard to the *American* nations, it is sufficient to remark that the appellation 'red men,' is by no means characteristic; for, not only are tribes elsewhere found, at least equally deserving of it, but it is not applicable to a large proportion of the population of the continent of America. Although some of the North American Indians are copper-coloured, some are as fair as many Europeans; others are of a brown or yellow complexion, and others nearly, if not quite, as black as the Negroes of Africa. Here also, therefore, we should be forced into the supposition of a large number of primitive stocks in near vicinity to each other, were so much authority to be attributed to colour as to allow it to conclusively establish the separate origins of *any* races of mankind.

We have already adverted to examples in which there existed historical proof, or at least adequate presumption, of an actual *change* in the prevalent hue of a people, within a certain tract of time; we may adduce a few more instances by way of confirmation. The Barábra or Berberines of the higher parts of the Nile appear, from the most careful researches that have been made into their history, to be the descendants of the

Nobatæ, who were brought fifteen centuries ago from an oasis in the western country, by Diocletian, to inhabit the valley of the Nile. The particular district, out of which they issued, appears to have been Kordofan; the present inhabitants of which, true Negroes, still preserve and speak the Barábra language. The Berberines live on the banks of the Nile; and wherever there is any soil they plant date trees, set up wheels for irrigation, and sow dhourra and leguminous plants. At Cairo, where many of them resort, they are prized for their honesty. Now, this advance in civilisation has been accompanied by a considerable change in complexion: for their present physiognomy and hue of skin are very similar to those of the ancient Egyptians: their hair, too, is long and slightly crisp, without being woolly. This alteration cannot be set down to any intermixture with the Arabs or other inhabitants of the Nile valley, from whom the Berberines keep themselves distinct. In like manner the Funge, who made themselves masters of Sennaar about three centuries ago, although originally Negroes of the Shilúkh nation, no longer present the physiognomy or complexion of that race, but much more nearly approach the Berberines. There appears in both cases to be a special tendency towards a red complexion, and even red hair; and among the Funge the individuals thus distinguished are stated to form a separate caste, being known under the name of 'El Akmar,' or 'the red people.' In Northern India, again, there are tribes of mountaineers descended from families which migrated at remote periods from the plains of Hindustan to high tracts in the Himalaya, especially towards the sources of the sacred rivers. Many of these have so far departed from the ordinary Hindoo aspect as to have acquired a fair complexion, with blue eyes, and auburn or red hair. The most complete change, however, seems to have taken place in the Siah-Pôsh. They speak a dialect of the Sanskrit (which is no longer the spoken language of any part of India), and are acquainted with only the simplest form of Hindoo mythology;—they may be assumed, therefore, to have separated from the main stock at a very early period. According to the information obtained by Mountstuart Elphinstone, and Sir A. Burnes, the Siah-Pôsh are a people of exquisite beauty, with regular Grecian features, blue eyes, arched eyebrows, and fair complexion; they have no resemblance to the Affghan or Cashmirian people near whom they dwell.

We have thus shown that however easy it may be to select a certain number of individuals from the various races, and to set them up as typical forms, it is utterly futile to attempt to make any general classification of races according to such forms.

There is no single distinctive character common to all those tribes, whose general agreement would nevertheless require their association in any such system of classification; and there is none so permanent as to be incapable of undergoing modification in course of time, either from inherent tendency to spontaneous variation, or from the influence of external conditions.

A general view of the phenomena belonging to the various complexions of the human race must compel us to admit, to a very considerable extent, the influence of climate among the causes of these varieties. Thus it is only in the intertropical regions, and in the countries bordering upon them, that we meet with the greatest depth of colour in the skin; and all the nations inhabiting those regions have an inclination to complete blackness, which may, however, be kept in check by other circumstances. The two other conditions which seem to have the greatest modifying influence, next to geographical position, are elevation above the sea level, and the degree of humidity in the atmosphere. In botanical geography, elevation is considered an equivalent to removal towards the nearest pole; and it has obviously the same effect on human complexion as on the growth of plants — the inhabitants of mountainous districts being almost always fairer than those of the plains at their base. On the influence of humidity much stress is laid by M. D'Orbigny and Sir R. Schomburgk, each of whom has made the remark, as the result of personal and independent observation on the inhabitants of the New World, that people who live under the damp shade of dense and lofty forests are comparatively fair; whilst those exposed to solar heat in dry and open spaces are of a much deeper hue.

It must be admitted that the relation between climate and colour is not *perfectly* uniform; but it is at least as uniform as the relation between colour and race; — that is, the difference of shade among different families of nations which have been exposed sufficiently long to the same climatic influences, is not greater than that which presents itself among individuals of the same nation. It would seem that, among the greater number of dark-skinned nations, there is a greater variety of complexion than is found in those of fairer hue. We have already noticed this, when speaking of the inhabitants of New Zealand: and the following quotation from Bishop Heber's journal shows the amount of variety existing among the Hindoos. He remarks, on landing, 'the great difference in colour between different natives 'struck me much. Of the crowd by whom we were surrounded, 'some were as black as Negroes, others merely copper-coloured, 'and others little darker than the Tunisines whom I have seen

'in Liverpool. Mr. Mill, the Principal of the Bishop's College, 'who came down to meet me, and who has seen more of India 'than most men, tells me that he cannot account for this differ- 'ence, which is general throughout the country, and everywhere 'striking. It is not merely the difference of exposure, since this 'variety is visible in the fishermen, who are naked all alike. 'Nor does it depend on caste, since very high caste Brahmins 'are sometimes black, while Pariahs are comparatively fair. 'It seems, therefore, to be an accidental difference, like that of 'light and dark complexions in Europe; though, where so much 'of the body is exposed to light, it becomes more striking here 'than in our own country.'

We have seen that the Arab, living in the country of the Negro, becomes of Negro blackness; that the Negro, dwelling on the banks of the Nile, presents the dark red tinge of the ancient Egyptian; that the Jew, transplanted into the northern regions of Europe, has the original swarthy complexion of his race replaced by a fair and even a florid hue, whilst another offset of the same stock rivals in blackness the Hindoos among whom he dwells; that the Hindoo, when he migrates to the high lands of the Himalaya range, becomes, in process of time, as fair as the Europeans who have come thither from the far North: that the nations proved by affinities of language to be descendants of the great Arian stock, which has dispersed itself through every variety of climate, admit of every variety of colour; and that equal and similar varieties abound among the members of other groups of nations (*e. g.* the American and the Polynesian), whose geographical distribution and linguistic affinities afford a strong presumption of a common origin. We cannot conceive that any candid person can weigh this mass of evidence, without coming to the conclusion that the most extreme differences of complexion are unsafe indications of an original distinctness of race; and that these differences owe their origin far more to the prolonged influence of external physical conditions, than to any other assignable causes: And we thus arrive at precisely the same result to which we were led by a comparison of the cranial conformation of the different races.

The general propositions, then, which we feel entitled to deduce from these premises are as follows: — First, that no such difference exists in the external aspect or internal structure of the different races of men as would justify the assertion of their distinct origin; and second, that although the comparison of the anatomical characters of races does not furnish any positive evidence of their descent from a common stock, it proves that,

even if their stocks *were* originally distinct, there could have been no *essential* difference between them,—the descendants of any one such stock, being able to assume the characters of another.

These conclusions are fully borne out by the *physiological* comparisons instituted by Dr. Prichard, of which, however, we can only notice the leading features. He lays it down, in the first instance, as a general axiom, that the great laws of the vital functions, such as those governing the periods and duration of life, the economy of the sexes, and the phenomena of parturition and reproduction, are, with slight deviations resulting from external agencies, constant and uniform in each particular species; whilst there are usually decided differences in regard to the same peculiarities among races of animals, which, though nearly resembling each other, are yet specifically distinct. This axiom will be admitted, we believe, by all who are competent to form an opinion on the subject; and it is signally confirmed by the careful study of those races of domesticated animals, which are remarkable for the greatest amount of anatomical variation.

Now, taking the average duration of life as the first point of comparison, we find that, whilst there is a marked difference in this respect between man and the highest apes — the full term of existence of the chimpanzee being stated by M. Lesson at not more than thirty years, and that of inferior species being less — there is absolutely no difference among the several races of mankind; the extreme age of the Negro and American races being at least as great as that of the European; with the same average duration of life under the same circumstances as regards climate, mode of life, &c. This is true also of the period at which the body attains its full development; of that at which the capability of reproduction is first manifested in the female, and of that at which it ceases. The slight differences which are observable as to these particulars among the several races, are not greater than among individuals of the same race or nation under similar climatic influences. The term of gestation, which is one of the most definite of all the periodical phenomena of life, and which frequently differs widely in two species nearly allied to each other, is exactly the same in every one of the human races.

This conclusion derives additional support from the results attending the mixture of races. Dr. Prichard has drawn particular attention to this point, and has placed the question in a somewhat new aspect. He brings together a large number of facts from the domains of zoology and botany, to prove the

comparative, if not the absolute, sterility of mules, or hybrids between parents of different species; and the superior vigour and fecundity of hybrids whose parents are merely varieties of one species. According to De Candolle, no hybrids between plants of undoubtedly distinct species can continue the race *by themselves* for more than three or four generations; their capability of more permanent fecundity being dependent on the occasional *crossing* of the race with one of the parent stocks, towards which it gradually returns; so that the hybrid race becomes virtually extinct. It is questioned by Dr. Prichard whether hybrids between animals of undoubtedly distinct species are ever fertile with *each other*, although it is well known that they may become so with either of the parent stocks. On the other hand, it is universally admitted that an intermixture of mere varieties, as in the crossing of the breeds of domesticated animals, tends to the improvement of the race, and is favourable to its perpetuation. He considers that it may be possible in this manner to test the specific identity or difference of two races of plants or animals: any two races that will produce a progeny of equal fertility with themselves being of the same species, whilst those whose progeny falls off in vigour and fecundity are to be regarded as of different species. If this test could be implicitly relied on, the specific identity of all the human races must be at once admitted; since there is ample evidence to show that races of men descended from a mixed parentage are at least equal in vigour and fertility to their parent stocks, and frequently exceed them. But it is fair to say that naturalists are by no means universally agreed on the adoption of this test; there being many who maintain that the limits of hybridity are much wider than Dr. Prichard supposes; and that the fertility of the progeny depends rather upon the general similarity of the parents than upon their *specific* unity. Certain eminent zoologists are even disposed to believe that our domesticated quadrupeds are for the most part hybrid races between parents of different species. On this supposition, our breeds of horses, oxen, sheep, dogs, cats, &c., are not, as is commonly supposed, descended from single wild stocks now for the most part lost sight of, but have had several original stocks, whose traces are still discoverable. Hence we feel that it would be unwise to lay much stress upon this particular argument; though whatever weight it possesses must go into the scale of original unity.

Following the order we have indicated, we shall now pass to that department of our survey which embraces the *Psychical* characters of the different races of mankind:—in our appre-

hension, the most important part of the whole inquiry; but which no ethnologist till Dr. Prichard had thought worthy of a systematic investigation. The capaciousness of the skulls of the Negro and European has been measured and compared; but little account has been taken of the workings of the brains which they contained. The colour of the skin, the flatness or projection of the nose, the lankness or crispness of the hair, the straightness or curvature of the limbs, have been scrutinised and contrasted; as if these alone constituted the proper description of Man: though it is surely in the psychical character and its manifestations, that the attributes of humanity peculiarly consist.

The tests by which we recognise the claims of the outcast and degraded of our own country to a common humanity, are surely the same by which we should estimate the true relation of the Negro, the Bushman, or the Australian savage, to the cultivated European. We must not judge of their capabilities solely by their manner of life, however wretched that may be; since this is often forced upon them by external circumstances. Nor have we any right to pronounce them incapable of entertaining any particular class of ideas, simply because we cannot find the traces of these in their existing forms of expression. It is only when such people have been attentively studied,—not by a passing traveller, who, though he may pick up a little of their language, sees little of their inner life,—but by a resident who has made it his business to become, as far as possible, one of themselves, and has succeeded in gaining acquaintance with habits which a jealous reserve would conceal, and ideas which the imperfections of language render most difficult of transmission,—that we have any right to affirm what they *are;* and even this amount of information affords little means of judging what they may *become.* It will be only when the effect of education, intellectual, moral, and religious, has been fairly tested, that we shall be entitled to speak of any essential and constant difference between ourselves and the most degraded being clothed in the human form. It will only be when the influence of perfect equality in civilisation and in social position has been ineffectually brought to bear on them for several consecutive generations, that we shall be entitled to say, of the Negro or any other race, that it is separated by an 'impassable barrier' from those which arrogate to themselves an inalienable superiority in intellectual and moral endowments. All our present knowledge on this subject tends rather to show that no such barrier exists; and that there is a real community of psychical characters among all the races of men; the differences in the degree of their positive

and relative development not being greater than those which exist in the history or in the varieties of our own race. And we may add, that, in almost every instance, the more we learn concerning any particular nation or tribe reputed to present the meanest possible aspect of humanity, the more we generally have to recede from the harshness of our first impressions. This has been found especially to be the case with regard to the aborigines of Australia. They were supposed to be at the bottom of the scale, not merely as regards their physical condition,—but to be deficient in their intellect and their moral feelings, and to want even the rudiments of any religious impression. More intimate acquaintance with them, however, has fully proved the fallacy of such statements. It is remarkable, too, that they possess many singular institutions, more resembling those of the North American Indians than of any other nations known to us. One great obstruction, to the improvement of their social state is said to consist (as in a certain other country nearer home) in the great complexity of their landed tenure,—the perverted ingenuity of which would do credit, it is said, to the genius of an astute lawyer.

The examination of the psychical endowments of the several races of mankind is pursued by Dr. Prichard through a great variety of interesting and instructive details, into which, however, we have no longer room to enter. We must, therefore, content ourselves with laying before our readers a pretty full account of one of his most striking illustrations.

The example which we select is that of the Bushmen of South Africa; a race which many ethnologists regard as the most degraded of the human species; and which some have thought so far below the level of the real Japetic man, as not even to be worth making slaves of! Their language has been said to consist only of a few guttural tones, and to be capable of expressing but few ideas; and they themselves to be all but incapable of reasoning. Without houses or even huts, they live in caves and holes, naked and half-starved savages; and wander through forests, in small companies or separate families, hardly supporting a miserable existence on wild roots, the eggs of ants, lizards, snakes, and the most loathsome insects. They are horribly filthy in their personal habits, and their only enjoyment is smoking. They are said, indeed, to make no use of fire, except for the purpose of lighting their pipes; and they eat the most unclean food without even taking the trouble to wash it. We can scarcely feel surprised, then, that those writers who search for indications of approximation between mankind and the inferior animals, should have found in these wretched Bushmen a plain link of connexion.

There is ample evidence, however, that the Bushmen are a degraded caste of the Hottentot race. They agree with the Hottentots in all the peculiarities of physiognomy, cranial conformation, &c., by which the latter are characterised; and a careful comparison of the languages of the two races has shown that there is an essential affinity between them. Still more satisfactory proof of this is derived from historical testimony. The process of the conversion of Hottentots into Bushmen — the change of a mild, confiding, and unenterprising race of shepherds, wandering about in large societies with their flocks and herds, into fierce, suspicious, and vindictive savages, who issue from the fastnesses of their rocky deserts only to plunder and destroy — has been witnessed even within the present generation, as the result of the encroachments of the European colonists on one side, and of the Kafirs on the other. Hence some persons have attributed the origin of the Bushman race entirely to the oppressions, to which certain Hottentot tribes had been subjected at the hands of their more civilised neighbours; and have dated it, in fact, from the time of the first settlement of Europeans at the Cape of Good Hope. This appears, however, from the reports of Dr. Andrew Smith, who was engaged by the colonial government, during his long residence in South Africa, to undertake a journey of investigation into the interior of Hottentot-land and Kafiristan, not to be strictly true. The numbers of the Bushmen will have been augmented from time to time by various conquered and reduced tribes of Hottentots resorting to the wandering hordes of their vicinity; yet the first separation of the two races took place at a remote period, probably long antecedent to the arrival of the first colonists at the Cape. According to Dr. Smith, almost all the South African tribes who have made any advances in civilisation, are surrounded by more barbarous hordes, whose abodes are in the wilderness and in the fastnesses of mountains and forests, and who constantly recruit their numbers by such fugitives as crime and destitution may have driven from their own more honest and thriving communities. Thus the Kafirs have their Bushmen, as well as the Hottentots; although it is only the outcasts of the latter who are known to the Cape colonists.

Notwithstanding what has been just stated of the fundamental affinities between the Bushman and Hottentot languages, there is so great a difference in their vocabularies as to have given an apparent sanction to the idea of their complete dissociation. Of this difference, however, Dr. Smith has been able to give a satisfactory account. He states that many of the Bushmen hordes vary their speech designedly, by affecting a

singular mode of utterance, and even adopt new words in order to render their meaning unintelligible to all but the members of their own community. This modified dialect is more or less understood by the population belonging to each Bushman tribe; but not by the Hottentots, or by persons who know only the common language of the race. The clapping noise occasioned by the various motions of the tongue, which is characteristic of the Hottentot language, occurs still more frequently among the Bushmen; they, indeed, often use it so incessantly, as to seem to be giving utterance to a jargon consisting of an uninterrupted succession of claps.

It is justly remarked by Dr. Prichard that these curious facts are valuable as bearing on other ethnological questions.

'The fact of a tribe of people in a better condition, and looking upon themselves as of higher caste and dignity, having in its vicinity hordes of a lower state, a *mlechas*, or "mixed multitude," descended probably from refugees and outcasts, and more or less mingled with foreigners and vagabonds from various quarters, is a thing likely to have occurred in other parts of the world besides South Africa; and the supposition of its existence may tend to explain many phenomena in history or ethnology. In India, for example, it cannot be doubted that many a tribe of obscure origin living beyond the limits, or on the outskirts, of civilised communities, owes its existence, in a great part at least, to the shelter which woods, and fastnesses, and mountainous tracts afford, from time to time, to persons whose character and habits of life are such as to unfit them for the observation of laws, and for submission to regal and priestly ordinances.' (Appendix to Natural History of Mankind, p. 598.)

There are many instances in ancient history of tribes who were probably of kindred origin with their masters, being reduced and kept in a state of vassalage for many generations, and treated with the greatest cruelty. The enslavement of the Helots by the Spartans will occur to every one. In like manner the ancient Slavonian race was long held in servile subjection to the Sarmatæ; but having been armed for the defence of their common country against the Goths, they finally turned their arms against their domestic tyrants, and expelled them. Among the ancient Egyptians, as Dr. Prichard observes, there was probably a large population of mixed races, besides the pure castes of the Egyptian stock:—a supposition which will enable us to account for many varieties of statement in ancient descriptions of the Egyptians, and in the physical traits of mummies,—while the national type, as represented by paintings and sculptures, is strikingly uniform. Dr. Prichard finds another analogy in the case of the Lappes of Northern Europe, who may have originally borne the same relation to the Finns in their vicinity as the

Bushmen bear to the present Hottentots. A similar or even greater difference, at least in bulk and stature, is pointed out between the small and meagre Bedouins who lead a predatory life in the African desert, and the industrious Fellahs who live by the cultivation of the soil, and who, though of the same race, are comparatively stout and athletic men.

So, again, with regard to the history of languages, the fact that a savage race is known to modify its speech for the purpose of becoming unintelligible to its neighbours, is by no means unimportant. It is impossible to say how many of the apparently original diversities of human speech have had their commencement in a similar cause, and in the voluntary adoption of a new jargon by some small separated community. The clapping articulation of the Hottentots themselves may have originated wholly from this habit; particularly if, as hinted by Bunsen, the Hottentot language is a degraded dialect of the Kafir. We have specially noticed their case, however, for the sake of observing that the moral disparities, by which it has been sought to exclude the Bushmen from a fellowship with the higher races, constitute on the contrary an affinity between them. Since such surely is the case, when Dr. Prichard, in his most recent publication on the subject, mentions a total want of forethought, and a wild desire of revenge, among their most striking characteristics.

Would that we could say that recklessness or ferocity were confined to the rude dwellers in the remote deserts of South Africa! Unfortunately there is scarcely a civilised nation, in the very bosom of which there does not exist an outcast population, neither less reckless nor less prone to the fearful indulgence of their worst passions than these miserable Bushmen, and only restrained from breaking loose by external coercion. Their want of forethought is matter of daily lamentation: and as often as the arm of the law is paralysed, the savage inhabitants of the unknown deserts of our great towns, issue from their dens, and rival, in their excesses of wanton cruelty, the most terrible exhibitions of barbarian inhumanity. Now, on the one hand, if we admit the influence of want, ignorance, and neglect, in accounting for the debasement of the savages of our own great towns, and yet cherish the belief that, so far from being irreclaimable, they may at least be brought up to the standard from which they have degenerated; on the other hand, we cannot well doubt the operation of the same causes on the outcasts of the Hottentot races, or refuse to believe that even the wretched Bushmen might be brought back to the condition of the people from among whom they have been driven forth.

Of the Hottentots themselves, however, we are accustomed to entertain a very low estimate; our ideas of them having been chiefly derived from the intercourse of the Cape settlers with the tribes which have been their nearest neighbours, and which have unfortunately undergone that deterioration which is so often found to be the first result of the contact of civilised with comparatively savage nations. From the Dutch writers, however, who described the Hottentots at the time of the first settlement, we find that they were originally a numerous people, divided into many tribes, under the patriarchal government of chiefs or elders: who wandered about with flocks and herds, associating in companies of three or four hundred persons, living in kraals, or moveable villages of huts, which were constructed of poles or boughs covered with rush mats, and taken down and carried about on pack-oxen. They were bold and active in the chase, and courageous in warfare; their general disposition was distinguished by humanity and good nature; and they are particularly extolled as the most faithful servants in the world. Though excessively fond of wine, brandy, and tobacco, they might be safely intrusted with them — neither themselves taking, nor suffering others to take, any such articles when committed to their charge. Their chastity was remarkable — adultery being punished with death. Their besetting sin appears to have been indolence; which prevented them from troubling themselves much about personal cleanliness, or about the cultivation of their minds. Nevertheless, when they could be induced to apply, they made no mean progress. Kolben, a voyager and writer of that date, declares that he has known many of them who were tolerable masters of Dutch, French, and Portuguese: one particularly, who learned English and Portuguese in a very short time; and who having conquered the vicious pronunciation contracted from his native speech, was said by good judges to understand and speak his new languages with surprising readiness and propriety. They were even employed by Europeans in affairs that require judgment and capacity. A Hottentot named Cloos was intrusted by Van der Stel, one of the early governors of the Cape, with carrying on a large trade in cattle with tribes at a great distance, and generally executed his commission with great success.

And yet these are the beings whom it is the fashion with certain classes of writers to represent as little better than improved apes, and as having no sufficient claim to the brotherhood of humanity! We wish that all the members of the Caucasian race manifested an equal degree of improveability with some of these despised Hottentots.

It has been frequently said that the Hottentots differ from the higher races in their incapacity to form or to receive religious ideas. This, however, is by no means true. The authorities to which we have just referred assure us that the Hottentots of their time had a firm belief in supreme powers both of good and evil, and endeavoured to conciliate them (especially the latter) by religious rites. They believed also in the immortality of the soul; but whether they had any distinct idea of future rewards and punishments could not be clearly ascertained. The early endeavours to introduce Christianity among them met with the same obstinate resistance as has been the case in almost every similar instance; and one writer has given as the summing up of his observations, that 'the 'Hottentots seem born with a natural antipathy to all customs, 'and to every religion, but their own.' But it is a memorable fact, that when the attempt was perseveringly made and rightly directed, the Hottentot nation lent a more willing ear, than any other uncivilised race had done, to the preaching of Christianity; and no people has been more strikingly and speedily improved by its reception, — not only in moral character and conduct, but also in outward condition and prosperity. Gladly would we follow Dr. Prichard through the interesting account which he has given of the labours of the United Brethren, and of their settlements at Gnadenthal and other spots on which they have been located. We are sure that no unprejudiced person can peruse them, without coming to the conclusion that in aptitude for the reception of religious impressions, they are far superior to the young heathens of our own land, who, when first induced to attend a ragged school, are recorded to have mingled 'Jim Crow' with the strains of adoration in which they were invited to join; and who did their best, by grimaces and gestures, to distract the attention of those who were fixing their thoughts on the solemn offering of prayer. With the following extract we must conclude our notice of this part of the subject: —

'Perhaps nothing in this account is more remarkable than the fact that so strong a sensation was produced among the whole Hottentot nation, and even among the neighbouring tribes of different people, by the improved and happy condition of the Christian Hottentots, as to excite a desire for similar advantages. Whole families of Hottentots, and even of Bushmen, set out for the borders of Kafirland, and even performed journeys of many weeks, in order to settle at Gnadenthal. It is a singular fact in the history of these barbarous races of men, that the savage Bushmen, of their own accord, solicited from the colonial government, when negotiations were opened with them

with the view of putting an end to a long and bloody contest, that teachers might be sent among them, such as those who had dwelt among the tame Hottentots at Gnadenthal. '" History," says the historian of the mission, "probably furnishes few parallel examples of a "savage people, in treaty with a Christian power, making it one of "the conditions of peace, that missionaries should be sent to instruct "them in Christianity."' (Natural History of Man, p. 524.)

The records of the same devoted order of missionaries have furnished Dr. Prichard with similar materials for a psychological account of the Greenlanders and Negroes; the former being a branch of the great American family of nations, which has been represented by many writers as entirely differing in psychical character from the inhabitants of the Old World; and the latter being popularly regarded even in this country, and still more in the United States, as a race utterly incapable of elevation to our own level. We find however, in these as in other races, unequivocal indications of the same moral and intellectual nature as that which the most civilised races of men exhibit; these indications becoming more obvious, the more complete our knowledge of their habits not merely of action but of thought. We can trace, in short, among all the tribes who are endowed with articulate speech, the same rational, human nature; superior to that of the highest brutes, not merely in the complexity of the processes which it is capable of performing, but in that capacity for generating abstract ideas, and thus arriving at general principles, which, so far as we have the means of judgment, appears to be the distinguishing attribute of Man. So, again, we discover in all of them the same elements of moral feeling; the same sympathies and susceptibilities of affection; the same conscience or internal conviction of accountableness, more or less obscurely developed; the same sentiments of guilt and self-condemnation, and the same desire of expiation. These principles take very different forms of expression, even in civilised life; much more, therefore, ought we to be prepared for finding nothing more even among the best specimens of uncivilised barbarism, than the mere rudiments of a higher understanding and of a nobler moral nature, than that which they have at present reached. But the rudiments are there; though not always in the same degree of forwardness for being moulded to the institutions of a more regular society; for the development of the intellectual powers under a rational education; and for that growth of the moral and religious sentiments, which Christianity is pre-eminently fitted to promote in every mind that opens itself to its benign influence.

It is true, that different nations manifest a different capacity for intellectual, moral, and social improvement; but this difference is not greater than that which exists between individuals of the most favoured races. If the Negro, generally, is at present far behind, yet, under favourable circumstances, the intellect and moral character of individual Negroes have been elevated to the European standard; while, on the other hand, we have too frequent proof that the intellect and moral character of the European are capable, not merely in individuals, but in families and groups of people, of sinking even below the average standard of the Negro. An enlarged acquaintance with the African character, has led many persons to the belief that our boasted superiority is after all more intellectual than moral; and that in purity and disinterestedness of the affections, in childlike simplicity and gentleness of demeanour, in fact, in all the milder graces of the Christian temper, we may even have much to learn of the despised Negro. 'I should expect,' said Channing, 'from 'the African race, if civilised, less energy, less courage, less in-'tellectual originality, than in ours; but more amiableness, tran-'quillity, gentleness, and content. They might not rise to an 'equality in outward condition, but would probably be a much 'happier race.' We have ourselves had considerable opportunity of comparing the capacity of Negro children with that of the lower class of our youthful town population; and we have no hesitation in saying that it is in every respect equal, and that there is, if anything, a superior docility on the part of the Negro. Basil Hall gives the same testimony, on the authority of the schoolmasters, even of the United States. That this mental development is generally checked at an early age, and that the Negroes too frequently remain through life in the condition of 'children of a larger growth,' may be freely conceded; but this need not be wondered at, as long as every encouragement to advancement is withheld, and the doctrine that the Negro *never can* be admitted within the pale of white civilisation, is sedulously maintained and acted on. Wherever, on the contrary, sufficient opportunities have existed, and sufficient inducement has been offered, the result has been as satisfactory as the most enthusiastic philanthropist could expect. We may add that the same remark respecting the absence of any inferiority in the capacity of the *children* of races reputed to be inferior, has been made in the case of the Australians, the Hottentots, and others: who nevertheless have often been condemned, in the same off-hand way, that Cæsar and his countrymen would have unquestionably disposed of the early Britons. It is evidently a work of such immense difficulty to raise man out of his animal

condition, that the wonder rather is, how it has ever been done at all.

The contributions which Ethnology has received from *Philological* investigation have rapidly increased in importance, as the true principles of the latter science have been understood and applied. We almost despair of communicating to our readers, within any reasonable limits, an idea of the present aspect of this department of the inquiry. We will, however, make the attempt, with the assistance of the able Report recently presented to the British Association by the Chev. Bunsen.

It is to the speculations, discoveries, and divinations of Leibnitz, that we owe the origin of that investigation into the history of languages, their analysis, comparison, and classification, which is termed by the Germans 'Sprachenkunde;' and to represent which our own tongue has been lately enriched by the word 'Glottology,'—sufficiently apposite and significant, but unfortunately not very harmonious. The science has as yet been little pursued except in Germany; where the labours of the Adelungs, Vater, Klaproth, Fred. Schlegel, Bopp, Jacob Grimm, William von Humboldt, Bunsen, and others scarcely less eminent, attest that the seed has been cast into no unfruitful soil. It has been the peculiar characteristic of these philologists, that they have rejected the etymological dreams and conjectures, the loose comparisons of single words made without principle or analogy and generally without any sufficient or critical knowledge of the idioms, in short, all that unscientific comparison of languages or rather of words caught up at random from among them, which have made the etymologies of the seventeenth century the laughing-stock of the eighteenth.

'By its very principle, the critical school admits of no claim 'to historical affinity between different languages, unless this 'affinity be shown to rest upon definite laws, upon substantial 'analogy established by a complete examination of the materials. 'But that school demands the strictest proof that those affinities 'are neither accidental, nor merely ideal, but essential; that they 'are not the work of extraneous intrusion, but indigenous, as 'running through the whole original texture of the languages 'compared, according to a traceable general rule of analogy. 'The very method of this critical school excludes the possibility 'of accidental or mere ideal analogies being taken for proofs of 'a common historical descent of different tribes or nations.' (Bunsen's Report, p. 255.)

By this method of study, the languages of the great bulk of the existing population of the Old Continent may be reduced

to five great families or dynasties. These are: — 1. The Indo-European, sometimes termed Indo-German, frequently Japetic, and by late writers Arian or Iranian languages. 2. The Syro-Arabian, often termed Semitic. 3. The languages of High Asia and of certain parts of Northern Europe, to which the name Turanian has been given, and which is termed by Dr. Prichard Ugro-Tartarian. 4. The Chinese and Indo-Chinese, or the monosyllabic and uninflected languages. 5. The African languages, spoken by the woolly-haired nations of Africa, who inhabit the countries within a few degrees to the north of the equator, and all south of that line.

We have already alluded to the vast extent of the first of these families of languages, and to the variety in the physical characters of the nations who speak them. No scientific philologist, we believe, any longer retains a doubt that all these languages have been derived from one primitive stock, deviating from their original identity by variations at first merely dialectic, but gradually increased. Of course, the natural inference is, that the nations which now speak them have diverged from a common centre. The only alternative capable of meeting the facts seems to be the hypothesis,—that some single nation, to which the Indo-European language originally belonged, conquered the indigenous races of Europe, and imposed upon them all its own language. But, as Dr. Prichard justly remarks: —

'If we suppose an Asiatic tribe, for example, speaking any one idiom belonging to this dynasty of languages, to have made conquests ever so extensive in Europe and Asia, without leaving traces in history, which is almost incredible, we shall still be far from a solution of the problem. How could one nation introduce German languages among the German nations; Celtic dialects, various as they are, among the Celts; the Sclavonic language among the widely-spread nations of Sarmatia; Greek among the Greeks; the old Italic dialects among the nations of Italy? The supposition is absurd. Moreover, there is internal evidence in the Indo-European languages themselves sufficient to prove that they grew by gradual dialectic development out of one common matrix. Any person who considers, with competent knowledge of these languages, the nature of their relations to each other, the fact that their original roots are for the most part common, and that in the great system of grammatical inflexion pervading these languages there is nothing else than the varied development of common principles, must be convinced that the differences between them are but the result of the gradual deviation of one common language into a multitude of diverging dialects; and the ultimate conclusion that is forced upon us is, that the Indo-European nations are the descendants of one original people, and, consequently, that the varieties of complexion, form, stature, and other physical qualities

which exist among them, are the results of deviation from an original type.' (Dr. Prichard's Report on Ethnology, p. 244.)

The end of all language is the construction of a sentence, of which the several parts are mutually connected and dependent one on another; so as to be capable of expressing a logical proposition, by a subject, predicate, and copula, with all their dependencies. Almost every language has a distinct form for the chief parts of the sentence, as a noun for the subject, and the verb for the predicate; and has also words used solely for the purpose of indicating the mutual relations of these component parts, which may either stand as separate particles, or may be united to the principal words as affixes; the same end being also served by inflexions of these words. In the completeness of its system of inflexions, and in the close knitting together of all the components of the sentence, so that every shade of thought may be expressed with the greatest simplicity and precision, the Indo-European languages, of which the Sanskrit may be taken as the type, stand pre-eminent; certain of these (especially the Hellenic) presenting the highest development that language has yet attained, and of which indeed, it seems capable; and containing, also, the power of modification to meet the exigencies of advancing knowledge and of new habits of thought.

At the opposite extremity of the series we find the Chinese, or monosyllabic language; in which there is the least possible connexion between the elements of the sentence. In fact, every word (or syllable) might almost be said to be a sentence in itself; for it may for the most part be interpreted, either as a verb, a substantive, an adjective, or as a grammatical particle, an empty word, as the Chinese grammarians say; its import being partly determined by its place in the sentence, and partly, when spoken, by the tones or accents with which the word is pronounced, each word having three, and some four of these accents. Even with these aids, no Chinese would understand the present spoken language,—still less the old one, which very seldom uses grammatical particles,—without the help of repetitions, expletives, pauses, and finally of gestures. The place of these, however, is supplied, *in writing*, by an immense number of conventional signs, derived from figurative sources, which are destined not to express sounds, but to suggest ideas, and thus to assist the reader in guessing the meaning of the word. The Chinese is thus, by far the most *inflexible* of all languages; and has preserved, in a fixed or crystallised state, that earliest stage in the development of speech, in which every word corresponded to, or represented a substantial object in the outward world.

The law of progress in all languages appears to have been from the substantial isolated word, as an undeveloped expression of a whole sentence, towards such a construction as makes every single word subservient to the general idea which the sentence is to unfold; and shapes, and modifies, and combines it accordingly. The mind starts with forming sentences; and tends to break the absolute isolating character of the words first devised by it, by making them subservient to the whole of a developed sentence, and changing them into 'parts of speech:' But this it can only do in the first instance, by using the full roots it already possesses, namely, nouns and verbs. To such roots, as is now well known, all other 'parts of speech,' in all languages, are to be referred; not merely adnouns and adverbs, but also conjunctions, prepositions, and other particles, whether separate or affixed. And, finally, the syllables thus added to the original roots frequently take the form of inflexions; which now appear, at first sight, as mere modifications of the sound of the word, but which have been shown in most cases to have their origin in syllables that once had a separate and substantial meaning.

'The only preparation,' says Bunsen (Report, p. 290.), 'which, 'after a literature of four thousand years, the Chinese presents 'for such a change, is the use of some of its unchangeable roots 'as signs of grammatical relations. A nation which came into 'separate existence in such a state of the language, could as easily 'make that great step which leads to affixes and then to inflexions, 'as the mummified Chinese is unable and unwilling to do it. It 'is the feeling of the absolute independence and isolating 'substantiality of each word in a sentence, which makes him 'contemplate such a change as a decided decay and barbarism. 'He expresses *daylight* by two words, signifying exactly in the 'same order, dáy líght: but he cannot condescend to subordinate 'the second to the first, by saying with one accent day'-light.' How remarkably do we here find the psychical character of this strange people displayed in the isolation and inflexibility of their language!

In saying, however, that the Chinese nation preserves the most ancient *form* of language now existing, it must not be supposed that we assert that that language is itself the original stock, of which all others are offsets. In fact, there is strong reason to regard it as being itself an offset from one of the great Asiatic stocks, the separation having only taken place at a very early period; and the severed branch having preserved the original character more completely than the main trunk and its other ramifications have done. This is by no means an unusual

occurrence; since we actually find the original Scandinavian language much better preserved in Iceland than in Sweden.

Such is the theory of the progressive development of languages propounded by Wilhelm von Humboldt in his Letter to Abel Rémusat, 'On the Nature of Grammatical Forms in general, and 'on the Genius of the Chinese Language in particular,' and since ably advocated by the learned Chevalier Bunsen. To our own minds it is most satisfactory; from its accordance on the one hand with the phenomena which history enables us to trace in the construction of languages, and also from that *à priori* probability of its taking such a course, which a philosophic view of the human faculties would suggest. For as ideas are formed, in the first instance, by the impressions of outward objects on the mind, and as all the higher operations of the mind consist in the development of the relations of ideas, — so does it seem natural, that in the first stage of the formation of language every word should answer to some object in the outward world, whilst every future stage of progress consists in the mere connexion of these words, by a mechanism expressive of their purely mental relations.

Now between the Chinese and the Sanskrit group of languages, which have been taken as the types of the two extremes of development, there is a vast number of intermediate degrees; and there are also several different courses of development, — the same end having been sought to be attained, more or less successfully, in various modes. And by a careful analysis and comparison of different languages, it appears possible to determine, not merely the primitive stock to which each should be referred, but also the stage of advancement at which it became detached from its parent, and took an independent development. Thus when we find dialects of the same language agreeing in almost every essential particular of construction, and having also in the main the same vocabulary, — each dialect, however, being distinguished by words peculiar to itself, and still more by peculiarities in the pronunciation of the words common to all, — we are justified in assuming the close affinity of the nations which speak them; and in regarding their separation, however wide it may be geographically, as having taken place at a time subsequent to the full development of the language. If we find, on the other hand, a greater variety of words peculiar to the individual tongues, and a smaller number of words common to all, with a decided dissimilarity of the inflexions, while the same general principle of construction is yet retained, the common origin of the languages may be still predicated — though the separation must be held to have taken place at a much earlier period. Proceeding in this manner, we should recognise

several distinct gradations of difference, marked by an increasing dissimilarity of words and inflexions; the organic structure, as it may be termed, or the mode of composition of the sentences, as well as the roots of many primitive words, still remaining essentially the same. Such is the state of those languages which are held to belong to a common dynasty or family, — to the Indo-European, for example, or to the Semitic. But can any still more remote conformity be discovered between these or other stocks, in which there is a total dissimilarity in the mechanism of the language? Even here the philologist is not altogether baffled; but looks for a resemblance in the roots of the primitive words. And the results of recent comparisons would seem to show, that some such community may thus be traced between the Indo-European and Semitic families themselves, as indicates that they too are but branches of one common stock, — their divergence having taken place at a period anterior to the epoch at which the totally different constructions respectively characteristic of these families were developed.

In like manner the Chevalier Bunsen considers himself justified in concluding, from his profound study of the ancient Egyptian language, that it presents indications of a strictly historical connexion with both the Semitic and Japetic groups; and that it must have consequently been of Asiatic origin, — its divergence having taken place at a period when as yet those two groups had not become isolated from each other. The Egyptian language is much less pliable and full-grown than either the Semitic or Sanskrit; and yet it admits the principle of those inflexions and radical formations, which we find carried to a higher development, sometimes in one and sometimes in the other of those great families. The necessary conclusion from this fact would seem to be, that Egypt must have been a colony from the *undivided* Asiatic stock; and that its language points to a more ancient Asiatic formation, since extinct in its native country, — just as the Icelandic points to the old Norse of Scandinavia. This stock accordingly must be regarded as the common origin of both the Semitic and Japetic dynasties of languages. Notwithstanding the strongly-marked differences which exist between them, there would appear to be a certain degree of conformity, not merely, as just stated, in their roots, but also in the direction of their development. By Wilhelm von Humboldt, in his 'Universal View of Languages,' the two families are treated as one in essential character; the Semitic, however, only *tending* towards what the Japetic perfectly accomplishes. The system of inflexion in the former is

limited; while the latter, on the other hand, possesses an inexhaustible variety of terminations, indicating all the shades of the different modes of existence and action; and is, therefore, eminently the language of a progressive people. The Egyptian language was a form of speech only just emerging from the monosyllabic state and the absolute isolation of words; and it expressed very clumsily and incompletely, by mere agglomeration, that to which the Semitic and Japetic tongues could give much more distinct utterance by the system of inflexions. The Egyptian mind, 'mummified' like the Chinese, was not fitted to carry forwards this development; and the original language gave way, therefore, before the intrusion of foreign elements.

The Turanian or Ugro-Tartarian family of languages, spoken by most of the nations of Asia and Northern Europe, whose geographical distribution and physical characters connect them with the Mongolian stock, entirely differ in their mode of construction from the Japetic and Semitic; the direction of their development being altogether opposite. The following are enumerated by Dr. Prichard, as some of the principal characteristics of their grammatical structure.

'1. Nouns are nearly or wholly incapable of inflexion. They admit of no variations of case, number, or sex—which can only be expressed by appending an additional word, as a noun of multitude or of gender.

'2. All auxiliaries to composition, such as are prepositions and other particles, and the possessive and even relative pronouns of other languages, are in these idioms uniformly suffixed, or placed *after* the words of which they modify the meaning.

'3. In many of these languages the principle of *vocalic harmony* prevails through the entire vocabulary, and extends to the grammatical system, such as it is. According to it, only vowels of certain sets can occur in the same words; and this extends to words compounded with particles or appended syllables.' (Report, p. 245.)

Notwithstanding this apparently complete discordance, we are assured by Chevalier Bunsen that there are too many 'positive and material vestiges of original connexion' between the Turanian and the Iranian or Indo-European languages, to allow us for a moment to doubt the existence of an original relation between them. He even proposes to include them both under the general designation of Japetic; more particularly as the most ancient traditions of Persia and India indicate that the two branches, the Iranian and Turanian, though always in opposition to each other, are to be considered but as diverging lines from one common centre. The Iranian family of nations

appears to have been agricultural from the first; whilst the Turanian has remained nomadic to the present time.

There are indications of an early and wide extension of the Turanian branch: And from it would seem to have originated the whole *American* family of nations. The similarity in the structure of the skull (especially shown in the Esquimaux and other northern tribes), together with obvious geographical considerations, always made such an affinity highly probable; and it is confirmed by the remarkable analogy between the peculiar grammatical structure common to the American languages and that of the Turanian tongues of Asia. 'We believe,' says Chevalier Bunsen, 'that the curious and, at the first appearance, 'startling problem, of the apparent entire diversity of the lexico-'graphic part of these American languages, by the side of that 'grammatical affinity, will receive a satisfactory solution by a 'more profound knowledge of the roots, and by the application 'of the principle of secondary formation, overgrowing, some-'times luxuriantly, the ancient stock of roots.'

The Malayo-Polynesian languages, clearly shown by Wilhelm von Humboldt to be branches of the Malayan stock, are, through it, connected with the great Turanian family; and thus the inference deduced from the gradual modification which we may trace, through the people of Malacca, Sumatra, and Java, from the Mongolian type to the Polynesian varieties of complexion and conformation — an inference which is in obvious accordance with the geographical probability that the Malayo-Polynesian Archipelago, if peopled from Asia at all, received its first human inhabitants from the Malayan peninsula — is found to be in perfect accordance with glottological indications.

Whether the languages spoken by the Pelagian Negroes, and by other races which seem to have had the earliest possession of these islands, be a primitive type of the same stock as the Malay, which afterwards in many parts superseded it, must remain uncertain until more complete information regarding them has been supplied. It has been ascertained, however, that the language of the aborigines of Australia has many points of resemblance with the Tamulian; which seems itself to be a detached offset of the Turanian stock, still preserved in the Dekkan.

Another very curious 'outlier' of the Turanian stock seems to exist in the Basque provinces of Spain; which are inhabited by descendants of the ancient Iberi, still distinguished by their very peculiar language. Of this language, now termed the Euskarian or Euskaldune, the relationship is much closer to the Turanian group than to any branch of the Indo-European stock. Now the Iberi formerly extended along the Mediterranean coast,

not only through Spain and the south of France, but also into Italy and Sicily; and it seems probable that they were a Turanian race, which had occupied the south of Europe, as the Ugrian part of that race had occupied the north, at a period anterior to the north-western extension of the Indo-European races from their Asiatic centre. Many circumstances attest that when that colonisation took place, Europe was by no means uninhabited; and it seems natural that the original Iberian races, gradually giving way before the superior intelligence and power of the Iranian, should at last be pent up in a remote south-western corner of Europe; whilst the Ugrian were driven towards the opposite corner, henceforward to be confined to the northern and north-eastern region.

However probable it may seem, from geographical considerations, and from conformity in physical characters, that the Chinese and other people speaking monosyllabic and inflexible languages, are descended from the Turanian stock, no very decided indications of relationship have yet been traced between those languages and any others of the great dynasties which have been enumerated. But it must be remembered that Chinese philology, in a scientific point of view, is still in its infancy. The language has hitherto been too much studied with a view merely to the exigencies of commercial intercourse; and such philological investigation as it has received has been from men too exclusively imbued with the forms and categories of the grammars of the rest of the world. Little is yet known, moreover, of those languages in which traces of connexion with other Asiatic forms of speech may be expected to remain imbedded; especially the Burmese and the Bhotiya of Thibet, which last would appear, from the researches of Abel Rémusat, to have much in common with the Mongolian. 'It would be presumptuous,' says Chevalier Bunsen, 'to anticipate the issue of such well-prepared and sifted comparisons; but we have no hesitation in saying that we incline to believe it will be in favour of the existence of a primitive connexion. There is a gap between that formation and all others; and that gap probably corresponds to that caused in the general development of the human race by great destructive floods, which separate the history of our race from its primordial *origines*. In this sense, the Chinese may be called the great monument of antediluvian speech. Indeed, the first emigration from the cradle of mankind is said in Genesis to have gone eastward.' (Report, p. 299.)

Thus it appears that glottological considerations afford a strong presumption in favour of the origin of the nations of Asia,

Europe, America, and Polynesia, from one common stock; and in this respect they go beyond those anatomical, physiological, and psychological indications on which we have already dwelt; the only conclusion which could be *safely* drawn from the latter, being, that these nations all possess the same constant characters, and differ only in those which can be shown to vary from generation to generation, — so that they *may have* all had a common origin, or, that their original stocks, if not identical, must have still been analogous in all essential particulars. Now it is curious to observe that, where glottological evidence is the weakest, anatomical evidence is the strongest, and *vice versâ*. Thus the hiatus between the Chinese and the Turanian *languages* is very wide; but the *physical* conformity is so strong between the Chinese and the nations of High Asia, that no ethnologist has ever thought of assigning to them a distinct origin. So also the nations speaking the Semitic and Japetic languages bear such a near physical relationship to each other, that they have been almost invariably arranged together, under the Caucasian type. On the other hand, among the Malayo-Polynesian and the American nations, whose physical characters are most diverse, the glottological bond of grammatical affinity is peculiarly close.

It only remains for us, then, to consider the connexion of the proper African languages with the foregoing: And here, again, the knowledge derived from recent inquiries into the ancient Egyptian seems likely to supply a most important link in the chain of inquiry. The following is a sketch of the present state of our acquaintance with the languages peculiar to this continent. It has been chiefly obtained through the efforts of various enlightened missionaries, who, in the hope of preparing a way for the propagation of Christianity among the African nations, have laboured successfully to make themselves familiar with their forms of speech. These researches have entirely destroyed all previous unfounded notions respecting the prevalence of a vast number of rude and poor tongues among the nations of Southern Africa. Excluding the Hottentots and Bushmen, for reasons already given, it appears that the nations peopling nearly all that vast region of Africa which lies south of the Equator, may be, glottologically considered, as forming but a single family; the Kafir tongue of the south having close relations of affinity both with the Kongo dialects, which it joins on the west; and with the Galla language, which stretches down to meet it along the eastern coast. Now these languages are stated by Chev. Bunsen to retain vestiges of primitive relationship with the great tripartite stock whence originated the Japetic, Semitic, and Chamitic (or Egyp-

tian) tongues; but they evince a much higher development than the last of these, and this development is rather in the Japetic than in the Semitic direction. Whether these languages have passed through the form which has remained stationary in the Egyptian, or whether they were derived from that still earlier Asiatic formation in which the Egyptian itself originated, is a question on which Chev. Bunsen considers that no definite opinion can at present be formed; although the combined progress of the study of the languages of Egypt and of Central and Southern Africa will probably in a few years lead to a decided answer.

Of the languages of the woolly-haired tribes inhabiting Central Negroland, Senegambia, and Guinea, too little is yet known to justify any positive assertion of their relationship to each other and to a common stock. The comparative researches instituted by Dr. Latham, however, which form the subject of a very elaborate Report accompanying those of Dr. Prichard and Chev. Bunsen, all tend to establish the conclusion that philological isolation does not exist among the African tongues. Characters of approximation to the Semitic group are indicated by him in several instances; and indeed he goes so far as to say, that the Galla language is becoming more and more a branch of Semitic philology. There is, then, so far as our present knowledge extends, no glottological reason for separating the nations of Central from those of Southern Africa. And as we find the true Negro characters among the latter, as well as in the former, there is every probability, on physical grounds, of their common origin.

We cannot better express the general conclusions to which we are conducted by the study of the various forms of human language, than in the words of Chev. Bunsen. After stating the two possible hypotheses — first, that there has been a great number of beginnings, out of which different tribes have sprung, and with them different languages, — each doing originally the same work, and continuing and advancing it more or less according to its particular task, its natural powers, and its historical destinies; and second, that the beginning of speech was made only once, in the beginning of human time, in the dawn of the mental day, by one favoured race, in a genial place of the earth, the garden of Asia, — he thus continues:

'If the first supposition be true, the different tribes or families 'of languages, however analogous they may be, (as being the 'produce of the same human mind upon the same outward 'world by the same organic means,) will nevertheless offer 'scarcely any affinity to each other, in the skill displayed in 'their formation, and in the mode of it; but their very roots,

'full or empty ones, and all their words, whether monosyllabic 'or polysyllabic, must needs be entirely different. There may 'be some similar expressions, in those inarticulate bursts of feel- 'ing not reacted on by the mind, which grammarians call inter- 'jections. There are besides some graphic imitations of exter- 'nal sounds, called onomatopoetica, words the formation of 'which indicates the relatively greatest passivity of the mind. 'There may be, besides, some casual coincidences in real words; 'but the law of combination applied to the elements of sound, gives 'a mathematical proof that, with all allowances, such a chance 'is less than one in a million for the same combination of sounds 'signifying the same precise object. What we shall have to say 'hereafter about the affixing of words to objects, will show that 'this chance is still considerably diminished, if the very strict 'and positive laws are considered which govern the application 'of a word to a given object. But the ordinary crude method 'suffices to prove that if there are entirely different beginnings 'of speech, as philosophical inquiry is allowed to assume, and as 'the great philosophers of antiquity have assumed, there can be 'none but stray coincidences between words of a different origin. 'Now, referring to what we have already stated as the result of 'the most accurate linguistic inquiries, such a coincidence does 'exist between three great families, spreading from the north of 'Europe to the tropic lands of Asia and Africa. It there 'exists, not only in radical words, but even in what must appear 'as the work of an exclusively peculiar coinage, the formative 'words and inflexions which pervade the whole structure of cer- 'tain families of languages, and are interwoven, as it were, with 'every sentence pronounced in every one of their branches. 'All the nations which, from the dawn of history to our days, 'have been the leaders of civilisation in Asia, Europe, and 'Africa, must consequently have had one beginning. This is 'the chief lesson which the knowledge of the Egyptian language 'teaches us.' (Report, p. 294.)

This statement, having especial reference to the Semitic, Japetic, and Chametic languages only, is, of course, equally true of those still more widely-diffused forms of speech which are referable to the Turanian stock, that stock being itself, in Chev. Bunsen's estimation, a branch of the Japetic. And thus, in a very unexpected manner, we find that Egyptological researches have greatly contributed to establish the doctrine of a common origin of all the languages of the globe; and to strengthen, therefore, the hypothesis of the original unity of mankind.

We shall now briefly inquire, in the last place, what are the principal difficulties in the way of this hypothesis, and what the merit of the arguments by which it is usually met.

The ground usually taken by those who uphold the doctrine of numerous original stocks, is the *fixity* of the characters by which the several races of men are at present distinguished; whence it is inferred that they must have been *always* separated by the same differences. We have already met this argument, by opposing facts; but we shall now say a word or two on the results to which it must necessarily lead, if legitimately carried out.

When it is found, for example, that in the interior of the African and the American continents, and throughout the scattered islands of Oceania, there are numerous tribes of people, differing at least as much among themselves as the Ethiopian, American, and Malayan varieties have been considered to differ from each other, it becomes obvious that we must extend our ideas of original diversity of stock, to all these subordinate divisions; and that *every* race which differs from the rest by any well-marked characters, must have a distinct parentage assigned to it. But such an hypothesis would leave utterly unaccountable the similarity of language, tradition, habits of thought, and social condition, which is undoubtedly found to exist between nations separated from one another by trackless deserts or a wide expanse of ocean; and the more rigorously it is applied, the greater are the difficulties and inconsistencies which it involves. Thus, if, without regard to historical or philological considerations, we assume cranial conformation as a valid ground of specific distinction, we must assign a distinct ancestry to the Turks of Europe and to those of Central Asia, to the Magyars of Hungary and to the Ugrians of Asiatic Russia; whilst we should bring together the Negroes of the Guinea coast and the blacks of Papua, and might even find it difficult to exclude the Tahitian or Marquesan islanders from the European division. If we take complexion, again, as our guide, we shall be led into yet greater absurdities; for we must then split up the Jewish people into half a score of diverse races: between the ruddy Saxon and the black Hindoo we must establish a dozen of distinct grades; and when we come to the African, American, and Oceanic nations, we must assign a new Adam and Eve to almost every tribe. We may be told that we are refining too much — that original diversity should be inferred only where a well-marked distinction exists — that we should be guided, therefore, only by the prominent differences, and not perplex ourselves with the subordinate ones. But every

one who has tried his hand at classification, whatever may be the objects of his attention, knows full well that a line must be drawn *somewhere;* and that, however easy may be the separation of groups when their respective characters show no tendency to mutual approximation, it becomes difficult, if not impossible, when a complete gradation exists between them. Thus it is very easy to say that the Hindoo must have had a different origin from the Saxon or Celt; but to which family shall we assign the swarthy inhabitants of Southern Europe, or the fair-skinned dwellers among the mountain ranges of Northern India? The red Egyptians and the jet-black Negroes are distinct enough in the paintings left to us by the former; but without going far from the valley of the Nile, every possible shade of transition will be found. With which group are we to arrange these intermediate varieties?

Such are a few examples of the inconsistencies and difficulties which are involved in the hypothesis of numerous original stocks, marked by all the diversities of physical character which at present exist. From these (and we might multiply them almost without limit) there seems no way of escape, save in the doctrine that a certain *capacity for variation* exists in the human race, as in the races of domesticated animals. We have purposely abstained from dwelling on the analogical argument, which is put prominently forward by Dr. Prichard, because we have thought it more satisfactory to base our inquiries on the phenomena presented by the human race alone. And we must content ourselves for the present with the remark, that—whether our various breeds of domesticated animals have originated from single or similar stocks, as maintained by some, or are the result of the intermixture of several originally distinct species, as supposed by others,—there is adequate historical evidence that, when left to themselves and introduced into new conditions, they may undergo changes, even within the course of two or three centuries, at least equal in degree to the diversities by which they were previously distinguished from each other. Ample proof to this effect is afforded by a comparison of the present characters of the races of animals introduced into South America by the Spaniards, and now spread in a wild state over the whole continent, with those of their domesticated ancestors. These present a striking contrast, not merely in the character of their integuments, but in the configuration of their skeletons, and not unfrequently, also, in their habits and instincts. Wide as are the physical differences between the cultivated European and the barbarous Negro or the Australian savage, they are not greater than those which have been certainly produced

by the agency of external conditions, within a very limited time — almost, indeed, under our own observation — in the ox, sheep, hog, &c. of South America.

It may be argued, however, that — although a certain modification may be allowed to have been effected in the characters of minor subdivisions of the human race by the agency of external conditions, yet — the extreme or typical forms, of whose existence in the remotest periods of the history of our race we have adequate evidence, cannot with any probability be supposed to have thus originated, and must be referred to distinct parentage at the beginning. In support of this argument it may be urged that, although complexion and cranial conformation within a certain extent are altered by climatic influence and habits of life, yet that such influences tend merely to change one variety into another, or to reduce them all to a common type; and that we have no evidence that *new* varieties could spring up in our race under any such agency. This is a purely physiological argument, to be discussed upon physiological grounds; and if we cannot meet it by positive disproof, we think that we can bring a strong weight of analogical evidence to bear against it. For it is a well-known fact, that all races of animals which exhibit a capacity of modification from external agencies, present at the same time a tendency to variations for which such agencies will *not* account, and which we are obliged, in our ignorance, to term *spontaneous*. It is in this manner that new *breeds* are every now and then originated among domesticated animals. Individuals are frequently born with some peculiarity of organisation which distinguishes them from their fellows: and if this peculiarity should be considered in any way advantageous, every care is taken to render it permanent, by selecting those among the offspring of this peculiar individual which present the same peculiarity, and causing them to breed together. In this manner are new and well-marked varieties occasionally produced, even in our own day, among domesticated animals; although it would seem as if this tendency had well nigh exhausted itself. Now it cannot but be admitted that the human race possesses a strong tendency to spontaneous variation. How else are we to account for the endless diversity of form and feature exhibited by the individuals of any one community, subjected for ages to the same climatic and social influences? Moreover, we may observe it not only in the ordinary diversities which are every day offering themselves to our notice, but in extraordinary modifications of rarer occurrence, though of great significance. Thus infants are occasionally born with six fingers on each

hand and six toes on each foot; and this peculiarity is often found to descend through successive generations. In case those who possess it were to be exclusively matched together, there can be no reasonable doubt but that a permanent six-fingered and six-toed race of men would be produced; whilst, on the other hand, by free intermixture with the surrounding mass, the six-fingered race, however originated, tends to merge in the prevailing five-fingered type.

Now, if we turn our attention to the probable condition of the human population at an early period of its history, we shall at once see how much it would favour the perpetuation of any such spontaneous variety; for its scantiness and want of settled habits would tend to isolate different families, or very small tribes, from each other, and would occasion continual intermarriages even among very near relatives; so that the force of circumstances would do that which is now often accomplished by intentional interference, in the multiplication of breeds of animals. And if it be urged that the diversities which now occasionally present themselves are not comparable in amount with those which exist between the most widely separated types of humanity, it may be fairly replied, that we should naturally expect this tendency to spontaneous variation to have a limit; and that we might anticipate that its most remarkable manifestations should have occurred at an early period of the history of the human race, as we have every reason to believe that they did in all analogous instances — such as those of our domesticated animals and cultivated plants.

But lastly it has been argued that, admitting the possibility of all which we have urged, the lapse of time necessary to bring about such changes as those required in any hypothesis of the single origin of the human races, is far greater than the received chronology admits; the evidence of extreme diversity of races being at least coeval with the earliest records. An objection founded upon the authenticity of the Mosaic chronology comes with an ill grace from those who refuse their assent to the Mosaic account of the origin of the human race from a single pair; and in the present state of critical inquiry, it scarcely needs a serious refutation. For there is no more reason to suppose that the book of Genesis was intended to give us an exact chronology, than that it was designed to teach us geology or astronomy. All writers who have entered upon the investigation of primæval history, have felt a difficulty in reconciling the proofs of the early existence of powerful empires and high grades of civilisation, with the ordinary chronology founded upon the Mosaic records; whilst the fragmentary

character of these records, depriving them of all claim to be regarded even as affording a continuous genealogy, has been increasingly felt and acknowledged by unprejudiced biblical critics. The whole tendency of modern geological inquiry, moreover, is to lengthen the period which has elapsed since the commencement of the *recent* epoch; so that without carrying the origin of man one step further back in geological time, we are quite free to assign any moderate number of thousands of years that we may think necessary, for the diffusion of the race, and for the origination of its varieties. Ethnology is in no state at present for dogmatical conclusions: And so far are we from presenting our own as such, that we should be glad if our readers would compare what we have said upon 'the varieties of complexion 'in the human race,' with the opposite views put forth in a recent number of the *Ethnological Journal*. The subject in all its branches is one not of revelation but of science: And, on this and similar subjects, our most zealous theologians need not be afraid of being found in the company of Dr. Henry More; who, in his 'Defence of the Moral Cabbala,' has cited, with approbation, the judgment of Bodinus — that 'the unskil-'ful insisting of our divines upon the literal sense of Moses 'has bred many hundred thousands of atheists.'

It might, perhaps, be safer in the present state of the inquiry, to refrain from speculating as to the primary condition of the race, and the centre of its diffusion; and Dr. Prichard has cautiously held his peace on this topic. It is too interesting a question, however, to pass by altogether; and we may state our own conclusion, drawn from a comparison of the geographical, physiological, and glottological considerations involved in it, that some part of High Asia was the centre from which the world was peopled; and that the race still inhabiting that region most nearly represents the original stock. All the early migrations of which we have any traditional evidence, appear to have proceeded from this region as their centre; and its connexions with all other lands are such as are possessed by no other region. The Mongolian type of conformation seems to be that which is at the same time most susceptible both of improvement into the highest European form, and of degradation into the prognathous Papuan or Australian. And the more closely and extensively the affinities of language are studied, the more is it found that the *most ancient* inhabitants of every part of the globe communicate with the nations of High Asia, or with some of their acknowledged offsets.

We must not conclude without expressing our high sense of the value of the labours of Dr. Prichard; who has un-

questionably done more than any other single individual to place Ethnology on a scientific basis. We have seen how many departments of inquiry must be prosecuted, and this not superficially, but profoundly, to warrant even the simplest conclusion; and it is not too much to say that Dr. Prichard has acquitted himself in each,—whether Physical Geography, Anatomy, Physiology, Psychology, History, or Philology,—as if it alone had occupied his attention. Not that we would claim for him the highest place among the votaries of any one of these sciences; but we are sure that he may rank as *facilè princeps* among those who have attempted to bring them all into mutual relation. We should be giving a very erroneous view of his labours, however, if we represented them as merely directed to the maintenance of the position he has taken up regarding the single origin of the race. In his larger work he has essayed to bring together, in a condensed form, all the most important information that can be collected from the various sources we have indicated, illustrative of the present condition and past history of the races of mankind; and whilst deducing from these materials his own conclusions, he gives his readers the most ample means of forming a judgment for themselves,—the whole evidence on each point being candidly stated without disguise or suppression. Although composed in the intervals of laborious professional occupation, this work might be well supposed to be the result of the labour of a life uninterruptedly devoted to the investigation. Originating nearly forty years since in an Academical thesis, it has become the standard of ethnological science; and will remain so, we feel assured, so long as the life of its accomplished author shall be spared to engraft upon it the results of the inquiries now so extensively and vigorously prosecuted.

Of the smaller work it will be enough to say that it affords a more concise and popular view of the subject, for the use of those who might be deterred from entering upon it by the bulk and profundity of the 'Physical History;' those departments, however, being dwelt upon in most detail, which most support the doctrine of the Unity of the Race. We shall be happy if, by making Dr. Prichard's writings better known among our countrymen, we contribute towards their obtaining that place in our scientific literature, which they have long held in the estimation of the learned of Germany.

ART. VI.—*Memoirs of the Reign of George the Second, from his Accession to the Death of Queen Caroline.* By JOHN, Lord HERVEY. Edited, from the original Manuscript at Ickworth, by the Right Hon. JOHN WILSON CROKER, LL.D., F.R.S. In 2 vols. London: 1848. Murray.

THERE are men, who have infamy thrust upon them with as little justice as others have greatness; whose names are traduced during their lives by the wantonness of scandal, whose memory is blackened after their death by the carelessness of tradition, and whose characters, after many years, receive a tardy vindication, rather from the casual inquiries of a few disinterested annalists, than from any means or measures of their own. Indeed, the colouring of contemporary reputations is in most cases an accident, which depends upon other and minute accidents; such as the malignity of a man's enemies, or the influence of his friends; his opportunities of conciliating the one or attaching the other; or even upon his manner, his health, and his personal appearance. How little, till the appearance of some late biographies, were Pitt, Eldon, Sidmouth, and even Fox, really known and appreciated, by a fraction of that vast crowd in whose mouths their names were as household words! Who of the mob of politicians in our day knew ought of Pitt, save from the traditions of the hustings and the platform, or of Addington, except from the unhappy recollections of Peterloo? Who dreamed of the social hours and the yearning tenderness of the broken-hearted minister, whose death was the greatest trophy won by the conqueror of Austerlitz? Who imagined the genial sympathies of the lawyer who had prosecuted the Republicans in the last, or of the secretary who had suppressed the Luddites in this, century? And who, that knew only from printed books and current scandal, the men and politics of the early Georgian æra, could have conceived the genuine patriotism of Sir R. Walpole, and the intellectual vigour, profound sagacity, and various accomplishments of Lord Hervey?

The name which stands at the head of this article, bears strong witness to the worthlessness of popular notions and contemporary report. John, Lord Hervey, whom all the world must now recognise as one of the most acute observers and best (prose) writers of his age, was the Lord Fanny and the Sporus of Pope. And it is by the verses of Pope and the prose of Pulteney that Hervey has hitherto been known to posterity. His personal appearance, not less than his moral character, has been taken on credit, by a world which was content to receive

its impression of him from political animosity and private hatred. Pulteney hated Hervey for being the friend of Walpole; and Pope hated him for being the friend of Lady M. Wortley. Pope's immortal libel was but the concentration of that spite with which Pulteney had seasoned a scurrilous pamphlet a few years before. Pulteney's virulence exposed him to a duel, in which Hervey nearly lost his life. Pope provoked a reply, which finally consigned its author to immortality. Hervey's muse was as unfortunate as his rapier.

Such lines as these

> 'So much for Pope — nor this I would have said,
> Had not the spider first his venom shed;
> For, the *first stone* I ne'er unjustly cast,
> But who can blame the hand that throws the *last?*
> And if one common foe the wretch has made
> Of all mankind — his folly on his head!'

were but a sorry revenge on the 'imitator of Horace.' Unfortunately, the stone he threw was not the last. More than a year elapsed before the Epistle to Arbuthnot appeared; and in it that undying caricature of Hervey, under the classical mask of Sporus.

If Pope now wrote him down, addressing the public, he had before written of him to Swift in terms which expressed anything but contempt for his talents. In a letter to the Dean, he speaks of him as one of the greatest wits about the court.

But Pope, if he was irritated at a lord's wit and a courtier's sarcasm, might have felt pity for the feeble frame and frail health of his victim. The 'poor little poet' whose diet was regulated by Mr. Berkeley, and whose 'crazy deformed body' was tended by Lady Oxford, might have recollected that other infirmities than those which he hinted but dared not impute, may make a man like some 'amphibious thing, now trip a lady 'and now strut a lord.' He who had known Swift in his sourest and Gay in his meanest moods — who had heard the one rage and the other wail about deferred favours and thankless services — might, at the court of George II., among the parasites of Lady Suffolk or the toadies of Lady Sundon, have found many a darker instance of treacherous parts and crawling pride, than Hervey. He was, however, determined to see nothing but a mortal foe, and to inflict nothing short of a mortal wound. So, he wrote a satire which is the bitterest in the language; and which would have crucified Hervey's name to all posterity — but for the recent appearance of these and other contemporary memoirs.

John, Lord Hervey, was the second son of the first Earl of

Bristol; of a family whose strong peculiarities made Lady M. Wortley divide mankind into 'men, women, and Herveys.' An elder brother, Carr, whom H. Walpole describes as 'superior to 'his more celebrated brother,' died early: And the heir apparent to a new Whig title was sent in 1716 to Hanover, to pay his court to the sovereign by whom it had been conferred. The reception which he met with gratified his Hanoverian father, and promised a career of court favour and promotion. He wrote home a coloured account of the virtues of the king's grandson, Prince Frederick; became one of the lords of Prince George's bedchamber; made male friendships in the circle of his royal highness's court, which afterwards turned into strong antipathies, and one female acquaintance, which he afterwards cemented by marriage. Miss Lepell had the equivocal honour of being loved by the Prince; which was compensated for by the universal admiration of all the wits of the day. Chesterfield and Horace Walpole spoke and wrote of her in raptures. Pope, though he abused her husband, idolised her. Voltaire addressed an English ode to her. But she achieved a still greater triumph than the admiration of wits and the celebration of poets. All the women of the court esteemed her. Nor does this homage of a jealous rivalry seem to have been less a tribute to her good-nature and beauty, than to her good sense. To this day she figures as the wittiest and most intelligent of Lady Suffolk's female correspondents. Nor should it be forgotten to her praise, that in an age when fine ladies wrote carelessly and spelt like housemaids, Miss Lepell observed the rules of grammar and orthography. A woman of this sort was not likely to marry a fool. The wits of the day were too engrossed by her beauty to think of her intellect; and the most modest couplet which can be gleaned from the parody of 'Molly Mogg' by Chesterfield and Pulteney, is a compliment to those charms for which each of the beplauded couple would least care to be remembered: —

> 'For Venus had never seen bedded
> So perfect a beau and a belle,
> As when *Hervey the handsome* was wedded
> To the *beautiful Molly Lepell.*'

In March, 1725, Hervey was elected member for the family borough of Bury St. Edmunds. He attached himself to Walpole; and appears to have early received some kindness from the minister, which laid the foundation of a closer connexion. (See Letter, p. 42. vol. i.) But Walpole's favours were distributed oftener by caprice than by judgment, and more frequently by jealousy than by either. The character that many of his contem-

poraries gave of him, these Memoirs confirm: he could not bear the division of power. He preferred colleagues like Sir W. Yonge and the Duke of Newcastle, to men like Pulteney or Harrington, or Townshend or Chesterfield. In Hervey's case, we can hardly suppose that Walpole dreaded as a rival in parliament, the nervous, though accomplished, valetudinarian whom he admitted to his intimacy. It is more probable that he thought little of the services of the speaker and the partisan, till he discovered the influence of the courtier. When Hervey had become the familiar of the Queen, it became equally the interest of the minister to retain him as a friend, and not to promote him as a politician. At a later period in Hervey's life, we shall find Walpole excusing himself to the wounded vanity of the partisan, by a compliment, not unmerited, to the power of the sagacious Vice-Chamberlain.

In 1728 Hervey moved the address on the meeting of George the Second's first parliament; and in the following year attached himself to Frederick, Prince of Wales, who had just been imported from Germany. But the connexion was not lasting, and perhaps had never been hearty. It was impossible for any courtier of that day to serve both the master at Leicester House and the master at St. James's. Time and the memoirs of contemporaries have dispelled the illusion which faction once threw over the name of Prince Frederick. He is now no longer known through the verses of patriotic poets or angry pamphleteers. Stripped of the meretricious trappings in which the flattery of his parasites or the haters of Walpole had decked him, he stands out as a worthless son, a faithless friend, and a selfish man. We may make many abatements from the exaggerations of malice and the invectives of hostility. But, after all, little can be said in favour of a man who was denounced by his own mother, detested by his father, and derided by every woman of spirit and beauty about the court. The Queen hated her son: Hervey could hardly, then, remain his friend. But to the estrangement which was enjoined by devotedness, was added the hatred which sprang from jealousy. The Prince and Lord Hervey both sought, and, if Horace Walpole is to be believed, both enjoyed, the favours of Miss Vane. According to the last authority, both had a successful rival in Lord Harrington. Hervey was a gallant man in an age of gallantry. He perhaps neither expected nor prized fidelity in a mistress. But it was one thing to find his mistress unfaithful to him, and another to find her kind to the Prince. It was one thing to have a rival, another to have as a rival the man who had 'nicked' Bubb Dodington out of 5000*l.* Hervey resented a rivalry so offensive to his self-love, and

exchanged the prospects of the Heir Apparent's, for the realities of the King's service. After a slight hesitation between Pulteney and Walpole, he embraced the ministerial side; and in 1730 was made Vice-Chamberlain to the King. In this subordinate situation he continued during the remainder of the Queen's life—grumbling occasionally at the slight put upon him by the minister, who gave him nothing but a peerage—but in fact exercising a power of more real service to Walpole, than that of a dozen parliamentary orators, and of more complacency to himself than any more ostentatious elevation could have afforded. He was admitted to an intimacy with the Queen which would have passed for love—as indeed it did with some—had not her years no less than his passion for the Princess Caroline, precluded such a suspicion. So he continued through life the friend of the mother and the lover of the daughter; the confidant of the minister and the courtier of the King. He possessed the wonderful faculty of obtaining royal confidence without inspiring popular envy; of giving advice without seeming to dictate; and of reconciling strong tempers and stubborn wills to moderate or unpleasant counsels. He often prepared the Queen to receive suggestions from Walpole, which her pride would otherwise have contemned, or her prejudices have rejected. He as frequently induced Walpole to modify the asperity of disagreeable advice, and the hardness of a frank decision. He thus in no small degree contributed to the orderly government of the kingdom at a most critical time. For Walpole had the ear of the Queen; the Queen governed the King; and Walpole maintained his favour with the former through Hervey's interference, and his influence with the latter through Hervey's discretion. In the Memoirs will be found many instances of a friendly sagacity by which the courtier blunted the edge of royal resentment or smoothed the ruggedness of ministerial advice. Nor will the utility of his services be depreciated by the recollection that his advice was generally given for the interests of the nation or the crown, and his influence was never made subservient to his own.

This life of irresponsible power and disinterested influence was commensurate with that of the Queen; when she died, in 1737, Hervey's occupation was gone. His 'Memoirs' do not extend beyond this point, though his political activity survived it. He asked for office. Walpole put him off. He asked again. Walpole endeavoured to bring him into the Cabinet. The Duke of Newcastle resisted, and resisted successfully. At last, in 1740, Lord Godolphin was made Constable of the Tower, and Hervey succeeded him as Privy Seal. This was near

the close of Walpole's official reign: And Hervey did not retain office after his leader's fall. He went at once into opposition; in which he was more vehement and active than he had been while in power. One of his first displays was a defence of the ex-premier against the assault of the famous Indemnity Bill, and drew from Lord Chesterfield a sneer at 'the imagination of a person long 'used to celebrate the wisdom and the integrity of ministers.' But he was not always so consistent. He opposed the Hanoverian Subsidies, which it had so long been part of his business to support; and he opposed the new Gin Act, although Walpole had years before predicted the necessity of its imposition. But in those days consistency was hardly expected by the people, and seldom practised by statesmen. Pulteney destroyed in a few months of ministerial, the hopes which were founded on twenty years of parliamentary, life. Lord Carteret played fast and loose with every man, whose interest seemed likely to serve his ambition; poor Lord Wilmington was by turns a tool and a competitor. The Duke of Newcastle for more than thirty years intrigued with all parties, and betrayed all men. Chatham adds his illustrious name to crown the examples of tergiversation and instability, the ultimate infamy of which is measured by the meanness of Bubb Dodington. The only man with a fixed and determinate purpose appears to have been Walpole himself; and Hervey's partial inconsistencies are redeemed by the fidelity with which—despite Horace Walpole's sneers—he adhered to the man whom others hastened to betray. But Hervey was not destined to figure much longer on the stage of politics. Horace Walpole says, that 'Disappointment, rage, and a dis-'tempered constitution' carried him off. The effects of the 'distempered constitution' we can believe in. Hervey had always been a weak and sickly man. He had lived on asses' milk and vegetables. His bad health and delicate aspect had sharpened the shafts of satire that had been directed against him for years. But what was the disappointment, or what the rage that could now be so fatal, is past conjecture. Hervey had made his election sixteen years before, between Pulteney and Walpole. He had identified himself with Walpole when he was powerful; he defended him zealously when he was out of power. Why should he have been disappointed at being passed over by the man with whom he had broken, and whose rival he had courted? The more natural solution is, that Hervey died because he was infirm; rather than because he was angry or disgusted. The letter which he wrote to Lady Mary Wortley, two months before his decease, indicates the consciousness, as well as the cause of the end that was approaching.

'The last stages of an infirm life are filthy roads; and like all other roads I find the farther one goes from the capital the more tedious the miles grow, and the more rough and disagreeable the way. I know of no turnpikes to mend them. Medicine pretends to be such, but doctors who have the management of it, like the commissioners for most other turnpikes, seldom execute what they undertake: they only put the toll of the poor cheated passenger in their pockets, and leave every jolt at least as bad as they found it, if not worse. "May all "*your* ways (as Solomon says of wisdom) be ways of pleasantness, and "all your paths peace!" and when your dissolution must come, may it be like that of your lucky workman. Adieu!'

. . . . . .

On the 8th of the following August he was no more. He left a father and a wife to lament his loss. But he also left as dear a friend as either, in the court where he had served. Lady Hervey's sprightly manners and cheerful temper might soon escape from the impression made by a husband's death. But what could compensate the princess Caroline for the loss of one who had been her own lover, and her mother's friend? Horace Walpole says she was 'overwhelmed' by the calamity. We can believe it. She survived Hervey fourteen years; but the rest of her life was passed in perfect retirement.

Lord Hervey's Memoirs begin with the accession of George II., a time when Jacobitism had become, though not wholly powerless, yet unpopular; and when 'people so far comprehended and 'gave into the doctrine of a king being made for the people, 'and not the people for the king, that in all their steps it was 'the interest of the nation, or the interest of particular actors, 'that was considered—and never the separate interest of one or 'the other king.' In fact, the relation of the king to the leaders of the political parties, both in this and the preceding reign, is one of the most curious illustrations both of the English character and the English constitution. An illustrious French philosopher and ex-minister has said, that he never fully understood either the one or the other, until he had studied the history of these two reigns. Two kings, foreigners by birth, and still more so by taste, habit, and education, one of whom never mastered the elements, while the other never acquired any command of the English language, and both of whom regarded the English Constitution with suspicion, if not detestation,—bred up in camps—fond of military pomp and military enterprise—always looking back to the country of their birth with fond regret, and tolerating that of their adoption with an ungracious endurance,—neither of them endowed with popular arts, nor imbued with popular sympathies,—yet reigning, despite these drawbacks and deficiencies, for fifty years over a free and a jealous

nation, and, even in times of political distraction and civil danger, consolidating a powerful party among that people, finding faithful servants in their ministers, and binding men of great intelligence, property, ambition, and patriotism, by the strongest ties of personal devotion,—this is a spectacle which the annals of England alone can present, and which even England may never present again. None but a people bent on the enjoyment of liberty, and sensible enough to distinguish its real fruits from its speculative perfections, would have so put up with a race of princes alien in birth, manners, and habits; and none but a race of statesmen, sagacious enough to discern the nature of the crisis, and honest enough to grapple with its real danger, would have merged so many differences, and resisted so many temptations, for the sake of settling a dynasty, which preserved order and liberty at the same time.

With all this, we must admit that the age of the two first Georges was very corrupt. But we must not test its corruption by our modern standard of purity. The contemporaries of Walpole were venal,—they loved place, they loved power, and they loved money. They trimmed and they turned, they voted and unvoted again. But their trimmings and turnings were in a narrow circle. Compared with the profligacy of Sunderland's and Marlborough's time, their venality dwindles down into a servile greed for ministerial 'vails' and perquisites. If they betrayed their constituents, they did not betray their country or the King. If they falsified in parliament the professions they had made on the hustings, no great interests were endangered by their tergiversation. They did not pretend to support one king while they corresponded with the other. They did not take salaries from George, while they received bribes from St. Germain's. Such opposition as there was to the dynasty was, like Shippen's, open and direct. But this was now rare and weak. Treason was at a discount in England. The opposition was generally against the person and the plans of the minister, not against the Hanover succession. The general good sense of the country was enlisted in support of the existing state of things, and in resistance to any organic change. As Walpole said in reply to a motion for reducing the forces in 1738, 'No man of common prudence will now openly 'profess himself a Jacobite.' Opposition was confined to votes and declamations against 'Hanoverian troops,' 'German sub-'sidies,' and the terrible Excise Bill. On all these occasions there was some faction and some direct venality; but there was also much honesty and public spirit. The motives of Pulteney may have been mean or personal; but the fact that the

opposition to a Whig ministry was conducted by a Whig statesman, speaks sufficiently for the feeling by which the cause of the crown was defended, however it may confirm our contempt of the public morality that prevailed.

Lord Waldegrave gives this summary of the state of parties towards the end of George the Second's reign. If we compare it with Lord Hervey's, we find that the same description will hold good for more than the first half of the last century, *i. e.*, till the shock given to parties by the irruption of Pitt and the ascendancy of Bute.

'When the Hanover succession took place,' says Waldegrave, 'the Whigs became the possessors of all the great offices, and 'all other lucrative employments; since which time, instead of 'quarrelling with the prerogative, they have been the champions 'of every administration. However, they have not always been 'united in one body, under one general, like a regular and well-'disciplined army; but may be more aptly compared to an 'alliance of different clans, fighting in the same cause, professing 'the same principles, but influenced and guided by their different 'chieftains.' Now that which was true of the Whigs in 1754 was equally true of them in 1727. In fact, for many years successive and conflicting administrations were all cut out of the Whig party. As the transference of power had divided Walpole and Pulteney from Stanhope and Sunderland, so now it arrayed Pulteney against Walpole. Hervey's description of the parties and their leaders is as follows: and may be taken as a fair specimen of the masculine vigour of understanding, as well as of the excellent writing which characterise these remarkable Memoirs.

'The chief struggle now lay, not between Jacobites and Hanoverians, but between Whigs and Whigs; who, conquerors in the common cause, were now split into civil contest among themselves, and had no considerable opponents but one another.

'The heads of these two Whig parties were Sir Robert Walpole and Mr. Pulteney. The first was Chancellor of the Exchequer, First Commissioner of the Treasury, and Prime Minister. The other had been Secretary-at-War, disgraced, retaken into the administration as Cofferer; but failing in his endeavours to be made Secretary of State [*on Lord Carteret's retiring in* 1724], had set himself at the head of the opposition to the Court, and meditated nothing but the ruin of Sir Robert Walpole, to whose account he placed the irremissible sin of putting the Duke of Newcastle into that employment *he* had pretended to.

'The reasons why Sir Robert had given the preference to the Duke upon this occasion, I believe were these:—He thought his Grace's quality and estate, his popularity in the country, and the

great influence he had in Parliament by the number of boroughs he commanded, were qualifications and appurtenances that would always make him a useful friend to any minister; and looked upon his understanding to be such as could never let him rise into a dangerous rival. Mr. Pulteney he knew was a man of parts, but not to be depended upon — one capable of serving a minister, but more capable of hurting him, from desiring only to serve himself. He was a man of most inflexible pride, immeasurable ambition, and so impatient of any superiority, that he grudged the power of doing good even to his benefactor; and envied the favour of the Court, to one who had called him in to share it. He had as much lively ready wit as ever man was master of; and was, before politics soured his temper and engrossed his thoughts, the most agreeable and coveted companion of his time: he was naturally lazy, and continued so till he was out of employment: his resentment and eagerness to annoy then first taught him application. Application gave him knowledge, but knowledge did not give him judgment; nor experience, prudence. He was changeable in his wishes, vehement in the pursuit of them, and dissatisfied in the possession. He had strong passions; was seldom sincere but when they ruled him: cool and unsteady in his friendships, warm and immoveable in his hate: naturally not generous, and made less so by the influence of a wife whose person he loved, but whose understanding and conduct neither had nor deserved his good opinion, and whose temper both he and every other body abhorred — a weak woman with all the faults of a bad man; of low birth, a lower mind, and the lowest manners — and without any one good, agreeable, or amiable quality, but beauty.'

The progress of Walpole in Court favour was rapid, though at first uncertain. His previous connexion with the Prince, and his abandonment of him afterwards, had made him anything but acceptable to the new occupant of the throne. George, in his scurrilous way, called him a 'rascal,' a 'scoundrel,' and a 'rogue:' And his colleagues fared no better in that choice royal vocabulary: Townshend was a 'choleric blockhead;' the elder H. Walpole 'a dirty buffoon;' the Duke of Newcastle 'impertinent' and a 'fool.'* When Walpole imparted the news of

* The following is an amusing specimen of the way in which the great men of Opposition were habitually spoken of by their gracious sovereign. In one of their family conferences, Lord Hervey told the King and Queen that he knew three people who were then writing the history of their reign. 'You mean,' said the King, 'Lords Bolingbroke, Chesterfield, and Carteret!' 'I do,' replied Lord Hervey. 'Then,' said the King, 'they will all three have about as much truth in them as in the *Mille et une Nuits*. Not but that I should like to read Bolingbroke's; who, of all these knaves and rascals who have been lying about me these ten years, has certainly the best parts and the most knowledge. He is a scoundrel: But he is a scoundrel of a

the late King's death, he was simply desired to send for the Speaker, Sir Spencer Compton, a man of forms, ceremony, and punctilio. Sir S. Compton was sent for, and desired to frame a Royal Declaration. The effect this had on the conduct of courtiers and hangers-on was instantaneous and marvellous. It was sufficient to account for cynicism even more bitter than Walpole ever launched out in, against the corruption of mankind. Leicester House was thronged during the four days that the King remained in town. 'But Sir R. Walpole walked through 'these rooms as if they had been still empty: his presence, that 'used to make a crowd wherever he appeared, now emptied every 'corner he turned to; and the same people who a week ago 'were officiously clearing the way to flatter his prosperity, were 'now getting out of it to avoid sharing his disgrace.' (Hervey, vol. i. p. 37.) In the midst of so much baseness, it is needless to say that Bubb Dodington was most base: and this in the face of his audacious professions of fidelity. He had recently indeed gone out of his way to anticipate the reproach of treachery,

---

'higher class than Chesterfield. Chesterfield is a little tea-table 'scoundrel, that tells little womanish lies, to make quarrels in fami- 'lies; and tries to make women lose their reputations, and make their 'husbands beat them, without any object but to give himself airs — 'as if anybody could believe a woman could like *such a dwarf baboon!*' The Queen then said 'The three histories must be three heaps of lies, 'but of very different kinds: Bolingbroke's would be great lies, Ches- 'terfield's little lies, and Carteret's lies of both sorts.'

Having always heard a great deal of Chesterfield's personal graces — and even seen handsome and imposing portraits of him — we were inclined to set down this savage description of him as the mere unbridled ebullition of royal antipathy. But it is not so easy to explain or to get over the more deliberate and precise testimony of Hervey himself, who presents us in another place with the following full-length portraiture: — 'With a person as disagreeable as it was pos- 'sible for a human figure to be without being deformed, he affected 'following many women of the first beauty and most in fashion; and, 'if you would take his word for it, not without success: — while, in 'truth, he never gained any one above the venal rank, &c. He was 'very short, disproportioned, thick and clumsily made; had a broad, 'rough-featured, ugly face; with black teeth; and a head big enough 'for a Polyphemus. Ben Ashurst once told him that he was like a 'stunted giant.'

We are also rather startled to find that, even in respect of talents and accomplishments, this most acute observer is inclined to put Carteret and Pulteney above both Bolingbroke and Chesterfield — having a very impartial personal dislike to all the four.

which clung to him through life. 'I,' said he in a poetical epistle to Walpole,

> 'To share thy *adverse* fate alone pretend,
> In power a servant, out of power a friend.'

But Walpole's revenge, and his enemies' humiliation, were drawing near. The ministry was only suspended, not changed. Walpole was not fairly out, nor Compton fairly in. The King was fond of money, and was anxious to have the Civil List settled. Who so fit to do this as the man of whom Chesterfield has said that he 'was the best parliament man and the best 'manager of parliament that ever lived; and so clear in stating 'the most intricate matters of finance, that, whilst he was 'speaking, the most ignorant thought that they understood what 'they really did not?' Walpole did what he was wanted to do. He out-jockeyed Pulteney, who was bidding (with other patriots) for the King. He got 800,000*l.* a year for the King; and a jointure of 100,000*l.* a year for the Queen. Having obtained what he wanted, George proceeded to dismiss the parliament. To do this, a royal speech was required. The King ordered each of the two candidates for power to compose one: 'and when he 'came to choose, shook his head at poor Sir Spencer's, and ap-'proved of Sir Robert's.' From this moment the course of events was clear enough. The Queen pointed out the absurdity of having a first minister who could not write a speech. When Lady Walpole had gone to Court (which was before Compton's failure was publicly known) she could not make her way to the Queen's presence, between the scornful backs and elbows of her late devotees. 'But,' continues Horace Walpole, 'no sooner was she descried by her majesty, than the Queen said 'aloud, "there I am sure I see a friend!" The torrent divided and 'shrank to either side; "and as I came away," said my mother, '"I might have walked over their heads if I had pleased!"' This was an omen of the favour which Walpole was to enjoy for the next seventeen years of his life. Despite 'the good Howard', —the designing Pulteney, and the once formidable Bolingbroke —despite the irony of Swift—the polished sarcasm of Arbuthnot —the clamour of the mob—the criticism of the 'Craftsman,' and, in later years, the oratory of Chesterfield,—the tide of royal favour continued to flow in the channel into which it now reverted; and the world was taught to acknowledge that 'Walpole 'was the Queen's minister: whomsoever he favoured she dis-'tinguished; whomsoever she distinguished, the King employed.' Walpole kissed hands; Sir Spencer shrank into a peerage and obscurity.

The character of the Queen was, indeed, singular; and to this singularity we may attribute her influence. Tried by modern notions her conduct must be judged coarse and unnatural. But her very coarseness then contributed to her strength. The King had a gross sort of fondness for women; which it would be an abuse of the term to dignify with the name of gallantry. It was partly the fruit of passion, but more of habit and example. His father had separated himself from a beautiful wife, to live with two big blowsy German women. 'No woman came amiss to 'him, if she were only very willing and very fat,' says Chesterfield. All the continental princes, too, lived with mistresses: and George II. probably thought that it would be a useless parade of virtue for him to profess an exceptional respect for the marriage-tie. As the late king had edified the English people by the full-blown beauties of the Duchess of Kendal, the Countess of Darlington, and Miss Brett, so his son luxuriated in the more tasteful appreciation of Lady Suffolk and the Countess Walmoden. But neither these nor any other women were able to rouse the jealousy, or shake the power of the Queen. When Lady Suffolk was at the height of favour as a mistress (for it would be idle now to continue the fiction that she was on any other footing at the Court) shrewd men like Walpole had discovered that even the *person* of the Queen was more acceptable to the King than that of any other woman. But it was not on her personal charms alone, or chiefly, that Caroline's power rested. Chesterfield, who disliked her, and to whom she had shown resentment on the memorable Excise Bill debates, admits that she possessed 'lively, pretty parts,' great courage, and great ambition. Her intelligence at once conciliated and directed the King. She always consulted his interests; and, when they were compatible with his interests, his pleasures. She never interfered with his amours. Her secret and, at last, fatal malady (an umbilical Hernia) may have made her indifferent to the grosser indications of a husband's love. If this were so, constitutional indifference was seconded by a politic condonation. The fact at all events was, that instead of the jealous wife who dreaded, she was the confidante who courted, the story of her husband's intrigues; and whose ears were regaled with details which, in our age, no coarse man would dream of confiding to another coarse *man*, except in his cups. There was nothing he kept from the Queen's knowledge. Mrs. Selwyn once told him that he was the last man in the world with whom she would have an intrigue, for she knew he would tell the Queen. Not that she was without jealousy: but her jealousy was of a rival in power, not of a rival in affection; of one who might filch from her the power which she loved, and the influence which she possessed;

not the attentions which she was too ambitious to care for, or the passion she was too unfeminine to return. Herself governed by Walpole, she, in turn, governed the King. The same discretion which forbade her to thwart his amours, forbade her also to affect a superiority of which he hoped the world was unconscious. She stooped as a wife to a point of self-sacrifice which, in this age and country, would be called degradation; but she stooped to conquer. Her conversations with Hervey and Walpole, which these Memoirs record, will prove that the Queen, who corresponded with Leibnitz and appreciated Butler, possessed, if not great learning, yet much solid sense; and the story of her last hours, if unfortunately it fails to exhibit the cheering consolations of Christian faith, is even more wonderful as a description of the constancy and firmness with which a guileless and courageous woman can bear the acutest pain, and undergo the most terrible death.

The King's character has been drawn by different hands, under different aspects. Hervey's is the fullest, the least flattering, and probably not the most fair. This may be accounted for. The friends of extraordinary women are not the best witnesses to call in evidence of their husbands' qualities. But all the portraits of George II. have much in common. He certainly was not a great man. He had no great virtues, nor any great vices. He was placed in a position in which, had it not been for his wife and his minister, he would have committed fatal blunders. He was not absolutely malignant, nor cruel, nor unjust: but he was unfeeling, ungenerous, and proud. He loved women; but he loved money more. Hervey says that he did not know the meaning of the words 'generosity,' 'kindness,' or 'friendship.' Chesterfield 'never knew him deviate into any generous action.' But both Chesterfield and Hervey might have excused the covetousness of a man who found himself all at once the centre of a hungry, rapacious, and unprincipled crowd. He had lived abroad nearly up to the time of his accession to the throne. It is not wonderful, then, that he did not take kindly to a country in which he was a stranger; nor to a constitution of which he never understood any thing, but its obstructiveness—and its corruption. He loved Hanover better than England, and preferred his electoral to his regal interests. He was fond of military parade, and talked much about his own military prowess. But when Hervey insinuates that he was a braggart and a coward, he hazards an imputation (in the latter epithet at least), which Oudenarde in former, and Dettingen in after years, completely refuted. He had, in fact, the hereditary courage and punctuality of his family; with more than their usual obstinacy, and less than

their usual kindliness. The abilities of Walpole will be best understood when we reflect that the business of his life was to reconcile a Jacobite gentry and a commercial people, to a sulky king, who was always grasping at money for the purpose of spending it in German wars.

Of Frederick, Prince of Wales, we have already spoken. He has been often described before, but never so unfavourably as in these Memoirs. It would be unjust to believe him to have been altogether such as he is here portrayed. Hervey, we have seen, hated him intensely. The King also hated him. The Queen abhorred him: so did his sister. Of itself, this would be enough to stamp his character. But we should remember that Hervey had particular reasons for hating him; that the terms on which the eldest sons of this family had always lived with their fathers had been those of distrust, opposition, and hostility; and that the Princess Caroline would only have such an opinion of her brother as her lover chose to form for her. The antipathy of the King to the Prince his son, was hardly greater than that which he had always borne to his father, George I. Frederick never behaved worse to his father, than his father had done, when he evaded the old King's injunctions, and got his money, by burning his will. Frederick was the head and hope of the Opposition, it is true. They met, plotted, and intrigued, at Leicester House. But the King had, in his father's lifetime, done the same. The only difference was, that George II. had been but a short time in England, and therefore his opposition began late: Frederick came younger to England, and was therefore earlier in opposition. Besides, Frederick wanted an increased allowance, and this the King would not give him. So far the antipathy of the father may be explained, and the conduct of the son palliated. But this will not explain the Queen's hatred and the Queen's language. In one place she speaks of him 'as the most hardened of all liars.' In another she says (to Hervey), 'My dear Lord, I will give it you under my hand, if 'you are in any fear of my relapsing, that my dear firstborn is 'the greatest ass, and the greatest liar, and the greatest *canaille*, 'and the greatest beast in the whole world; and that I most 'heartily wish he was out of it!' Compared with this, the King's words and feelings were mild: he only wanted to prove his son a changeling, and only refused to have any intercourse with him. For a parallel treatment of a son by a mother, we must turn to the sufferings of Savage, and the hatred of Lady Macclesfield. But undoubtedly the Prince was a weak, if not a bad, man. He was at once undutiful, hypocritical, and frivolous. He hurried his wife away from Hampton Court at the moment of actual

labour, to the danger of her life and the succession; he then insulted the Queen by a ridiculous explanation in private, and afterwards insulted her still more by his hypocritical genuflexions in public. While the Royal army lay at Carlisle, during the Rebellion of 1745, he amused himself and the Maids of Honour by making a mimic castle of paste, and bombarding it with sugar-plums! He was addicted to gambling—and increased his income by it. He was always wanting money, and would have sold or divided his inheritance to get it. He was more amorous and more generous than his father; but though he was successively the lover of Miss Vane, of Lady A. Hamilton, and Lady Middlesex, and though Leicester House was the resort of Chesterfield, Lyttelton, and Glover, his early grave was bedewed with no tears, except those of disappointed creditors.

Of Lady Suffolk it will be sufficient to say that she displayed much grace and some virtue, in an ungracious and equivocal situation. The mistress of a king whom she did not rule, and the servant of a queen whose husband was her paramour, she never tried the temper of the one by selfish applications, nor offended the self-love of the other by her pretensions. On the contrary, she submitted to many mortifications for many years; and got nothing in return, except praise from Swift, a pretty compliment from Pope, and a barony for her brother. The King used to alternate his gross affection for her, with grosser abuse. The Queen revenged herself upon her innocent rivalry by the rigid exaction of menial services, which she made more galling by the affectation of apologies. 'But sometimes,' says Horace Walpole, 'Her 'Majesty had a more complete triumph. It happened more 'than once that the King, coming into the room while the 'Queen was dressing, has snatched off her handkerchief, and, 'turning rudely to Mrs. Howard, has cried, "Because you have '"an ugly neck yourself, you hide the Queen's."' As she advanced in life she became deaf, and consequently unacceptable to her royal lover. The Queen either dreaded the accession of a young mistress, or felt for the disappointment of the old one; for she interfered in her 'good Howard's' behalf. 'I don't 'know why you won't let me part with an old deaf woman, of 'whom I am weary,' was the characteristic reply. The 'old 'deaf woman,' whom the brutality of an unworthy husband had consigned to the caresses of an unworthy lover, took the opportunity which the death of the former offered her, of escaping from the trammels of an invidious distinction, in a union with a worthier man than either, the Hon. G. Berkeley. Her first husband's succession to the peerage had raised her from the post of bed-chamber woman to that of Mistress of the Robes. But

neither increased dignity nor ampler leisure reconciled her to a Court of which she was heartily tired; and she found in the modesty of a retirement for which she had long sighed, and the society of a husband whom she outlived, a satisfaction greater than the sterile honours of a king's mistress and a queen's attendant could bestow. She was a woman of elegant manners, pleasing features, graceful deportment, and considerable wit: she was therefore much too good for the King. Her greatest recommendation in his eyes would doubtless be, that she gave him but little trouble, and cost him but very little money. She had no influence, and pretended to none, though often solicited by anxious and fulsome suitors.

We will now give a few extracts from this amusing book, and begin with those which refer to the principal characters of contemporary history. We will take one which relates a communication made by the Queen to Hervey at the time of the clamour against the Excise Bill. Sir Robert had concealed it from Hervey:—

'The circumstance concealed was this:—When Sir Robert Walpole told the Queen the clamour against this Bill was grown to that height that there was no contending with it any longer, he said there were two ways of trying to appease it,—the one by dropping the Bill (which would not be sure to quiet the commotions the prosecuting of it had caused), the other was by dropping the projector as well as the project; which, whatever bad consequences such yielding to clamour might have in futurity, would certainly have this immediate good effect,—that for the present, at least, all troubles would subside, and everything be calm and still. What troubles the struggles for power, among those who had raised these storms to subvert his interest, might occasion in the palace, and how headstrong this concession to a mob might afterwards make that mob in future administrations, were considerations, he said, which he would not suggest; for fear he might be thought to urge them as arguments for his own continuance in employment: whereas he was so far from desiring to be *in* her Majesty's service, if she thought it was not *for* her service, that he should lay down and retire with all the satisfaction in the world; and, if her Majesty thought it for the advantage of the King's affairs, or that it would facilitate in any manner the King's business in parliament, that he was ready that very night to quit; and should never impute his disgrace to her Majesty's want of kindness towards him, but merely to his own ill fortune. The Queen chid him extremely for having so ill an opinion of her as to think it possible for her to be so mean, so cowardly, and so ungrateful, as to accept of such an offer; and assured him that as long as she lived she would not abandon him. When Sir Robert Walpole made the same offer to the King, his Majesty (as the Queen told me) made the most kingly, the most sensible, and the most resolute answer that it was possible for a wise, a just, and a

great prince to make, to the most able and to the most meritorious servant: but whether *she* dictated the words before he spoke them, or embellished them afterwards, I know not. As well as I can remember them, they were to this effect:—That Sir Robert had served him honestly and faithfully; that his Majesty knew all this bustle was owing to personal enmity or contention for power in the administration of his affairs; that he knew Sir Robert Walpole's reason for concerting the land-tax scheme was, that it might be the glory of his reign to take off the land-tax, which had been a burden laid on the landed interest in consequence of the Revolution, and which never since the Revolution any prince had been able to remit; that it was true he had miscarried in that design; but that his having done so had made his Majesty not angry with him for failing in this undertaking, but with those who had obstructed it: he said he was very sensible Sir Robert Walpole could have had no interest of his own in concerting or pushing this scheme, and that since he had done it only for the honour and service of his master, that that master would never forsake him, but that they should stand or fall together. This, as the Queen told me, was the King's answer to Sir Robert, when he made him the offer of quitting; and that Sir Robert should be more reluctant to own to Lord Hervey that he had made this offer of resigning, than ready to boast of it being so received, I think was odd, but so it was.' (Vol. i. pp. 190—192.)

The tone in which the Queen replied to Lord Stair, who had sought an audience of her Majesty for the express purpose of putting her on her guard against the 'insolence,' 'oppressive-'ness,' and 'injustice,' of her minister in introducing this measure, affords a good specimen of her energy and courage. The turn of the sentences is evidently Hervey's; their strength was the Queen's. After listening to a lengthened and elaborate harangue, the Queen took him up in a peroration about his conscience, and exclaimed, 'Ah, my Lord! ne me parlez point de conscience, 'vous me faites évanouir.' After a brief interruption from the nettled lord, she proceeded thus:—

'"You have made so very free with me personally in this conference, "my Lord, that I hope you will think I am entitled to speak my mind "with very little reserve to you; and believe me, my Lord, I am no "more to be imposed upon by your professions, than I am to be terrified "by your threats. I must, therefore, once more ask you, my Lord, "how you can have the assurance to talk to me of your thinking the "sense of constituents, their interest, or their instructions any measure "or rule for the conduct of their representatives in Parliament; or if "you believe I am so ignorant or so forgetful of all past proceedings "in Parliament, as not to know that in the only occasion where these "considerations should have biassed you, you set them all at nought? "Remember the Peerage Bill, my Lord. Who then betrayed the "interest of their constituents? Who gave up the birthright of their "constituents? Who deprived their constituents of all chance of ever

"taking their turn with those whom they then sent to Parliament? "The English Lords in passing that Bill were only guilty of tyranny; "but every Scotch Lord was guilty of the last treachery; and "whether you were one of the sixteen traitors, your own memory, I "believe, will serve to tell you, without the assistance of mine. To "talk, therefore, in the patriot strain you have done to me on this "occasion, can move me, my Lord, to nothing but laughter. Where "you get your lesson I do not want to know: your system of politics "you collect from the 'Craftsman;' your sentiments, or rather your "professions, from my Lord Bolingbroke and my Lord Carteret— "whom you may tell, if you think fit, *that I have long known to be "two as worthless men of parts as any in this country, and whom I "have not only been often told are two of the greatest liars and knaves "in any country, but whom my own observation and experience have "found so.* If you think fit, you may also, by way of supplement, let "Lord Carteret know that I am not yet reduced to wanting his pro- "tection; though I hear he bragged of having had the generosity to "bestow it upon me when the affair of the Charitable Corporation "was under prosecution in the House of Lords, and that he saved me "from being exposed there. For the rest, my good Lord, as an old "acquaintance, the best advice I can give you, if you are a friend to "the King, is to detach yourself from his enemies; if you are a friend "to truth, to take your intelligence for the future from those who deal "in it; if you are a friend to honesty, not to herd with those who "disclaim it; and, if you are a friend to our family, never to cabal "with those who look on ours and the Jacobites' cause as things in- "different in themselves, and to be espoused or combated in no other "view, and on no other motive, than as this or that may least or most "conduce to thwarting or gratifying their own private avarice and "ambition." (Vol. i. pp. 170—172.)

The following is a lively account of the feminine arts by which the Queen gradually gained an influence over her husband's mind, and changed his plans. We recommend the latter part to all prudent and ambitious wives;—

'His design at his first accession to the throne was certainly, as Boileau says of Louis XIV.,

"Seul, sans ministre, à l'exemple des Dieux,
Faire tout par sa main et voir tout de ses yeux."

He intended to have all his ministers in the nature of clerks, not to give advice, but to receive orders; and proposed, what by experiment he found impracticable, to receive applications and distribute favours through no principal channel, but to hear from all quarters, and employ indifferently in their several callings those who by their stations would come under the denomination of ministers. But it was very plain, from what I have just now related from the King's own lips, as well as from many other circumstances in his present conduct, that the Queen had subverted all his notions and schemes, and fully possessed his Majesty with an opinion that it was absolutely necessary,

from the nature of the English Government, that he should have but one minister; and that it was equally necessary, from Sir Robert's superior abilities, that he should be that one. But this work, which she now saw completed, had been the work of long time, much trouble, and great contrivance; for though, by a superiority of understanding, thorough knowledge of his temper, and much patience in her own, she could work him by degrees to any point where she had a mind to drive him, yet she was forced to do it often by slow degrees, and with great caution; for, as he was infinitely jealous of being governed, he was never to be led but by invisible reins; neither was it ever possible for her to make him adopt her opinion but by instilling her sentiments in such a manner as made him think they rose originally from himself. She always at first gave into all his notions, though never so extravagant, and made him imagine any change she wrought in them to be an afterthought of his own.' (Vol. i. pp. 184, 185.)

The influence thus acquired, the minister used for the highest and best of purposes,—the preservation of European peace. Little did the people who were shouting down Walpole as an 'excise tyrant' and an 'absolute dictator,' guess the hard conflict in which he was daily engaged on their behalf against the predilections of the King, and even the prejudices of the Queen. Walpole, indeed, carried his love of peace (or was carried by it) almost to an extravagance; and had he lived in our days, may be supposed likely to have seconded Mr. Cobden in his schemes of general disarmament. At one time of his life he incurred the popular displeasure by a detected intention of ceding the conquest of Gibraltar to Spain, as at a later period he incurred a still greater obloquy by hesitating, though he at last had the mortification of consenting, to proclaim war against her. The 'Curdog of Britain' was less unpopular than the 'Spaniel of 'Spain.'

But there is more reason for rejoicing that he foiled the belligerent propensities of George II., than that he did not mutilate the empire of George I. The succession to the crown of Poland had involved France, Germany, and Spain in a war, in which England had no interest or concern whatsoever. But the 'little 'Captain,' as George was called, could not resist the allurements of meddling in the fray. He longed 'to pull the laurels 'from the brows of the French generals, to bind on his own 'temples.' 'War and action were his sole pleasures. Age 'was coming fast upon him, * * * * * and he could not 'bear the thought of resting in the cabinet, whilst other princes 'were busied in war and shining in the field,' &c. &c. Such were the murmurs and complaints which assailed the Minister every time he entered the royal closet; and often precluded him from saying a word on any of the topics which he had come ex-

pressly to discuss. The worst was, that the Queen's prejudices often abetted the King's passion. 'Wherever,' says Hervey, 'the 'interest of Germany and the honour of the Empire were con- 'cerned, her thoughts and reasonings were often as German and 'Imperial as if England had been out of the question; and there 'were few inconveniences and dangers to which she would not 'have exposed this country, rather than give occasion to its being 'said, that the Empire suffered affronts unretorted, and the House 'of Austria injuries unrevenged, whilst she, a German by birth, 'sat upon this throne an idle spectatress, able to assist, and not 'willing to interpose.'—(Hervey, vol. i. 373.) It was in opposition to this twofold expression of royal will that Walpole uttered a memorable warning, which he more than once repeated, —that a gratuitous interference in the quarrels of Europe would make the Crown of England as debateable as the Crown of Poland. He escaped by a few months, living to see the fulfilment of a prophecy so often made.

It was when he had been thwarted by the minister, or when he had just returned from Hanover, that George II. used to break out into those growlings and grumblings against England and English liberty, in which the Queen would also take part. But her better temper and better judgment in the end overcame her high German notions of prerogative. She would often speak in wiser and more guarded terms: The following is among the most memorable of royal *dicta* on record:—

'I have heard her say,' writes Hervey, 'she wondered how the English could imagine that any sensible prince would take away their liberty if he could. "*Mon Dieu!*" she cried, "what a figure would "this poor island make in Europe if it were not for its government! "It is its excellent free government that makes all its inhabitants "industrious, as they know that what they get nobody can take from "them; it is its free government, too, that makes foreigners send "their money hither, because they know it is secure, and that the "prince cannot touch it; and since it is its freedom to which this "kingdom owes everything that makes it great, what prince, who had "his senses, and knew that his own greatness depended on the great- "ness of the country over which he reigned, would wish to take "away what made both him and them considerable?"' (Vol. ii. pp. 31, 32.)

It must not be supposed that Walpole, though he despised the servility, wholly rejected the arts of a courtier. His power over the King depended on his influence over the Queen. The Queen, albeit a strong-minded woman, was yet a woman; and what woman ever disliked the homage of regard and the insinuations of flattery? Hervey (vol. i. 414.) has dressed up

with dramatic effect the reciprocation of a friendship verging on affection, with which the Premier plied the Queen, and the tender confidence with which she rewarded her servant's devotion and advice. The compliment with which the Queen closes the scene, even if Hervey has improved on its phraseology, was such as either of the royal pair might justly have uttered: 'You 'have saved us from many errors .... The King sees this and 'owns it: whilst you have fixed yourself as strongly in favour 'by an obstinate and wise contradiction to your Prince as ever 'any other minister did by the blindest and most servile com-'pliance.' Nor was Walpole's advice unsupported by that of others. Hervey used the opportunities which his attendance at court gave him, to instil into the King's mind the value of a pacific policy. The terms in which he did this, show a political sagacity and a comprehensiveness of mind much in advance of almost all his contemporaries. (See vol. i. p. 265.)

We have said enough to show that Walpole's intimacy at the court was, like Hervey's, no less of a personal than a ministerial character. The conversation which was there indulged in was of the most familiar, and, to modern scruples, of the least delicate kind. The tenderness which the Queen accorded to the immoralities of the King, she extended to those of the King's minister. Walpole, during his first wife's lifetime, lived openly with Miss Skerritt, whom he afterwards married, and for whose natural children, after his elevation to the peerage, he obtained a patent of precedence. This connexion afforded the Queen ample matter for alternate banter and sneer, according to the humour of the moment. She would at times jest with Hervey on the absurdity of the poor man '*avec ce gros corps, ces jambes enflées, 'et ce vilain ventre*,' believing that any woman could love him for himself! But Sir Robert was even with her Majesty. For, when the Queen complained of the King's cross temper, he coolly told her, 'It was impossible it should be otherwise, since 'the King had tasted better things!' and ended by advising her to bring pretty Lady Tankerville in *rapport* with the King. This 'prating at court in the style of the stews,' does not seem to have been as distasteful as Hervey would try to think it was; for the confidential communications in which the King solicited the Queen's favour for the Countess Walmoden, and her actual intercession to secure for him the favours of the Duchess of Modena, preclude the idea that these sentiments were as revolting to the royal Philaminte, as they would now-a-days be to a scavenger's wife. Nor was the Queen the only lady of the royal family who talked openly on these matters. When Lady Suffolk was waning at court, the Princess Royal could find nothing better

to say than this: 'I wish with all my heart he (*i. e.* the King) 'would take somebody else; that mamma might be relieved from 'the *ennui* of seeing him for ever in her room.'

But gross and indelicate as was the conversation of the court circle, grossness and indelicacy were not its only vices. The nearest and dearest relations of life were desecrated by falsehood, meanness, and malignity. The spirit of party inflamed petty spitefulness into bitter hatreds, and petty artifices into scandalous hypocrisy. Quarrels which would in a tradesman's or a lawyer's family have ended with the small causes from which they sprang, were in that of the King fomented by faction and perpetuated by intrigue. We have first of all the Prince set on by his followers to go to parliament for an allowance of 100,000*l.* a-year; then we have private little embassies running backwards and forwards between the Prince and the court; then we have accounts of one of the princesses being put behind the door to listen to the conversation between her mother and her brother, 'because,' to quote the Queen's words, 'there is nothing he 'might not say; not even that I had attempted to murder him!' Then we have an indelicate tale of the Prince's hurrying his wife away from Hampton Court in the agonies of her confinement; then we have a coarse explanation of it from the Prince himself, which Mr. Croker has stopped with modest asterisks; then we have the Prince denying this explanation; then crowning this scandalous piece of double lying, by kneeling, in the mud of St. James', in presence of a noisy mob, to receive the blessing of the mother whom he had insulted; then turned out of St. James'; then garbling his correspondence with his parents for the edification of the world; then Hervey ordered to draw up a counter-publication, and expressly forbidden to correct his Royal Highness's bad spelling; then out of revenge the Prince's toadies publish a narrative of the dispute between his father and George I., which had ended in the former's ejectment from the palace; and finally, in the midst of these disgraceful squabbles, fomented by hungry courtiers and fawning partisans, the Queen is taken seriously ill, and, on the verge of death, refuses to see her son!

There are few things in any book of memoirs with which we are acquainted, that have so much dramatic interest as the death of Queen Caroline, as it is here described. The determination to conceal the nature of the malady from her husband and the whole Court — the resolution (which was habitual both to herself and the King in seasons of pain and illness) to hold a drawing-room and act the part of a person in strong health — her tardy submission to the inroads of suffer-

ing and agony—her patient and resigned anticipation of death—her suppression of sighs and groans under the tortures of her disease and its surgical remedies—her affectionate remembrance of all her children, *save one*—her solemn recommendation of the King and the kingdom to the care of the faithful minister, whom she had so firmly befriended—all these circumstances have in them much to affect us with pity and respect. But a sentiment more sad and solemn is inspired by the record of her latest hours.

When death was rapidly approaching, and (we quote Hervey, vol. ii. p. 521.,) 'some wise, some pious, and a great many busy 'meddling, impertinent people began to ask whether the Queen 'had any one to pray by her,' Walpole addresses the Princess Emily in these words: '"Pray, Madame, let this farce be '"played; the Archbishop will act it very well. You may '"bid him be as short as you will. It will do the Queen no '"hurt, no more than any good."' The Primate came, at such a summons, to the bedside of the dying sovereign. He prayed with her, and exhorted her to receive the Sacrament, but she refused; and when at length he had left her to herself, he eluded the anxious queries of the sobbing mourners in the antechamber, who asked if the queen had communicated, by this delicate evasion: 'her majesty is in a heavenly frame of mind.' The last names she mentioned were those of Butler and the King. Her last word was, 'Pray!' In a scene of this kind it would be inconceivable that ought of the ludicrous or the farcical should find a place. Yet such was the fact. We are shocked in the very chamber of death by the intrusion of royal egotism, vanity, buffoonery, and inhumanity. The king is at one moment dissolved in a mawkish tenderness, at another sunk into brutal apathy. He is at one moment all tears for the loss of one who united the softness and amiability of one sex to the courage and firmness of the other; at another all fury because the object of his regrets cannot swallow, or cannot change her posture, or cannot animate the glassy fixedness of her eyes; at one moment he begins an elaborate panegyric on her virtues, then breaks off into an enumeration of his own, by which he implies that her heart had been enthralled and her intelligence awed. He then diverges into a stupid story about a storm, for which his daughter laughs at him; and then, while he is weeping over his Consort's death-bed, she advises him to marry again; and we are—what the Queen was not—startled by the strange reply, '*Non: j'aurai des maîtresses!*' To which she faintly moaned out the rejoinder, '*Cela n'empêche pas!*' This was the text from which Walpole afterwards drew his scheme of management;

for he told the princesses that he had formerly sided with the Queen against the mistress, but he should henceforth side with the new mistress (Countess Walmoden) against the daughters. This cool declaration naturally disgusted the princesses; but seems in no way to have injured the minister.

We have cited enough to show that the Court of Geo. II. was a very gross, though for the times, perhaps, not a singularly vicious one. We can only remind our readers of what we said at first, that the age was a gross and a vicious age. The readers of 'Tom Jones' and 'Joseph Andrews' need not be told what were the manners of the squirearchy and the farmers of that day. The readers of Miss Bellenden's and Miss Howe's Letters need not be told how elegant and high-born dames occasionally talked and wrote. The Court, in short, was not a whit grosser than one half of English society; or all German society, of the same epoch; and whatever vice it had, must be allowed to have lacked the allurements which grace, refinement, and wit threw over the contemporary Court of the Regent Orleans. At all events, there was one vice from which that age was free—the vice of hypocrisy. All was open and avowed. George II. lived openly with Lady Suffolk and Countess Walmoden. Sir R. Walpole lived openly with Miss Skerritt; and was not one jot the less intimate for all that, with Bishops Gibson and Hoadley. An archbishop of Canterbury was the envoy notoriously selected by the unreluctant cuckold Mr. Howard, to disengage his wife from the service of the queen and the caresses of the king. An archbishop of York had lived openly with a succession of mistresses; and one of his natural sons sat on the Episcopal Bench. Walpole and Pulteney, intriguers against the honour of other husbands, were careless of their own. Lady Bath was as gallant as she was beautiful. Lady Walpole was no less an intriguante. It is now thought tolerably certain that the father of Horace Walpole was Lord Hervey's elder brother, Carr. The familiarities of Lady Walpole might have suggested this suspicion; but the resemblance between the two men confirmed it. Horace was a Hervey all over. The same mind which discovers itself in these Memoirs, appears in the 'Reminiscences.' The same elaboration of style — for men had a style in those days — occasionally interrupted by gallicisms, &c., distinguishes both Hervey and Horace. In Walpole there is less effort. His sentences are less rounded: he has not the same recurrence of antithesis, which was one of the butts of Pope's caustic satire: but his English we think is less pure, and the character of his writing less masculine. Hervey's is as good as Lord Chesterfield's, and will often bear a comparison even with Bolingbroke's. But there is the same pun-

gency of remark; the same quick observation of minute traits of character; the same preference of literary and refined amusements to those of the chase and the turf (a taste not likely to be found in a genuine descendant of Sir Robert); the same safe cynicism against great people, which nowadays would be radicalism; the same sneers against the Church; the same capacity for writing verses, *majore quidem curâ quàm ingenio* — both in Hervey and his unacknowledged nephew. The only curious thing is, that Horace should feel himself called upon to be indignant about the political desertion of his putative father by his real father's brother. The imputation too was unjust; but, considering the relationship, which Horace must have known — or suspected — the charge is odd enough.

As men were lax in their social, they were lax in their political morality. There were few votes of which — within certain limits — the money value might not be ascertained. An opposition member crossed over to the other side of the House; voted with the minister, and pocketed his 300*l.* or 500*l.* Walpole congratulated the king that the majority against the faction for increasing the Prince's income had only cost 900*l.* Most men in Parliament had their price; and all the world out of Parliament knew they had.

All this has passed away. Men in high stations do not live openly with mistresses, or make ostentatious love to their friends' wives. Members of Parliament do not put a ministerial cheque in their pocket-book, and give their vote in exchange. We are more decent, more observant of forms, more nice in our language and demeanour, than our great grandfathers were. Let us hope that the change is not only apparent but real; not of externals, but of principles; not of manners, but of morals! May it be with a truer self-knowledge and a more justifiable egotism than that of the Pharisee, that we exult when we compare the age of Victoria with that of George and Caroline!

ART. VII.—1. *L'Europe depuis l'Avènement du Roi Louis Philippe.* Par M. CAPEFIGUE. 10 vols. Paris: 1846.

2. *Le Congrès de Vienne dans ses Rapports avec la Circonscription actuelle de l'Europe.* Par M. CAPEFIGUE. Paris: Jan. 1847.

3. *European Remodellings, a Plan with a Variation.* London: 1848.

4. *Sketches of the Progress of Civilization and Public Liberty, with a View of the Political Condition of Europe and America in* 1848. By JOHN MACGREGOR, M.P. London: 1848.

WHATEVER may be the character finally communicated to the historical school of our own generation, it must surely be rescued from sinking into antiquarianism, by the influence of the events which are passing around us. It is scarcely possible that any person in these days should overlook the present to exist solely in the past. From a period of tranquillity, during which the pacific stagnation of European politics was visibly disturbed only by the squabbles of diplomacy or the mutterings of discontent, we have been suddenly precipitated into a chaos of revolutions, which have threatened to subvert the constitution and the relations of almost every state, except our own. From an age of repose we have been transferred at once to an age of living history; and indeed, in some sense, the records of the past offer no such scene for observation as that which is now being gradually unfolded before our eyes. It is at such periods, however, that history becomes susceptible of its most comprehensive and instructive application; and the more so when, as in the present case, the progress of civilisation has apparently raised its judgments above that argument which used to be the *ultima ratio* of kings. Within these last eight months history has been appealed to in sanction of the most fundamental changes over half the continent of Europe; until, indeed, it seems almost necessary to protest against an excess of scholasticism, and practical statesmen have to take heed that historical reveries do not terminate in some such extravagance as occasionally results from unqualified antiquarianism. In the spirit which is hurrying the Germans across the Eyder, might be found a strong analogy to that which has conducted certain young English priests to Rome.

In constructing for our readers a synoptical view of the present state of Europe, we have adopted the scheme which appeared to promise the most general, as well as the most available, information. At such a crisis as this, besides the

respective conditions of the several states, there is to be considered the condition of that political system which is composed by their reciprocal action; in fact it is simply impossible, as Europe is at present constituted, to look at any one of its component powers irrespectively of its relations with the others. The existing system of Europe may be termed, with almost perfect strictness, as indeed it has been termed by German publicists, a Federal system; and the fortunes of France or Prussia can be no more separated from those of the states around them, than the affairs of Unterwalden can be distinguished from the affairs of Switzerland. It happens, too, that this system itself has been brought, and that not unintentionally, into greater peril by the recent movement, than could have resulted from any shock short of a general war; and though modifications of its character are perpetually in operation, yet its entire demolition, or, in other words, the subversion of all those political compacts and usages which have been received as regulating the intercourse of nations, is an event of the rarest occurrence and most momentous import,—being equivalent in its effects upon the whole European commonwealth to those revolutions which subvert the political fabric of any particular state. This, therefore, would naturally be the first point to be attended to in considering the state of Europe. Besides this, however, it will be found that by thus looking at each state as part of a whole, the several events, which are now indistinct and confused, will admit of being classified and characterised according to their real importance. Some parts of the machine may bear a good deal of rough handling without any serious consequences; in other parts a slight derangement may be fatal to the whole. In order, therefore, to convey the most intelligible and comprehensive idea of the present state of Europe, we propose briefly to review the system on which European relations were based by European consent at that last arrangement of such affairs which has been thought to regulate our national duties; to specify the modifications subsequently introduced; to ascertain the functions attributed to each particular state in the body politic; to discover the principles which determined the action of the whole; and thus, by elucidating the state of things under which we had been living, and to which we had arrived, to consider with better understanding, and from a better point of view, not only the character and course of those events which are now so strangely affecting the condition of each particular member, but the extent to which the general system has been disturbed, and the results which any probable modifications of its form may be expected to produce. However circuitous this

route may appear, the reader may be assured that more quickly and surely than any other will it lead him to the position from which the actual Europe can best be surveyed.

Up to the date of these startling events, the public law and international rights of the old world were understood to rest, as our readers know, upon the treaties of Vienna. This, at least, is the phrase conventionally used to designate the charter of the European constitution, though it may be remarked, for precision's sake, that the expression involves some confusion of dates and circumstances. The relations existing, for instance, between France and Europe, which are those to which attention has been most frequently drawn, were determined by treaties entirely distinct from the acts of the Congress at Vienna. After the Allies had first entered Paris, a treaty was concluded on the 30th of May, 1814, by which the frontiers, possessions, and position of France were so far defined, that nothing was left to be settled at Vienna upon these particular points. The final decisions of the Congress were precipitated, as will be well remembered, by the return of Bonaparte from Elba — an event which was considered by the Allies, after their renewed successes, to justify a modification of the terms granted by the treaty of the previous year. Accordingly, on the 20th of November, 1815, a new convention was signed; and this is the particular act which so rankles in the bosom of Frenchmen; and which, under the general denomination of the 'Treaties of Vienna,' has been the object of incessant denunciation and attack, from that moment to the present day. As a matter of fact, the circumscription of France was not brought into discussion at Vienna; it was conceived to have been already defined at the peace of Paris; and this definition was only modified in consequence of events which subsequently occurred. In common phraseology, however, the 'Treaties of Vienna,' or the 'Treaties of 1815,' are usually appealed to as regulating the existing state of Europe, and fixing the unhappy destinies of France; and the inaccuracy involves no very serious evil.

In considering these famous arrangements, which have secured the general peace, with few and partial interruptions, for three and thirty years, and which now at length seem to be approaching their termination, it will be necessary to attend closely to the circumstances of the period at which they were determined, if we wish either to appreciate justly the spirit in which they were conceived, or to comprehend that in which they have been attacked, and in which it is now hoped to supersede them. The leading idea of the sovereigns and statesmen

assembled in the Austrian capital, was the restoration of the European system, which for a quarter of a century had been utterly destroyed. They desired to recur to that ancient code of public law which had formerly regulated the intercourse of states; and they were reasonably anxious to secure it for the future against any such impetuous violations as those to which it had been recently exposed by the ambition and the conquests of France. As it happened, these objects were not found very readily reconcileable with each other, and considerable violence was offered to national rights in the effort to preclude for the future any recurrence of national wrongs. There was also the necessity of satisfying individual ambition, of indemnifying impoverished states, and of recompensing conspicuous services; nor was it to be overlooked that there were certain existing facts, to which the eyes of the Congress could not be closed. Italy, Poland, and Saxony, were in the actual possession respectively of Austria, Russia, and Prussia; and in no case did there appear any disposition to relax the grasp obtained.

Under these conditions the Congress assembled for its duties. It is to be observed, that, while the ancient code of public law was to be restored, the principles on which the political system was to be organised were entirely new. The canons and maxims of the old traditional policy of Europe had been exploded by motives more powerful than hereditary jealousies or historical alliances. All such history, in fact, was now a *tabula rasa*. The House of Bourbon had been re-seated on its throne by the House of Hapsburg; and the descendant of Maria Theresa shared the hazards and the hopes of the descendant of Frederick the Great. There was no longer any room for the combinations of former times. The rivalry of France and Austria was as obsolete as that of Genoa and Pisa; and they were now connected by far more imperative considerations than such as had suggested the strange coalition of 1756. In the presence of a more terrible power all minor differences were sunk; and for the first time in political history, the deliberations of a congress were directed less to the establishment of equilibrium between jealous states, than to the erection of a barrier against a common enemy of all.

The acts of the Congress and its supplements, may be considered from two separate points of view; either as repartitions of territory, or sanctions of principle. We will first take the former. Subject to the private expectations of the great powers most immediately interested, the consummation aimed at in the territorial arrangements, was the effectual repression of France; a result in which it was secretly thought practicable to include

certain precautionary measures against what was already considered the menacing predominance of Russia. Between the Niemen and the Meuse, therefore, lay the ground to be scientifically distributed. The scheme by which Napoleon had superseded the old arrangements of Central Europe, was admirably adapted to a system based upon the supremacy of France. By the not unnatural annexation of the grand duchy of Warsaw to a kingdom so intimately connected with ancient Poland, he had created in Saxony an attached and powerful state, which, interposed between the Austrian and Russian dominions, was calculated to neutralise any combination of these two powers; at the same time that the Confederation of the Rhine, as we explained in our last number, protected the whole eastern frontier of France; supplied troops and territory against the first shock of an invasion; and carried to perfection that federative system, so long the favourite of the old French cabinets, by which a league of second and third rate powers was kept constantly on foot under the protectorate and presidency of France.

The provisions of a policy exactly opposite, involved, of course, the direct reversal of these arrangements. The Saxony of Napoleon was to be destroyed; and indeed it was only owing to the zeal and adroitness with which Talleyrand exerted the revived authority of France, and enlisted on his side the jealousy of Austria and the sympathies of England, that this ancient title did not altogether disappear from the catalogue of nations. It was urged by Prussia, with the full support of the Czar, that the dominions of King Frederick Augustus had been fairly forfeited by his treason to the Empire in the War of Liberation, and that his territories, according to Germanic law, were as justly liable to confiscation as those of Henry the Lion. The decision of the Congress stopped just short of the capital sentence; and Saxony was suffered to survive as an independent state, though sorely circumscribed in importance and power. Of its Polish provinces we shall speak presently. Its cessions in Germany served to round off and complete the irregular frontiers of Prussia, and to contribute to the augmentations of strength which were thought necessary for the future functions of that Power. In the same spirit the Confederation of the Rhine was declared to be dissolved; and the Germanic States were reorganised after a fashion, on which, after our recent notice of the subject, we need not now insist. It should be observed, however, that in addition to the other results anticipated from this measure, there was the obvious advantage of thus excluding France from any such connexion with the minor German states, as had heretofore been made so subservient to

her views of political aggrandisement. As long as the great Germanic Confederation subsisted in full force, it was impossible that France should again avail herself of any alliance with the smaller powers, to the damage of Austria or Prussia.

The next measure of precaution involved a still more arbitrary distribution of territory. In pursuance of the great scheme of interposing a barrier of compact and consolidated states between the suspected powers of eastern and western Europe, the provinces of Holland and Belgium were fused into a new kingdom of the Netherlands, in favour of the House of Orange, which thus succeeded to a sovereignty of no small political importance. Commanding the mouths of the Scheldt and the Rhine, and supported by the Rhenish provinces of Prussia and the English kingdom of Hanover, it was conceived that the new state would serve as an advanced post to Europe against France, or as a reserve for Europe against Russia. The creation of this power completed the chief territorial arrangements of the Congress, by perfecting the great barrier system which had been devised. Its *fiats* on other points were dictated by the same spirit. The neutrality and independence of Switzerland were studiously recognised and established; and the indispensable kingdom of Sardinia was strengthened even by the sacrifice of the Genoese, so discreditable after the promises of independence by which they had been deluded. The secular sovereignty of the Roman Pontiff, which has been so recently called in question, was duly confirmed, though not without some curious debate, both at Vienna and Westminster. The states of the Church were thought by Protestant Prussia to offer an eligible retreat for disinherited Saxony; and even English Whigs conceived that no better material for requisite indemnifications could be found elsewhere. The sudden defection of Murat from the cause of the Allies facilitated the general recognition of legitimacy which was thought desirable; and enabled the dispensing Powers to redistribute the Peninsula between the Houses of Lorraine and Bourbon. It is proper, also, to mention that a design was entertained of uniting these Italian states by some such federal compact as that which had been devised for Germany; though, as the notion originated with M. de Metternich, it may be easily conceived to have involved no idea of any such unity as was subsequently craved; but simply such an alliance as would have placed the resources of all the principalities more readily at the command of the Power predominating in their councils.

From this brief recapitulation of the territorial arrangements of the Congress, it will not be difficult to deduce a general idea of the functions attributed to each Power in the new political

system. It was in Central Europe that the difficulties chiefly lay, and where the main strength of the machinery was required. Austria and Prussia, nearly matched in power and resources, and with their ancient feuds now healed by their experience of common peril, were supported, either in front or rear, as occasion might determine, by an array of states artistically grouped for this precise purpose. Germany, with just such a character of unity as the purpose required, was placed almost wholly at their disposal by the terms of the new confederation. To the South lay Switzerland; independent and neutral, preserved in its institutions and its integrity; less by the favour than by the jealousies of the dominant Powers; and retaining its sovereign existence on the single condition of excluding all states alike from the advantages derivable in case of war from its fastnesses and its position. To the North was the new-born kingdom of the Netherlands; which, resting on the territories of the Germanic Confederation, completed, along the frontier of France, a *cordon* of states, which it was hoped would be proof against any new outbreaks of ambition or revolution. In this way was the entire group between the Meuse and the Niemen organised, and animated with the single object of repressing for the future any irruptions of France, or any possible encroachments of Russia. The apprehensions respecting the latter power were, however, as yet but indistinctly developed; and it may be said that Central Europe entire, flanked on one side by Italy, and on the other by England, was combined and consolidated anew, for the one sole purpose of forming a barrier against France — and effectually confining that indomitable spirit from which all war seemed to spring.

The course which European history subsequently took, and which it is taking at present, renders it now necessary to consider the proceedings of the Congress in a point of view from which transactions of this kind have seldom called for so much contemplation — in respect, that is, of the abstract political principles there solemnly sanctioned. It was, in fact, impossible, at the conclusion of what had been emphatically a war of opinions, to omit some definite understanding and decision regarding these opinions, from that compromise of interests and compact of powers which were to secure tranquillity for future generations. We are not now alluding to the moral questions which were overtly introduced into the conferences — such as the abolition of the slave trade, the suppression of piracy, &c.; but to that general determination respecting the internal politics of particular states which was taken in concert by the sovereigns assembled. This is a point of the greatest importance; for the events

which are at this moment convulsing Europe are directly connected with these resolutions, and with the modifications and reversals which they subsequently underwent. However strange it may appear, it is beyond all doubt, that the spirit of the Allied Powers was at this period *sincerely liberal.* The stream of opinions had been reversed. Originally, revolutionary France had overrun absolutist Europe; but now insurgent and emancipated Europe was repulsing despotic France. The principles which had been invoked in their own favour by the Convention and the Directory, were now invoked against the oppressions of the Empire, by the sovereigns of the Continent. It was apparently not more in acknowledgment of the debt they owed to their people, than in furtherance of their own sincere designs, that the several monarchs now stipulated for constitutional governments in their respective dominions. If any reluctance was shown in this competition for popularity, it was on the part of Austria. Prussia deliberately proposed a scheme of almost that very constitution which was at length revived *two and thirty years after* — by the present King. Russia was, of course, called upon for very little exertion as regarded her unawakened provinces; but her propositions on behalf of Poland, which were actually in part realised, were at this time so unboundedly liberal, as to excite serious apprehensions in her western neighbours. The states of the Germanic Confederation were to be advanced to equal and similar privileges; and a kind of model constitution, conveying all the chief rights and liberties of a representative government, was delineated for general guidance. So entirely were these arrangements considered as flowing from the conclusions, and sanctioned by the guarantee of the Congress, that on the occasion of a collision between the states of Wirtemberg and their sovereign, upon a constitutional point, the former parties actually appealed to the subscribing Powers of the Treaty of Vienna in confirmation of their rights. How completely these ideas were superseded, we shall see as we proceed.

Such was the substance and such the spirit of the acts of the Congress. Many allowances must be made for the circumstances of the time; and for the influence of opinions still obtaining and of recollections still fresh. Europe seemed, as if by the subsidence of a deluge, to be left for a new organisation; and after the violation of all natural and political rights to which the world had been habituated, such examples of precautions against violence as we have been relating, must have appeared warrantable and wise. Still it is impossible to overlook the fatal errors thus committed in a treaty which was to regulate public law, and to insure universal tranquillity and contentment for generations

to come. The Congress took little heed of nationality, of race, of natural sentiments, of historical traditions, or of popular predilections. They treated states and principalities as so many unconscious and lifeless parts of a huge machine. They marshalled provinces and people like squadrons and battalions in a line of battle, calculated by the individual decisions of a commander. They did even more — they carried their distributive powers beyond any pretended compulsion of necessity, and partitioned populations, to satisfy ministerial crotchets or royal greed. There was a formal *partage d'âmes*. Claims to so many millions of souls, founded on previous bargains, presumptions, or services, were put in and recognised, at the cost of all national feelings; and in councils over which no great geographical or historical ability is said to have presided. Nor was all this done in innocence, or ignorance, or without audible expostulation and warning. In the British senate, before yet the arrangements were finally concluded, Sir James Mackintosh denounced aloud the mistaken provisions of the treaty, and exposed the evils of such arbitrary adjudications, in the wisest spirit of political foresight. But the Congress had a giant's strength; and they used it, despotically in effect, though, for the most part, not wrongfully in intention. The results have furnished the incidents of European history during the thirty years' peace. *Naturam expulêre furcâ* — and the throes and struggles of nature against the violence could never be made to cease. It was to the known spirit of reaction against this unnatural pressure, that the appeals, so familiar to modern ears, were made. It was on the spirit thus engendered, that the French Republicans relied when they proclaimed to Europe, *in terrorem*, that a word spoken in Paris was potent enough *donner secousse aux trônes*. No doubt it was. It was the fabric from the hands of the Congress which shook in 1830, and which shakes in 1848. The Allied Powers constructed an edifice which the diplomacy of Europe has ever since been engaged in transforming, to meet those precise requirements which the Congress neglected. Unhappily, too, the mischief was aggravated by supplementary conclusions; and at Carlsbad, Laybach, and Verona, much of what was good in the provisions of Vienna was lucklessly neutralised, while all that was evil was made infinitely worse.

It does not enter into our design to adjudicate between princes and people in those political collisions which followed so closely on the great European act of settlement; our object is confined to the selection of those particular facts which became really influential upon the actual system of Europe, and which will assist us in elucidating its recent character and its present state.

Let no reader imagine that we are leading him through irrelevant details, or that we are dragging him to an unconscionable height, before we present him with the promised view. Without such preconceptions as we are now suggesting, no adequate comprehension of the state of Europe can possibly be formed: But as soon as the reader has once realised the character of the political system, with the places and functions of its constituent members, as it was constructed at Vienna, and as it existed after its intervening modifications up to a recent day, he will find that every incident of this wonderful year drops naturally into its place in the historical panorama, and that he can run his eye from Schleswig to Sicily, and from Bucharest to Brunswick, without being deceived by any false light or diverted by any unreal phenomenon.

Twelve months had scarcely elapsed after the ratification and acceptance of this system, when perturbations began to disclose themselves, though with reference less to landmarks than principles. It was hardly to be expected but that some such offences should come. Intermingled and confused with that insurrectionary enthusiasm which had been studiously excited in the War of Liberation, there still stalked abroad the pure spirit of Jacobinism, and the military fanaticism which survived the loss of Napoleon. How far the two latter passions really modified the more legitimate yearnings of the former, and whether the alarm of governments or the suspicion of the people was the better founded sentiment, it is not our present business to decide. It is sufficient for our purpose to remark, that the resolutions professed by the allied sovereigns of conceding constitutional privileges to their subjects, were quickly cancelled; and superseded immediately by repressive measures, taken in such earnest concert and under such singular conditions, that the general system of Europe became intimately affected by the consequences of the course now entered upon. To meet this tergiversation of the Courts, all the modifications and developments of *carbonarisme* which tradition details, were now put in operation; and every state of Central Europe had its secret societies for the prosecution of its peculiar object. In Germany the leading idea appears to have involved that revival of imperial or national Unity which was so long a proscribed theory, and which has now been so unexpectedly proclaimed, though we can hardly say realised. Among the Poles there was that undying aspiration for distinct nationality, which, hopeless and even useless as it now is to themselves, seems preserved solely as a thorn in the side of their oppressors. The Italians had less definite objects of association and agitation. There was great discontent

in the unconsolidated kingdom of Sardinia; and natural disaffection in the revolutionised and ill-governed states of the Peninsula; but the desire of fusing the whole of Italy into a single monarchy under an Italian king, seems not to have been an idea either practically comprehended or generally entertained. France was of course the hotbed of all revolutionary principles, but the army of occupation then answered for its neutrality, and its people were suspended from that initiative in all commotions which is their high prerogative, as completely as its cabinet was then politely outlawed in the reunions of its august allies.

Upon looking at the date of the Holy Alliance, at its discoverable tenor, and at the reception which its declarations experienced, we shall perhaps be led to conclude that this famous compact was not in reality any incarnation of those notorious principles which its title usually recalls, and that it was scarcely even a prelude to the more practical conventions which followed it. It was the production of Alexander alone; and was merely a vehicle of those vague and mysterious doctrines of the Religious obligations of sovereigns and states, over which the Czar delighted to ponder. Its purport was little more than an open and unwavering profession of that faith and those principles upon the ruin of which French dominion had been founded. It was an advised and formal declaration on the part of the contracting Powers, that the doctrines of Christianity should be the rule of their conduct towards others and among themselves. Austria and Prussia accepted and subscribed its conditions, with little sincere sympathy, but with great readiness to conciliate by such insignificant stipulations so important an ally. But that which recommended the alliance to these Powers disqualified it for approval in England. The British government was unwilling to commit itself to obligations which were either superfluous or indefinite. If the compact meant no more than it expressed, it was but a gratuitous exposition of the national faith; if any practical duties were concealed beneath its terms, they ought to be more intelligibly specified. It seems clear, however, that no such uneasiness had yet arisen respecting the popular feeling in the several states, as would have suggested any counter-association of governments; and in fact the more practical matters were cared for in a separate convention between Austria, Russia, and Prussia; the stipulations of which showed that their apprehensions for the future were still confined to the frontiers of France.

But the true tendency of continental policy was not long in disclosing itself. Though at the first re-union of the Allied Powers at Aix la Chapelle in 1818, no measures were overtly concerted

for suppressing the liberal movements by this time set on foot, yet the apprehensions excited, especially in Germany, by these popular manifestations, had been mainly influential in provoking the conferences; and it was speedily determined to retract or suspend those concessions of constitutional privileges which had been formerly promised. These royal re-unions and compacts were rapidly repeated. At Carlsbad, at Troppau, at Laybach, and at Verona, conclusions were announced, successively of greater and greater stringency and sweep, amidst explosions of popular discontent, which, according to the feelings or judgment of writers, are represented as either the cause or the effect of the resolutions adopted. In Germany the insurrectionary spirit took the disgraceful form of assassination; in the Italian and Spanish peninsulas, the more dangerous guise of military revolt. But the important point to be observed is, the attitude gradually assumed by the Allied Powers, and its remarkable influence upon the public policy of Europe. The contracting parties represented themselves as charged with the superintendence of general tranquillity; and characterised their combination against the 'revolutionary' spirit of Europe, as the natural continuation of that alliance, which, by overwhelming the power of Napoleon, had restored the peace of the world. The result was a perpetual league of crowned heads, which, if originally directed against license, was soon made available against liberty. The principle now promulgated was this, that if any disturbance of the 'tranquillity,' constituted and prescribed by the dispensing Powers, should occur at any point of Europe, the entire force of the Alliance should be immediately employed to suppress it. In this way the political system, as ordinarily organised between sovereign and independent States, was to be superseded by a kind of Confederation, which would have transformed the governments of Europe into a diet, of which Austria or Russia would have seized the presidency. Forms of government were put in the same category with configurations of frontier; and the mutual guarantee was extended from integrity of territory to integrity of absolutism. 'Intervention,' upon these principles, in the internal affairs of an independent state, was proclaimed a duty incumbent upon the allied governors of the world; and so strict was the union thus contracted, and so hearty the concurrence of purpose, that it was hoped wars and tumults would never again be found afflicting nations or dethroning kings.

In accordance then with these views and stipulations, as far as their acceptance could be secured, was the new system of Europe insensibly framed. France appeared in two different capacities

before the eyes of the Allies. She was either the France of 1793, the scourge and outlaw of Europe, or she was the France of 1815, the grateful and obliged creation of their own hands. For three years, notwithstanding the adroit and successful assumptions of Talleyrand at Vienna, she was regarded in the former light; her provinces were occupied by foreign troops, and the work of conquest and of peace was still considered incomplete. But at Aix la Chapelle the representations of Richelieu induced the Allies to evacuate her territory; and she was at the same time formally readmitted to her diplomatic place among nations. Her accession to the terms of the Holy Alliance was the first exercise, and, as it were, the symbol of her restored rights: but she subsequently displayed some repugnance to the repressive policy of the Northern Powers, and neither at Carlsbad nor at Troppau was her co-operation cordially given. But the assassination of the Duke de Berri, concurred with other events to influence the temper of her government; and eventually she lent her instrumentality to the worst and most conspicuous example of the intervention system. —the invasion of Spain. The sudden change produced by the revolution of July, 1830, in what was then becoming a traditionary policy, most readers will be able to recall.

England had stood aloof from all these conventions, and not without reason. In perusing the documents connected with our notice of these transactions, the reader may think that he detects no small portion of personal pique entering into the discussion; and perhaps it may fairly be said that the stand was made rather for administrative independence, than on behalf of popular freedom. But the result was a manifesto from Lord Castlereagh's pen, conveying as round a denunciation as any liberal could desire, of the aggressive combination against the liberties of the world, which would have transformed Europe entire into the Poland of Nicolas or the Naples of Ferdinand. The other Powers, however, persisted in their scheme. By a little manœuvring, to which M. de Metternich condescended, Spain, Portugal, and Sweden had been excluded from participation in these supplementary compacts; so that five Powers only of the eight contracting parties at Vienna, were engaged in these deliberations. Of England and France we have spoken; but Austria, Russia, and Prussia now entered into an alliance so firm, and upon principles so clearly understood, that the result lost scarcely any material portion of its significance, up to the beginning of the present year. Few results, indeed, have been more extraordinary. That political combination, which upon its first occurrence at the partition of Poland, was described by

statesmen and publicists as the most monstrous and unnatural which accident or depravity could have engendered, was thus rendered a permanent and characteristic feature of the system of Europe. The misshapen and stigmatised 'coalitions' of '93 became the conspicuous and enduring alliances of the thirty years' peace; since the ordinary principles of policy never recurred, but were superseded permanently by extraordinary apprehensions and extraordinary precautions. The 'three Northern 'Powers' were now fused, as it were, into an almost inseparable whole; and it may well be questioned, at this stage of the drama, whether Germany will ever secure, for national purposes, a more efficient unity than that which community of recollections, responsibilities, and fears had established between Prussia, Austria, and Russia.*

On such considerations as these was based the system which, for three and thirty years of general peace, was substantially allowed to regulate the public policy of Europe. Looking at the five dispensing Powers, we may say that the elements of disturbance appeared to be confined to France and Russia. Between them lay a compact mass of strength, invested solely with the functions of conservatism. All the interests of Prussia and Austria were in the maintenance of the *status quo*. The former Power, by the events of the war, had finally secured that increase of territory demanded by the previous disproportion between her resources and her obligations; and for which, in the past century, she had so desperately struggled. The latter Power was still more deeply interested in the preservation of the existing equilibrium. Less, relatively speaking, than either of her two northern neighbours had she gained from the dividend of territorial spoils; and there were obvious reasons for apprehending that any further change

* After looking back at the politics of the last thirty years, the reader may be amused with the following opinion of one of the most sagacious, well informed, and experienced writers of his day:—'This 'transient union of Austria, Prussia, and Russia (in 1772) was a 'singular phenomenon, produced by a conjunction of extraordinary 'circumstances, assisted by the genius of one of the greatest men of 'any age, and beyond the sphere of all the calculations of ordinary 'politics. Such phenomena must always defeat them; they exceed 'the science, and expose its insufficiency. A similar combination will, 'perhaps, not occur in the course of many centuries; it could never 'last; its permanence would be in contradiction to the nature of 'things, and to the necessary order of all political relations.—Gentz's Reply to Hauterive's '*Etat de la France à la Fin de l'An VIII.*' (written in 1801), chap. 3. Now who will be bold enough to pronounce upon the state of Europe?

would be to her prejudice, if not at her expense. Besides this, her peaceable rule in her own provinces depended in no slight degree upon the predominance of those political principles, the maintenance of which, as well as of the territorial arrangements, had now been stipulated by the system established, and which, in fact, she herself had been mainly instrumental in imposing. Italy and Germany served for little but to swell the influence of Austria and Prussia. In the position of Russia there was somewhat more ambiguity. Her enormous extent of territory, so disproportioned to that of her neighbours; her comparative immunity from the worst consequences of war; the restless character of her policy; and the notorious direction of her ambition towards ends irreconcileable with the equilibrium of Europe — concurred with the traditions of the old system, under which she had been the most wilful disturber of the public peace, to raise certain suspicions respecting her possible deportment. On the other hand, besides the essential antagonism between the political principles of St. Petersburg and Paris, she had actually suffered, no less than other nations, from French aggression; she had been one of the principal instruments in repelling and chastising it; and she was now the most hearty and cordial co-operator in the measures by which such possibilities were to be obviated for the future. There was no reason, therefore, to doubt the original sincerity of her councils. But the fact still remained that she was the only leading Power besides France who had something definite to desire; and this presumed community of feeling between the unsatisfied and the dissatisfied, left an opening for overtures which, if they have not resulted in any important combinations, have originated schemes of policy familiar, by name at least, to most of our readers. Indeed, this brief allusion to the circumstances of the great settlement, will explain much of that foreign policy of France, projected or pursued, which is now so interesting, and which we have recently had occasion to describe.

That denunciation of 'the Treaties of 1815,' which was incessantly repeated by the government restored under these very compacts; which was the first cry of the victorious insurgents of July, and the first proclamation of the young republic of February last, rested entirely upon the circumstances which we have been relating. It is true that, looking strictly to the due and lawful influence of France in the European system, it could not be then argued from facts, and assuredly it cannot be now shown from experience, that she had suffered any serious penalty or deprivation. No such arbitrary interference with her territory took place as had awaited other states less actively concerned.

It was only after a repetition of great provocations that the line of her frontier was subjected to the modifications which the common security was thought to demand. Comparatively speaking, little indignation was expressed against the treaty of May, 1814, by which the affairs of France had been originally arranged; and which fixed her frontiers according to the line of November, 1792. But, though the further cessions now exacted were certainly not disproportioned to the provocation given, they formed a pretext for an outcry, which has but little abated ever since. A part of the department of Ardennes was taken off; as was also the Saarbruck district, up to Landau, while Chambéry reverted again to its ancient lords; Geneva received a little enlargement, and the protectorate of the tiny principality of Monaco was transferred to Sardinia. The 'line of the Rhine' was not *lost* by the Treaties of 1815: For it had never belonged to any France recognised in the history of peaceful and independent Europe; nor had it been temporarily gained but by the most violent and arbitrary invasion of ancient rights — by the annexation of Belgium, the subjugation of Holland, and the violent dispossession and ejection of some score of the princes of Germany. Yet this is the frontier termed 'natural' by French writers; for the restoration of which half the nation has been clamouring and caballing ever since 1815, and the loss of which they have never ceased to represent as an indignity and a stigma. It is certain, indeed, that all this agitation and struggle on the part of France against the settlement of 1815, has sprung exclusively from an ambitious desire to recover an influence which was not legitimate; and a frontier which, however geographically natural, was never historically rightful. It has been a mere question of territory, not of principle. As far as as the other and more justly offensive ordinances of the Congress went, they have long ago been cancelled. Whatever curb may have been kept upon Italy and Germany, France has been left to modify her institutions and government as seemed best to her, in the fullest license of political freedom; and few will deny that she has availed herself largely enough of the privilege. If the necks of the French were still galled by a government or a dynasty imposed by an armed alliance, there would be more reason in these restless clamours for a new organisation of the political system; but, as it is, such protests can be only regarded as the irrepressible symptoms of a feverish and dissatisfied ambition.

From what we have premised, no difficulty will be found in comprehending the various schemes of policy by which French cabinets have been, and still are tempted. The problem being to

recover some of the lost influence of France, and to supersede existing arrangements on the eastern frontier by some adjudication more flattering to the nation, there appeared to be two systems of operation — that of the *Alliance Russe*, and that of the old federative policy of Richelieu and the Capets. The first system was based upon the probabilities of conciliating the Court of St. Petersburg by a community of interests created for the occasion. As France and Russia were the only two Powers who wanted any thing, there appeared a natural opportunity of reciprocating good offices, and of combining their efforts for the attainment of their respective ends. Sometimes this system was developed in a deliberate scheme for an offensive alliance, such as we described the other day in the case of the French Republicans, where the partition of Turkey on one side, and the annexation of the Rhenish Provinces on the other, were to be the undissembled conditions of the projected treaty. At other times it was advocated with less determined, and, perhaps, less daring purposes, assuming the form merely of a certain leaning towards the Russian connexion as a principle of policy, in preference to any approaches to other Courts of Europe. It is to be observed that this was the characteristic policy of all the governments of the Restoration. Notwithstanding the indebtedness of that dynasty to Great Britain and her other allies, the Bourbons were no sooner seated on the throne than they turned towards St. Petersburg with the views which we have been describing; and from M. de Richelieu even down to M. de Polignac — English as was that minister in his personal inclinations — there is scarcely a statesman to be found who did not advocate the *Alliance Russe* as the true policy of France. Most emphatically is it worth remarking, that this policy, which represented nothing but the selfishness of dynastic ambition or popular interests, was the darling system of the Republicans, as well as of Legitimists; while it was reserved for a constitutional government to forego such intrigues for the nobler consideration of succouring the struggles of independence. The Legitimists, with all their confessions of obligation — the Republicans, with all their professions of generosity and liberalism — concurred in taking territorial aggrandisement as the groundwork of their policy. It was the government of Louis Philippe which exchanged such visionary conspiracies for the more disinterested objects of the *Alliance Anglaise*, and the cordial promotion of constitutional reforms. The common cry of M. de Chateaubriand and M. Louis Blanc was, 'the line of the Rhine,' — at whatever expense to the nations of Europe, or whatever violence to the duties of France. That of M. Guizot and his colleagues

was constitutional freedom, and the *entente cordiale* by which alone so honourable a cause was to be secured. Alas! that it should not have remained so to the end.

The old federative system of France consisted in such a concerted alliance with the several minor powers as should make them at all times available for any combination against one of the leading states; and it is surprising to what an extent this system was practically carried, considering the adroitness and versatility requisite to the successful adoption of so singular a policy. How the states of the Empire were conciliated to this scheme, and how closely they became attached to France, we explained on a very recent occasion. Spain — for after the Peace of the Pyrenees the kingdom of Philip II. had definitively fallen to the second rank of European Powers — was virtually consigned to the influence of France by the Treaty of Utrecht, and was formally attached to her train by the Family Compact. Naples and Parma, through the same connexion, were united in the same interests; and the antagonism traditionally subsisting between the Emperor and the Pope, together with the natural apprehensions of the Republics of Genoa and Venice, combined to bring the whole Italian Peninsula within the sphere of attraction; and even in Malta, from the constitution and traditions of the Order, French influence was usually predominant. So intimately was Poland connected, after the same curious fashion, with France, that its dependence was recognised in the proverbs of the nation; and Turkey itself, which owed to this very policy of the Most Christian King its introduction into the European system, was attached to the same scheme so strongly, that a rupture between Louis XIV. and the Porte is recorded in history as a prodigious and unnatural occurrence, and the old traditional tie of amity was, in fact, only definitely snapped by Napoleon's invasion of Egypt. This system received its first severe blow at the partition of Poland; but it was renewed on a gigantic scale by Napoleon; its revival and adaptation to the present state of things was warmly advocated by some of the French Republicans; and only eighteen months ago, it was represented by M. Capefigue as the policy which the state of Europe, the course of events, and the constitution of M. Guizot's cabinet, were irresistibly conspiring to restore.

The operations of the general system we have been here describing, compose the political history of Europe during the thirty years' peace; and it will only be necessary to say a few words upon the modifications of the original settlement which had been introduced in the interval, before we come to that present state of things, to the illustration of which the previous remarks have been directed. The reader, we hope, will not

have come thus far, without discovering the *point de depart* to which he is approaching. A just comprehension of the State of Europe is only to be derived from a clear view of the actual system under which its family of nations have been living up to the moment of the changes now threatened, and from a due understanding of the functions discharged by each particular state in the preservation of the general equilibrium. It is only by appreciating what existed, that we can determine what it really is, that has been, or is likely to be, destroyed. It is only by reviewing the principles which have hitherto influenced, and the compacts which have hitherto guided, the public policy of Europe, that we can properly comprehend the character and significance of those movements by which it is now hoped to supersede them.

The interval between the original pacification and the present convulsions, is divided into two equal portions by the French revolution of July, 1830; which conveniently separates one period from another, and introduces an epoch which may be regarded as a kind of transition period between that which preceded it, and that which perhaps is now to follow. Up to that year, the policy of the Allied Powers, which we have described above, had an almost undisputed sway; and the incidents of European history during the fifteen years which intervened were mainly confined to such manifestations of its force as were supplied by the successive suppression of liberal movements in Naples, Piedmont, Portugal, and Spain. But the revolution of July gave a new aspect to affairs. Not only was France — a leading Power — transformed into a real constitutional monarchy, and transferred, in the balance of political principles, from the side of the allies of Laybach, to the side of Great Britain and its reformed Parliament, but the effect of this metamorphosis was most sensibly felt in the several revolutions which followed, then as now, in the train of Parisian catastrophes. We need not repeat the story of eighteen years ago; but the moral of the Belgian question, and the decision of Europe on its merits, is so strikingly illustrative of the change then introduced into the political system, and has so pointed a bearing upon the political relations of the present day, that it may be of some advantage to notice it.

Of all the creations of the Vienna Congress, there was none which, superficially viewed, appeared a more excellent or admirable work than the kingdom of the Netherlands. It fulfilled all the conditions required in the territorial distribution of this part of Europe; it indemnified a princely House which had deserved well of the dispensing Powers; and it seemed obviously

and equally calculated for the best interests of the States which were to compose it. The Austrian provinces of the Netherlands, and the independent Republic of Holland had, before the first revolution, formed the rampart of Northern Europe against France which it was now desired to reconstruct; and so naturally was the proposed scheme recommended, that even in the preceding century the union of Holland with the Austrian Netherlands under a prince of the House of Orange, was advocated as one of the best imaginable combinations for the tranquillity of Europe. For the last twenty years Austria had waived her claims over these distant and costly provinces; and there appeared no possibility of organising them more judiciously than by uniting their interests with those of their maritime neighbours. Holland was a commercial, Belgium a manufacturing state; what one country fabricated, the other might export; and thus the capabilities of each would be combined for the advantage of both. Even as regarded historical traditions, there was something to be said for the reconstitution of the Netherlands. Nothing, at all events, could appear more reasonable or commendable than the experiment. It was in vain hinted that strong diversities of religious faith and hereditary institutions would probably conspire, with the inextinguishable instinct of nationality, to create repugnances incompatible with its success. Such objections were overruled; and the kingdom of the Netherlands took its appointed place among the Powers of Europe. Every body remembers the sequel. At the very first first shock the artificial edifice fell asunder; and the Belgians demanded an acknowledgment of their separate nationality. Europe had combined, by solemn stipulations, to guarantee the House of Orange in the possession of this dominion; and the House of Orange claimed the benefit of the suretyship. Yet the constructing Powers reconsidered their work by the light of experience; and owing to the new-born cordiality between England and France, liberal principles carried the day. France and England said 'yes;' the three Northern Powers abstained, in the face of such a combination, from saying 'no;' and Belgium became an independent State. What is now remarkable is, that this concession to the reasonable requirements of a people, has not been attended with any of the political results which might have been predicted from such a reversal of the original scheme. Independent Belgium appears just as little likely as the Southern Netherlands would have been to subserve the interests or ambition of France. Whether from the 'English intrigues' at the siege of Antwerp, as M. Louis Blanc thinks, or from the good sense of the people and the government as we should rather

suggest, it is certain that Belgium has discharged her European duties, in her own way, as well as the allied sovereigns were for making her do, in theirs; the difference being this, that whereas the fire-proof fabric of the Congress of Vienna was in a blaze with the first sparks of revolution, the more natural edifice substituted by the Conference of London, has remained safe and entire in the very heart of a conflagration; and may now be envied by some of those states which looked so suspiciously on its reconstruction. The subsequent events in the Spanish Peninsula illustrated still more conspicuously the influence exercised upon the destinies of Europe by the element thus powerfully introduced into the operations of the political system. In spite of the resistance, still passive, of the three Northern Powers, the triumph of constitutional principles over the doctrines of absolutism was again openly symbolised in Portugal and Spain. In fact, the Quadruple Alliance was the counter-manifesto to the Holy Alliance.

We need not make any specific allusion to the events immediately preceding the revolutions of last February and March. It is worth remarking, however, how general seems to have been the persuasion, in political and diplomatic circles, even before these convulsions, that the time had come for the convocation of another Congress, not only to settle those numerous points of international differences which the mere lapse of thirty years, even under the most effective of systems, would be sure to introduce, but even to undertake the remodelling of Europe upon a scheme which would supply the omissions, as well as correct the errors, of the Congress of Vienna.* We may be now almost inclined to smile at our agitation upon the Spanish marriages,

* The amusing pamphlet which we have placed at the head of the present paper, is an illustration of the spirit here spoken of. 'European Remodellings' was written before the events of February; and yet proposes, in order to avoid the definite tendencies of national ambition, and remedy certain anomalies, a reconstruction of the Continent little less thorough than that actually portended six months ago. Germany was to be reduced to the five independent states of Austria, Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony, and Hanover; the inheritances of the extinguished Houses being divided among the survivors, acccording to the relationship of their sovereigns or the natural suggestions of locality. Charles Albert was to be sovereign of the Lombard-Venetian kingdom from Venice to Genoa, with his capital at Milan. Tuscany was to absorb the minor duchies. Poland was to be reconstituted. Russia was to have the Danubian provinces; but Austria, as mistress of the northern half of European Turkey, was to be interposed between her legions and the glistening bait of the Bosphorus.

or the Swiss schism; but the last breach of public faith with respect to Poland will hardly be forgotten, even amidst a whirlwind of revolutions. It is remarkable that M. Capefigue's treatise on the acts and guarantees of the Vienna Congress, the title of which we have prefixed to these observations, was called forth solely by this deed, which he regarded as virtually repealing that code of public law which the Treaties of 1815 had created; and by which the political system of Europe had since been governed. Cracow seems to have been 'the diamond 'necklace' of 1846!

From the height we have at length attained, we are enabled to take a comprehensive glance at the present state of Europe: We can observe how far the harmony and effectiveness of the general system has been disturbed, or is threatened, by the recent catastrophes; and whether any of its members, either from internal disorganisation or external pressure, have been rendered incapable of discharging their appointed functions. We can examine the perils to which the body politic may appear exposed through any of the ordinary sources of disorder, such as the undue aggrandisement of any leading Power, or the destruction of any minor Power having a critical mission in the system, or from the constitution of a Power altogether new. Should no such serious convulsions appear probable, we can ascertain how far the reciprocal relations of European states have been affected by the recent movements; and what modifications of the system we have been describing may now be feared or be expected.

Eight months ago it did certainly appear probable that the public law of 1815 would be swept away by the storms of the present year; as completely as that of 1648 had been scattered to the winds by the revolutions of 1791; and that the total subversion of the political fabric would leave no occasion for any such comments as we are here offering. But this extreme hazard appears now to be passed. The force of the shock it may be hoped is spent; and though the constitutional edifices of the Continent are still trembling on their bases, there seems no longer such serious reason for apprehending any permanent loss of equilibrium. France, which gave, as usual, the first signal of disturbance, has also set the unexpected example of returning wisdom: and what we have recently asserted of the domestic proceedings of the French nation, may now be yet more unhesitatingly predicated of its external relations. As far as we may judge from what has apparently become the set tide of events, the France of 1848 is not likely to assume any other attitude towards Europe than that of the France of 1847. Hitherto, French revolutions have affected, more or less violently, the system of

Europe, because they introduced entirely new principles into the general policy of a country so capable of influencing the great European commonwealth. Thus the revolution of 1789 overthrew all public law whatever; because French influence became supreme in continental Europe, and the principles of the first revolutionists survived through all the changes of the Parisian constitutions. In the same way the revolution of 1830 produced its effects, because the principles of those parties who achieved it continued to shape the policy of the government afterwards; and constitutional France, as we have already said, was in this way drawn towards the English alliance, from the *Alliance Russe*, and from the compacts of Verona, which had moulded the policy of her former cabinets. And similarly, if the existing French government really represented the identical Republic which was proclaimed in February last from the steps of the Hotel de Ville, we might confidently anticipate that the foreign politics of the Republicans, such as we on that occasion described them, would very characteristically modify the mission of France, and materially influence, if not altogether subvert, the system of Europe. It is now, however, notorious that this is not the case. Excepting in so far as the effects of the original impulse may survive (and these, we should imagine, must have been considerably qualified by subsequent warnings), it can hardly be said that republican France is now exerting on the affairs of Europe any influence, beyond or beside that legitimate influence which pertains to so great a nation. The foreign policy of the French Republic, as defined by M. de Lamartine, was indeed something to feed the speculations of Europe; but as interpreted by General Cavaignac, it is little but the policy of the best periods of the constitutional monarchy. We might, perhaps, say even more than this; for it may indeed be questioned whether any recent French government would have been strong enough, as things then stood, to hold a French army well in hand at the foot of the Alps, while trumpets were sounding on the Tessino. France is not only recovering her position, but she is fencing it about with the cautious jealousy which recent perils have suggested. It would be difficult to select any period since the last war, at which her external demeanour has been characterised by more satisfactory moderation or greater prudence, than under the brief interlude of the Cavaignac dictatorship. Even if the style and title of the Republic be finally retained, yet it does not seem likely that any very formidable anomaly will be introduced into the system of monarchical Europe. The draft of the constitution as (perhaps not finally) revised, provides for as staid and as respectable an impersonation of sovereignty as is perhaps consistent with the

character of the crisis. A President, elected for four years, and re-eligible after a like interval, with no inconsiderable patronage, and with a *traitement* more munificent than that of the First Consul, and only inferior to that of the *Grand Electeur* of M. Sieyès, will be an acceptable substitute for a committee of public safety, or a directory. Most reports concur in designating the present chief of the executive power as the probable inaugurator of this new office; and if this should indeed be the result of the approaching election, Europe, as well as France, will apparently have reason to be thankful. A firm and temperate policy, combining the national readiness for war, with a resolute determination, upon any creditable conditions, to preserve peace, is what the events of the last three months lead us to hope from General Cavaignac. As regards the internal condition of his country, there is no present prospect of its falling into any such contagious or uncontrollable disorganisation as would affect its relations with the other powers of Europe. That there should still survive a possibility of such a catastrophe, is part of the price which Frenchmen must pay for their Republic; but the hazard is less than could have been hoped for some months back. Order will, in all likelihood, retain its present supremacy over anarchy; and as to the particular forms into which this order may be developed, it signifies but little. Under any probable conditions, France will still apparently be the France of the last fifteen years, as well with respect to her European mission as to her domestic government. It may, perhaps, be thought, that a possible restoration of the elder Bourbons might involve a return to the old legitimist policy, and revive the combinations of 1823; but this is a contingency not very probable—in either of its assumptions. As far as speculation can be warranted in such a case as this, we may anticipate that the foreign policy of the Republic will be nearly the foreign policy of the constitutional monarchy, with the advantage, perhaps, of being exempted from those complications which dynastic interests were found to create. We may see another Ancona perhaps; but not another Marengo. There is no reason why the National Assembly should be 'Re-publican' on this point alone; nor has it given any indications of being so disposed. Propagandism has been disclaimed and discouraged as pointedly as Communism; and the cry of 'Poland' had no better success than the cry of 'organised labour.' These presumptions are confirmed by the attitude already taken by the French government upon the Italian question, which has brought about a situation singularly analogous to that of 1831. While we write, France and England are again acting in concert to procure a modification of the treaties of 1815 in favour of an

insurgent people at the hands of an ancient ally; and most earnestly is it to be hoped that the affairs of Lombardy may be arranged as temperately as were the affairs of Belgium — with equal advantage to the system of Europe, and less incidental disturbance of its peace.

The respective positions of Austria and Prussia are characterised by singular embarrassments. In the first place, there is this most important fact to be noticed, that — as regards the joint relations previously subsisting between these States towards the rest of Europe — that alliance of the three Northern Powers, of which we have recorded the origin and the influence, must now be considered at least suspended, if not finally broken up. In fact, no incident of the late convulsions has been more remarkable than this, that Berlin and Vienna have been made to impersonate the traditional character of revolutionary Paris; and to proclaim on their own proper territories those very principles, which it has hitherto been their chief political function to neutralise and denounce. The drag has not only slipped away from the wheel of the machine, but is now actually dangling at the horses' heels, and stimulating their speed. That combination which represented the principle of conservatism in the system has disappeared. There no longer exists the traditional alliance of Austria, Russia, and Prussia to counterbalance the revolutionary tendencies of Southern and Central Europe, or to modify the constitutional influences of England and France. How far this ancient understanding may be preserved (for future reproduction) in the breasts of the respective sovereigns, is another question. The practice which in old times obtained throughout Europe, of considering foreign politics as exclusively the personal concerns of the monarch, subsisted till a very recent date in the kingdoms alluded to; and one of the most obstinate stands made by the Prussian Court was in behalf of the king's right to reserve from the inspection or control of the new ministry his correspondence with certain foreign cabinets. Rumour states, and with no lack of likelihood, that their august Majesties of Prussia, Austria, and Russia think nearly alike upon public matters; but, however this may be, it is clear that there can be no return to the policy of past times until the work of the recent revolutions has been entirely undone; — a contingency not immediately probable. At present, Russia can meet with no more sympathy at Vienna or Berlin than at Paris; and thus all such functions in the European system as have been hitherto discharged by the 'three Northern Powers' must cease and determine.

There is another consideration, affecting even still more

seriously the European relations of these two states. It is a point apparently yet undecided, whether they are to be preserved at all in any such independent political existence as they have hitherto enjoyed. Our recent observations on the projected Germanic Empire showed how deliberately it was contemplated to obliterate the names of Austria and Prussia from the European map; and to absorb these first-rate and most influential powers in a new and gigantic nationality, of which it was difficult to define the function or anticipate the course. As regards the final accomplishment of the project, we have seen no reason to repudiate the misgivings which we then expressed. So little hearty or cordial co-operation towards this object is to be discovered in the proceedings of the various German governments, that we are almost induced to wonder whence the power is derived which still keeps the experimental machinery in motion. Austria, though gratified with the provisional lieutenancy of the new government, is so notoriously disaffected to the scheme, that strong resolutions have just been proposed in the Frankfort Assembly condemnatory of her administrative policy, and recommending the authoritative intervention of the Central Power. Prussia is naturally still less satisfied with her allotted destiny; and so generally has the 'nationality' of March last been superseded in this kingdom by a less comprehensive sentiment, that 'genuine Germanity' is now confined to a minority consisting mainly of students and clubbists; while 'specific Prussianism' is undisguisedly professed by all classes, from the accomplished minister who has just preferred the service of his immediate master before that of the imperial governor, down to the soldiers of the army who declined by any act of homage to set the lieutenant of the empire above the sovereign of Berlin. Nay, in the Holstein negotiation, Prussia deliberately placed her independent authority beside, if not above, that of the Central Power. Bavaria is reported to be reviving the ancient traditions of her cabinet; and to be looking across the Rhine for company. Certain it is, at least, that she shows no disposition to recognise the authorities of Frankfort. Hanover declined with such characteristic abruptness the invitation to discrown herself, that hints were thrown out of summary proceedings against so dangerous an example, and it was proposed at once to declare the dominions of King Ernest an 'immediacy' of the new empire —an instructive instance, indeed, of the revived prerogatives of the Cæsars. The minor states, though with less imperative motives, show an almost equal disinclination to fuse their individualities in a German unity. Yet we should not be justified in dismissing the scheme as a palpable failure. There is, in the

first place, a steady doggedness of purpose in the Frankfort Assembly, resulting no doubt from the national character of its constituents, which invests its proceedings with far more significance than those of other similar bodies; not to mention the strength of the party in Germany, which does sincerely and conscientiously yearn for this mystic unity, however mystic or ill-conceived may be its purpose. Next, it is manifest that at all events the project will not be dropped without a resolute experiment, of which indeed we at this moment behold the partial operation; and considering, moreover, the extent to which certain illustrious personages have been committed in its favour, it cannot be unreasonable to suspect that some modification of the scheme, at least, may be brought about; and that the attempt will exert some permanent influence on the configuration of Germany. It is necessary, therefore, to include this contingency of a 'German Empire' among the subjects of the present review.

In the meantime, we can only conjecture the resultant policy of this extraordinary compound of antagonist traditions, by observing the conduct of the existing Assembly; which embodies, in some sort, the future nationality. Though there are certainly moments when it seems doubtful whether this Assembly is a much more faithful representation of the real sentiments of the Germanic States, than other minor conventions are of their respective countries, yet it would be unjust to deny this body the praise of a certain temperate and serious demeanour, under circumstances calculated to induce a contrary deportment. Its debates, too, upon the tempting subject of foreign politics, were distinguished by considerable knowledge and ability; not untinctured, however, with an illiberality scarcely consistent with the position of the debaters. It seems evident, by the attitude assumed both towards Italians and Sclavonians, that the Germans are by no means disposed to give to other nationalities the license they demand for their own. The leading idea has hitherto been, not unnaturally, the consolidation of the German race by all requisite institutions, and the extension of the national frontiers by a somewhat unscrupulous interpretation of public law. They have laid resolute hands upon Danish Schleswig and Polish Posen; and they concurred in sanctioning the claims of Austria, and in congratulating the victorious Radetsky. But, in reflecting over the probable influence of the new empire upon the European system, we need hardly, perhaps, apprehend that it could be exerted in any destructive form. For it cannot be denied that this projected unity is but the consummation of the political theory propounded at the last reconstruction of the public law of Europe. It was

argued both then and since, that the further the consolidation of the Germanic States could be carried, the better it would be for all parties; and that the true policy of Europe required the diminution, as far as was practicable, of the number of independent Powers within these territories, and the formation, in their stead, of as compact a body as could be constituted between the Vistula and the Rhine. In fact, the Confederation of 1815 was but a provisional substitute for the unity then unattainable; and it would be impossible to argue that a political work, which was the very end to which all intervening arrangements had been made to tend, could be otherwise than favourable to that great result — the tranquillity of Europe — with a view to which all these arrangements had been devised. Speaking with reference to the general system, the empire of the Frankfort Assembly is the very model of that territorial configuration which was imperfectly prescribed by the Vienna Congress. The unity of Germany, too, besides settling the barrier question of the North and West, would also get rid of the special discontents of Saxony and of certain minor principalities which have never yet recovered their good temper, by educing all at once to a fraternal level of mediatisation and equality.

It is obvious, however, that the abstraction of two leading Powers out of five from the European family cannot but intimately affect the whole commonwealth; and it is yet uncertain how far they may carry their respective traditions into the nationality in which they would be absorbed. Possibly they might struggle to invest with the aggregate influence of the Empire those particular forms of policy which they have hitherto advocated in their independent capacities; so that the political traditions of great German Cabinets may become like those of our great English Parties; and the policy of the Empire may be Prussian or Austrian, as that of England may be Whig or Tory. A contingency, too, not impossible, is that of the late Confederation being superseded by a duality instead of a unity. At the Congress of 1815, as well as on earlier occasions, it was suggested that Germany offered scope for two Confederations; and that the Northern States might group themselves round Prussia, while the Southern took Austria as the centre of attraction. Symptoms have been shown of a tendency to some such crystallisation on the present occasion; and if this should be the case, then, of course, (putting the late revolution of principles out of the question) Austria and Prussia will just resume their old places in the system; although, from the respective positions of the two Powers, the latter would always gain in a greater ratio than the former, from equal augmentations of strength.

If, however, the creation of a German Empire was a contingency too little improbable to be passed over in silence, it is at least no such imminent or certain an occurrence as to justify us in dismissing without remark the actual state of its intended members,—considered in their old-fashioned capacities of Austria and Prussia. The first of these Powers has just added another example to the instances already on record of the vitality and strength which may still reside in an empire conceived to have fallen into superannuation and decrepitude. Though pointed at, even before the recent convulsions, as an illustration of the decay to which a state might be brought by a parade of impotent absolutism and a blind persistence in an obsolete and unaccommodating policy, and though exposed to the first and fullest brunt of the late movement, under circumstances of internal disorganisation which seemed to confirm all the predictions of her adversaries and rivals, she has yet held her own against all comers; has rallied her forces around her standard, and has at length fairly repulsed the aggressors on their own chosen ground. Notwithstanding the apparent incoherence, and even the actual repulsion which does partially exist between the multitudinous parts of her overgrown and unwieldy empire, and which has been increased by the operation of late events, yet still, as if by some instinctive and spontaneous effort, her resources have been displayed in such concentrated and successful vigour, as to set all doubts upon this point at rest. For all external purposes it really appears that the Austrian empire is at least as powerful now, as at any period since she had last occasion to try her strength in arms. A loyal attachment to the Imperial House, springing perhaps from various motives, but as conspicuous in the military colonists of South Hungary as in the mountaineers of the Tyrol, combines with a certain sentiment of ambitious pride, to centralise and keep together the heterogeneous constituents of the Empire. In the final advance against the retreating Piedmontese, the Hungarian hussars vied with the light horse of Croatia and the jägers of Austria Proper, in appropriating the honours of the day. Nor was this merely the result of military discipline or spirit, for it is clear that the war has throughout been popular in the several provinces; and that there was a general resolution to maintain at all hazards in this quarter the integrity of the Empire. As to the political principles introduced into the Imperial councils, though it is true that a spirit more purely democratic than that prevailing in Paris or Berlin seems to have entrenched itself in the Austrian capital, yet it only rules in the absence of any substantial opposition; and it is reported that the victorious return

of Radetzky, co-operating with Prince Windischgrätz from the North, and the Ban Jellachich from the South, is likely to restore the *status quo* of Vienna, as completely as he has restored that of Milan. We shall have presently to speak of transactions which will doubtless modify the relations of the Transalpine provinces of the Empire, and of a most momentous movement of race, which though yet undeveloped, menaces its whole constitution; but upon the whole, perhaps, there is more reason than six months ago would have been thought possible, to conjecture that if there is to be an Austria at all, its position in the European system may survive substantially undisturbed.

It is mainly in what may be termed her moral capacity that Prussia appears to have suffered any serious shock. Her material and territorial empire has been neither decentralised nor disorganised. Silesia, Brandenburg, and Eastern Prussia are of one accord as to unity and purpose. Even the Rhenish provinces are undisturbed; and the mishaps of the kingdom seem to be confined to that portion of Posen which it was thought expedient to dismember and relinquish to the old Sclavonic element of its population. Recent events have afforded convincing proof that any independent Prussia will still be the Prussia of the great Frederic. Her power and place in the system promise to be the same; but the direction in which her influence will be hereafter exerted, remains to be decided between the population of the kingdom and the assembly of Berlin. It seems almost certain, speaking broadly, that the actual preponderance of power resides, if not with the court and its old supporters, yet with the constitutional party and the king; though there has been hitherto a most marked and conspicuous reluctance to put it forth against the turbulent minority, which has shown such a mischievous inclination to protract the disorders of March. It is possible, and perhaps probable, that the cordial understanding of the three Northern Powers for the old purposes of policy, will never be purely revived; and that the hereditary traditions of Prussia must, in this respect, be replaced by some new system. Nevertheless, though her people may secure a constitutional government, there are, as yet, but too many impediments in the way of her alliance, upon these principles, with the two great constitutional Powers of the West.

The attitude of Russia during these events has been characteristic and natural. She is calling forth all her resources against a possible contingency, and levies have been drawn, as in 1812, from the very shores of the Caspian. Her Polish provinces are huge garrisons of men and *matériel*; and vast bodies of troops are concentrated at intervals along the whole western frontier, from the Niemen to the mouths of the Danube. Still she

resolutely abstains from actual intervention; and in her diplomatic circular addressed to the several courts of Germany, she declares in the most earnest terms that all her preparations have been and are most strictly defensive and pacific. But, as regards her general policy she is once more isolated. It is true that she may have recently drawn more closely to the courts of Denmark and Sweden, but this is upon a simple point of territorial guarantee; and her sentiments on this head, we believe, are shared by the liberal cabinet of England and the 'republican' assembly of France. Whilst, for all those purposes of European policy which were defined at Troppau, and have been so repeatedly exemplified since, Russia appears to be left, for the moment at least, without an ally. In a war of 'opinions' she would, as far as can be seen at present, have one side to herself. Whether she may lend a less reluctant ear than hitherto to the future proposals of France, may depend no less on the temptations which the latter power can offer, than on the political constitution it may assume. The national purposes of Russia have been always conflicting between the innate desire of aggrandisement on one side, and the dread of political contagion on the other. Poland might perhaps be conciliated and incorporated; even Constantinople might perhaps be brought within that frontier which has stretched, in one hundred and fifty years, from the Upper Dnieper to the Lower Danube. But then, these desirable consummations are inseparable from a total abandonment of that policy which has hitherto ruled the councils of the Romanoffs.

Of the minor Powers of Europe, the most important for the purpose of our present discussion, are Switzerland, Sardinia, and Belgium. The position of the first of these states is somewhat curious. After setting an example of internal commotion, which reached the extremity of civil war, the Swiss Confederation is now secure and tranquil; while war and revolution are literally encircling its frontiers. The political operations, however, upon which, in connexion with the causes of the late struggle, it is now noiselessly employed, are of no slight significance as affecting its position in the general system, and its relations with the dispensing Powers of Europe. The two parties whose struggles have lately distracted Switzerland, have existed in the Cantons ever since the first convulsions of 1789, with the same principles and, virtually, the same objects. The point in dispute is the political constitution of the country. The democratic party desire an effective unity; to be raised on the ruins of the cantonal sovereignties. They wish Switzerland to become one indivisible democratic Republic; in which there shall be no power independent of the will of the numerical majority. The opposite party, as most readers, since the events of last autumn, will be

aware, desire, along with more or less of aristocracy, to preserve such a federal constitution as shall leave the sovereignty of each canton safe and intact. These parties both pleaded their cause at the Congress of Vienna; and considerable discussion ensued upon the best means of organising a state so intimately concerned in the preservation of the general equilibrium. The highest interests of Europe indeed, demand the inviolable neutrality of Switzerland. What the Channel does for France and England, Switzerland does for Eastern and Western Europe. Its possession would almost put France at the mercy of Austria, or Austria at the mercy of France — as it actually did in the campaigns respectively of 1814 and 1800. It was on this account that so much interest was taken by the Allied Powers in the internal organisation of the state. All their efforts were employed to render it both as peaceable and as strong as possible, so that the temptations or opportunities of its neighbours to violate this solemn neutrality might be scanty and few. Its internal organisation, indeed, involved more important considerations than its external power; for there was scarcely a probability that it could be rendered absolutely proof by its own strength against any aggression of the frontier states; whereas, by such a constitution as should make it least likely to give offence to its neighbours, they would at least be deprived of those pretexts for intervention, which the most unscrupulous ambition is generally found to wait for. With such a purpose, the Congress adopted the views of the federalist or conservative party; and devised for the constitution of Switzerland that *Pacte Fédéral* which existed till the other day. Neither our purpose nor our limits permit us now to trace the local or general revolutions of the interval. Most of the cantonal governments of Switzerland have, as is well known, undergone material changes; and attempts have been more than once made to modify the pact according to the views of the party which conceived that it had acquired the preponderance. These attempts have hitherto failed; but they have been more resolutely renewed since the principle of cantonal independence was weakened by the events of last autumn; and a new pact, devised by the party in the ascendant, is now offered for the acceptance of the Cantons. At the time we are writing, it is reported that some four or five negative votes are expected. It is less, however, with the result of this experiment, than with the tendency of the whole transaction, that we are here concerned. The late pact was not forcibly imposed upon the Confederation by the Congress, but it was tendered, with the distinct intimation that the recognition of Swiss neutrality and independence was conditional upon its acceptance and preservation; and it was so received. These

conditions are now likely to be violated; and, what is more, they will be violated at the instance and for the purposes of that party whose policy and sympathies have directly tended to defeat some of the principal ends for which the constitution was originally devised. Nothing could be more natural or appropriate than that this neutral and inviolable republic should serve as a European asylum for fugitives in political trouble: But when it was actually made, as repeatedly within the last fifteen years, a base of hostile operations on the part of these refugees against all the states on its frontiers, it became the very opposite of what was intended; and scarcely a single Power was left without a decent pretext for attacking it. At this minute the Confederation has been put upon its defence by Marshal Radetsky, for having harboured a corps of armed Italians, contrary to the usages of war — a reckless course of policy, indeed, for a state which has been described as being, in all but its mountains, a Poland.

The position of Sardinia, though apparently more critical, perhaps scarcely entails so many serious contingencies. To the late *coup de théâtre* in Lombardy we need give no more than an allusion. But though apparently at the mercy of a victorious enemy, and clearly defeated in his patriotic (or ambitious) views, it is still possible that Charles Albert, through the concurring interests of Europe and Austria, may actually gain a noble province by a lost campaign! The obvious political expediency of strengthening the prince of these mountain passes, has contributed, in modern history, to that incessant aggrandisement of the Family of Savoy, which in earlier times as always resulted from the unvarying instinct of its members. It is possible that the Treaty of Milan may continue what the Treaty of Utrecht began, and secure at length to the royal House of Savoy those fertile districts of Lombardy, and that famous isle of the Mediterranean, which they have so long coveted, and so often claimed.* It is at least clear, both from the traditional

* For the reasons stated above, we have not allotted any great portion of our space to the affairs of the Two Sicilies; but as they appear likely at this minute to be more than usually interesting, we subjoin such a *resumé* of the old relations of these two countries, as may perhaps throw a little illustration on the issue of the present crisis.— Naples and Sicily first appear in modern history as a united country or kingdom after the conquests of the Normans, who won the former territory from the Greeks, and subsequently the latter from the Saracens; and we may remark *à-propos* of these last-mentioned people, that they appear to have kept a firmer hold of this island after their nominal expulsion than of almost any other European conquest. For the Emperor Frederic II. was able, in his quality of King of Sicily, to transplant a military colony of some 30,000 of them into the Prin-

interests and the present attitude of Austria, and from the declared intentions of England and France, that the serviceable

---

cipate, and the arms of the misbelievers were largely employed by his successors to the no small scandal of Christendom. In fact, the temperament of the whole insular population was strongly oriental, as many of their revolutions showed. In both kingdoms the Greek element had continued so considerable, that Frederic directed his Constitutions of A.D. 1231 to be translated into Greek. The elder brother of the Norman conquerors took his seat in the peninsula, and the younger in the island; — the latter being held as a fief of the former — till, upon failure of this elder line, the survivor entered upon the whole inheritance under the same title which he had previously derived from his insular dominion. Being desirous of the royal dignity which hitherto had not been assumed, he bargained with an anti-pope for the distinction; and by this ecclesiastical pretender was the style and title of the 'Two Sicilies,' — *i. e.* peninsular and insular, — first devised, though it was not currently borne till some time afterwards.

When this line also failed like the former, the Sicilian crown, after some struggles, passed to the Hohenstauffens, in the person of the Emperor Henry VI., who had married the posthumous child and eventual heiress of the first king of the Two Sicilies. We need not tell how tragically this German dynasty was extinguished, how Charles of Anjou was called in, and how Sicily, after seventeen years' experience of French domination, successfully revolted against its oppressors at those famous Vespers. Naples and Sicily were now two; but as republics were less popular as forms of government in the days of Venice and Genoa, than they appear to be in these days of Buenos Ayres and Uruguay, the Sicilians carried their allegiance to Aragon, a state well fitted by its then maritime preponderance to accept the charge, and the reigning house of which had been connected by marriage with the extinct German line. Omitting the dynastic revolutions through which these now independent states respectively passed, we may observe, that Sicily, after having been transferred to a junior branch of the Aragonese House, reverted to the reigning branch, and at length, in the year 1412, Aragon and Sicily were formally united in the crown worn by the Castilian Prince who had been chosen to fill the throne of Aragon. The son of this monarch succeeded also in securing for himself the contested inheritance of Joanna of Bourbon, the childless Queen of Naples. Thus, about the middle of the 15th century, Naples and Sicily became once more a united kingdom. But they did not long remain in the possession of the reigning line of Aragon; since the possessor, thinking that he had full powers of disposal over these acquisitions of his individual adroitness, bequeathed the 'Two Sicilies,' as they were now termed, to an illegitimate son: — in whose family they remained until the famous partition which concluded the wars of Charles VIII., and which was so speedily superseded by the absorption of the whole inheritance in the patrimony of Spain.

kingdom of Sardinia will not suffer for the faults or misfortunes of its monarch. While we are writing, the destinies of Northern Italy await the *fiat* of the umpires. Three modes of organisation have been suggested, each of which has its recommendations and its difficulties. It seems to have been concluded, even by Austria herself, that the detachment of Lombardy from the Empire is a measure of expediency. The dismembered province may then be either annexed to Piedmont, or erected into an independent state, or made a kind of fief of the Empire under a sovereign archduke. The first contingency alone would be likely to produce any effect upon the political system. It is true that the fortification and enlargement of the Sardinian kingdom would be nothing more than a continuation of that policy, which for more than a century and a half has been stamped with European approval; but it is doubtful whether the acquisition of Lombardy might not entail the surrender of Savoy and Nice, and still more doubtful whether, in such case, the loss would be compensated by the gain. At present Lombardy and Piedmont are actuated by a bitter, though perhaps appeasable, enmity towards each other; and the union of these discordant and disorganised provinces might prove a poor substitute for that compact and critically placed state from which such important duties are now expected. But with the exception of these considerations, and the due preservation of Austrian power at the head of the Adriatic, the distribution of the Italian territory derives all the interest attached to it,

---

The next appearance of either Sicily on the European field is at the Treaty of Utrecht, when the title now hoped to be revived was created anew, after more than 200 years' abeyance, in favour of that very House to which it has just been offered. The island of Sicily was adjudged to the Charles Albert of his day, Victor Amadeus II., together with the royal title which he so anxiously desired. The ground taken by the Allies, however, was found untenable; and, after a five years' possession of the island, Victor was induced reluctantly to exchange his new realm and title for that of Sardinia, Sicily being allotted on this occasion to the House of Austria. At length the squabbles for this portion of the great Spanish inheritance were finally arranged at the Peace of Vienna in 1735; and the kingdom of the 'Two Sicilies,' like their fabled Arethusa, emerged again into light and being, as an independent settlement for the Infante Don Carlos of the new Bourbon dynasty of Spain. In this family, with the interruption only to which Napoleon subjected all continental history, the crown has remained to the present day, when Ferdinand II. seems once more likely to behold a division of the inheritance, and to be running the risk of losing half his title as well as half his kingdom.

from other circumstances than its influence upon European politics. The district between the Tessino and the Mincio is insignificant in a military point of view; and presuming no foreign power to be introduced, the purposes both of Austria and of Europe would be answered by the adoption of the latter river for the Imperial frontier. As to the duchies of the Genoese Gulf, or the States of the Peninsula, though our interest in their future fortunes is undiminished, they can only enter into such considerations as we have been suggesting, upon suppositions which are now hardly probable. The consolidation of Italy entire, either as a kingdom or a confederation under an efficient Central Power, would indeed introduce a new element into the system; and this, as with the democratic party in Switzerland, was the consummation to which the views of the most advanced Italian liberalism have been conceived to tend. But whatever lesson the late revolutions in the Peninsula may have taught us, they have at least released us from all obligation of immediately discussing such a contingency as this. Italy, as a whole, has certainly not approved itself ripe for union — any more than we imagine Germany to be. In the meantime, excepting in so far as the constitutions of its States may expose them to the influence of greater Powers, it matters not much, for our immediate point of view, on what particular scale it may be re-partitioned between its prescriptive shareholders.

A few words will suffice for the yet unnoticed States of Europe. The growth of Prussia into a power of the first magnitude, appears among its other effects to preclude the likelihood of any re-appearance of the Scandinavian Powers, under ordinary circumstances, upon the fields of the Continent. That they retain strength and spirit enough to defend their own rights they have satisfactorily proved under trying circumstances; and any contest between them and their neighbours on the main-land has now become, as a royal speaker phrased it, 'a fight between a dog and 'a fish.' Though one of them is under a government as absolute as any in Europe, they have altogether escaped the revolutionary epidemic of the season, and have exhibited a feeling of nationality so practical, a union of interests so cordial, and an attachment to their institutions so resolute and sincere, as to attract the admiration even of those who thought their cause the weaker. Very different must be the comments upon the other extremity of the Continent. The Spanish Peninsula, like the Swedish and Danish, stands also unmoved by the European shock, but simply because it has already gone through its constitutional revolutions; and if the only result of this year's convulsions is to be such as is there exhibited, we might almost turn, in the impatience

of despair, to the policy of Verona. There is reason to believe that both in Spain and Portugal the Realistas, that is to say, the partisans of the *régime* superseded by the constitutional dynasties, comprise the majority of the population; and that it is but a comparatively small minority, which again is subdivided into those more prominent parties of Moderados and Progressistas — Chartistas and Septembristas — who have monopolised the attention of Europe. The Moderados are for the most part adventurers of good family: who are nothing without the court, but can govern the country with it. The Progressistas are the middle classes in the great towns. It is not that there linger in the breast of the majority any deep-rooted feelings of traditionary loyalty or of personal attachment, but that people would be willing to return to what they remember, in order to escape from what they experience. Perhaps at a future period some incredulity may be excited by such a picture as might now be drawn of the inheritance of Charles V. With scarcely the political importance of Tuscany, and none of the geographical significance of Savoy, Spain might almost be absorbed in the opposite continent of Africa, and leave Europe to terminate at the Pyrenees, without affecting the system of states. A rupture with the free city of Hamburgh would create more inconvenience than arises from our present rupture with the cabinet of Madrid.* Treated as a

* Perhaps, however, the curiosity of the reader may compensate for the insignificance of the subject, and render of some interest the details which unexpected disclosures have now so well elucidated. The conferences between England and France on the subject of the Spanish match resulted, as will be recollected, in a stipulation that the Queen of Spain should not wed a French prince, and that a French prince should not espouse the Infanta Maria Louise till issue had been had of the marriage of the Queen. As the fundamental condition, however, presumed that 'none but a Bourbon should fill 'the throne of Philip V.;' the choice of a husband for the Queen was limited to the present king, his brother, and the Count Trapani. The latter, it seems, was the intended spouse at this stage of the proceedings; and such an arrangement would have made every thing smooth; but the national dislike to this Neapolitan Bourbon was so strong, as to be insuperable. There was then Francisco d'Assis; but with his family Queen Christina was on such bad terms, as to render it absolutely indispensable, for the preservation of her own interests, that she should either try to exclude him from the throne, or counterbalance his influence by some rival power. The first of these alternatives suggested the Coburg alliance, which was proposed by Christina herself; and when that was negatived, it was she who insisted on the simultaneous marriages, from an apprehension of what might result in the interval, if her personal foes exercised the power of royalty, while she was left without any *appui* whatever. By holding out a

mere toy for diplomatists, stripped of almost every vestige of external power, bankrupt in honesty, and below even its own emancipated colonies in European credit, Spain can only attract notice from the suggestions of the past, or the possibilities of the future. It should be remembered, however, that no country has ever shown such extraordinary capacity for a sudden resurrection. Three years of Alberoni's ministry restored Spain from a condition as degrading as the present (excepting the stigma of a repudiated debt), to a state not inconsistent even with her ancient grandeur; and though in the rapid succession of edifying characters which marks the phantasmagoria of Peninsular cabinets, no figure has appeared with the outline or semblance of an Alberoni, yet it is impossible to discard consideration of a country which needs nothing but such an acquisition to raise it to a level with the greatest powers of the West. Rich in national character, as in natural resources, productive beyond even the blighting influence of misgovernment, and standing now alone among her neighbours in the blessing of a surplus revenue, it seems as if Spain might any day again take rank in the European commonwealth. At the same time, to those who have considered carefully the whole circumstances of her sudden rise and her headlong fall, it may perhaps appear doubtful after all, whether the state in which she was found by Olivarez was not as naturally incidental

---

Coburg before King Louis Philippe, with all the desperate resolution of a woman fairly alarmed, she at length frightened the French monarch into his ill-fated consent to the double match, and thus fortified herself with the Montpensier alliance against the influence of Don Francisco's family. These marriages had been supported by the whole of one party in Spain and opposed by another. Accordingly France and England had both their Spanish party, whether they would or no. In this state the French Revolution found matters in Madrid. Both parties now became more anxious for our alliance: Christina and the Moderados to supply what they had lost in France; the Progressistas to make clean work of their adversaries at so favourable an opportunity. Neither coalition, however, on such terms, was consistent with the proper policy of this country. An alliance with the Moderados would have lost us for ever the respect of every other party, and at once have converted the Progressistas into Red Republicans. We therefore determined on neutrality, resolving to maintain friendly relations with the Progressistas, lest they might otherwise take refuge in republicanism—on the other hand, to avoid all violent quarrel with the Moderados, because they were in office. But as this, in the eyes of the ascendant faction, was tantamount to opposition, they thought it desirable to drive away our minister and remove us from the field altogether. *Voila tout!*

to her constitution, as that in which she was left by Ximenes; whether her elevation is not a more curious problem than her decline; and whether the geographical isolation of her position does not require to be compensated by fortuitous and irregular advantages, before she can exert upon the general system an influence proportioned to her dominion.

We have reserved for the conclusion of our remarks, the consideration, or as the narrowness of our limits will rather render it, the proposition of a question, which far exceeds in its possible importance that of all the realities or contingencies we have hitherto numerated. The revolutions of 1848, which succeeded that of France, may, perhaps, be generally characterised as a violent reaction against that *status quo* of political principles, of which we have traced the construction at Carlsbad and Laybach, and which it has since seemed almost the exclusive function of the three Northern Powers to preserve and maintain. We do not, of course, mean to say that each particular insurrection was the explosion of feelings long cherished, the burst of repugnance long suppressed, or the prompt seizure of an expected opportunity to effect a deliberate and preconceived reform. On the contrary, every hour brings us additional reason for concluding that contagion was the principal agent in the several catastrophes; that the outbreak, or, at least, all its unconstitutional violence, was in almost every instance the work of a small, misguided and inconsiderate minority; and that however general might have been the desire for constitutional governments, there was no wish for a suspension of all government whatever in favour of those provisional substitutes which have now so strangely assumed the prerogatives of power. Still, the revolutionary shock could never have been thus transmitted from Paris to Vienna, if the States of Central Europe had not been fitted, by some such reactionary spirit, for receiving and conducting it. But, besides these ordinary and anticipated consequences of a French revolution, the present occasion appears, among its other results, to have given an impulse of development to a particular sentiment of Nationality, hitherto unformed or dormant.

Even in this country, so conspicuously behind the Continent in its speculations upon European combinations or destinies*,

* A curious illustration of the aptitude displayed by our neighbours for these inquiries, is to be found in a resolution passed by the Committee of Foreign Affairs in the National Assembly almost as soon as it was constituted. Representatives were nominated to prepare reports on the principal European questions as coolly as committees

convictions have been expressed, that in the possible fortunes of the Sclavonic race, was comprised the only element by which the course of modern history was likely to be seriously affected. This potent element has been sensibly quickened by the events of last February. Most readers will be familiar with the general theory of Panslavism, or, in other words, with the idea, as recently elaborated by the writers of Eastern Europe, of uniting all Sclavonic populations into one enormous empire; which would thus almost necessarily become the master Power of this quarter of the globe. A full development of Panslavism would of course presume the supremacy of Russia; for since the inhabitants of this empire comprise fifty-three out of the seventy-eight millions numbered by the Sclavonic race, it would be impossible to consummate the projected union, without both including the population of Russia, and acknowledging her natural presidency. But a modification of the theory has been suggested, by which the idea itself is pressed into service against Russian ambition; and indeed is represented as the only plausible expedient for checking the fated advance of that eastern empire. It is proposed that Austria, which reckons in its population returns some seventeen millions of Sclavonians against six millions and a half of Germans, should give to this preponderating element its due supremacy; should in short, declare itself a Sclavonic state; and should thus reorganise the tottering fabric of its empire upon a new and enduring basis.

We are only concerned with these and the like theories, as far as they have been invested with an actual influence upon the state of Europe under the recent movements; and to no inconsiderable extent is this the case with the Austrian Empire. No sooner had the 'constitution' of the 25th of April been promulgated, than all the nationalities between the Säave and Dniester were in full ebullition. The inhabitants of Bohemia, being two-thirds Sclavonians, refused, as will be remembered, to compromise their nationality by sending members to the German Constituent Assembly; and by way of counteracting the Germanising tendency of the new movement, they summoned a Sclavonic Congress at Prague, from Croatia, Illyria, Gallicia,

---

would be appointed in our own House of Commons to scrutinise a Railway Extension Bill: *e. g.*—M. Drouit de Lhuys was to treat the Spanish question; M. d'Aragon, the affairs of Italy; M. Xavier Durrieu those of Russia; M. Edmond Lafayette, Moldavia and Wallachia; M. Jober, Austria and the Sclave countries; M. Payer, the German Confederation; M. de Voisin, the East; M. Heckeren, Prussia and Prussian Poland; and M. Puysegur, Egypt.

conditions are now likely to be violated; and, what is more, they will be violated at the instance and for the purposes of that party whose policy and sympathies have directly tended to defeat some of the principal ends for which the constitution was originally devised. Nothing could be more natural or appropriate than that this neutral and inviolable republic should serve as a European asylum for fugitives in political trouble: But when it was actually made, as repeatedly within the last fifteen years, a base of hostile operations on the part of these refugees against all the states on its frontiers, it became the very opposite of what was intended; and scarcely a single Power was left without a decent pretext for attacking it. At this minute the Confederation has been put upon its defence by Marshal Radetsky, for having harboured a corps of armed Italians, contrary to the usages of war — a reckless course of policy, indeed, for a state which has been described as being, in all but its mountains, a Poland.

The position of Sardinia, though apparently more critical, perhaps scarcely entails so many serious contingencies. To the late *coup de théâtre* in Lombardy we need give no more than an allusion. But though apparently at the mercy of a victorious enemy, and clearly defeated in his patriotic (or ambitious) views, it is still possible that Charles Albert, through the concurring interests of Europe and Austria, may actually gain a noble province by a lost campaign! The obvious political expediency of strengthening the prince of these mountain passes, has contributed, in modern history, to that incessant aggrandisement of the Family of Savoy, which in earlier times as always resulted from the unvarying instinct of its members. It is possible that the Treaty of Milan may continue what the Treaty of Utrecht began, and secure at length to the royal House of Savoy those fertile districts of Lombardy, and that famous isle of the Mediterranean, which they have so long coveted, and so often claimed.* It is at least clear, both from the traditional

* For the reasons stated above, we have not allotted any great portion of our space to the affairs of the Two Sicilies; but as they appear likely at this minute to be more than usually interesting, we subjoin such a *resumé* of the old relations of these two countries, as may perhaps throw a little illustration on the issue of the present crisis.— Naples and Sicily first appear in modern history as a united country or kingdom after the conquests of the Normans, who won the former territory from the Greeks, and subsequently the latter from the Saracens; and we may remark *à-propos* of these last-mentioned people, that they appear to have kept a firmer hold of this island after their nominal expulsion than of almost any other European conquest. For the Emperor Frederic II. was able, in his quality of King of Sicily, to transplant a military colony of some 30,000 of them into the Prin-

interests and the present attitude of Austria, and from the declared intentions of England and France, that the serviceable

---

cipate, and the arms of the misbelievers were largely employed by his successors to the no small scandal of Christendom. In fact, the temperament of the whole insular population was strongly oriental, as many of their revolutions showed. In both kingdoms the Greek element had continued so considerable, that Frederic directed his Constitutions of A.D. 1231 to be translated into Greek. The elder brother of the Norman conquerors took his seat in the peninsula, and the younger in the island; — the latter being held as a fief of the former — till, upon failure of this elder line, the survivor entered upon the whole inheritance under the same title which he had previously derived from his insular dominion. Being desirous of the royal dignity which hitherto had not been assumed, he bargained with an anti-pope for the distinction; and by this ecclesiastical pretender was the style and title of the 'Two Sicilies,' — *i. e.* peninsular and insular, — first devised, though it was not currently borne till some time afterwards.

When this line also failed like the former, the Sicilian crown, after some struggles, passed to the Hohenstauffens, in the person of the Emperor Henry VI., who had married the posthumous child and eventual heiress of the first king of the Two Sicilies. We need not tell how tragically this German dynasty was extinguished, how Charles of Anjou was called in, and how Sicily, after seventeen years' experience of French domination, successfully revolted against its oppressors at those famous Vespers. Naples and Sicily were now two; but as republics were less popular as forms of government in the days of Venice and Genoa, than they appear to be in these days of Buenos Ayres and Uruguay, the Sicilians carried their allegiance to Aragon, a state well fitted by its then maritime preponderance to accept the charge, and the reigning house of which had been connected by marriage with the extinct German line. Omitting the dynastic revolutions through which these now independent states respectively passed, we may observe, that Sicily, after having been transferred to a junior branch of the Aragonese House, reverted to the reigning branch, and at length, in the year 1412, Aragon and Sicily were formally united in the crown worn by the Castilian Prince who had been chosen to fill the throne of Aragon. The son of this monarch succeeded also in securing for himself the contested inheritance of Joanna of Bourbon, the childless Queen of Naples. Thus, about the middle of the 15th century, Naples and Sicily became once more a united kingdom. But they did not long remain in the possession of the reigning line of Aragon; since the possessor, thinking that he had full powers of disposal over these acquisitions of his individual adroitness, bequeathed the 'Two Sicilies,' as they were now termed, to an illegitimate son: — in whose family they remained until the famous partition which concluded the wars of Charles VIII., and which was so speedily superseded by the absorption of the whole inheritance in the patrimony of Spain.

beyond her own proper frontier, as to stipulate that the hospodars or governors of Wallachia and Moldavia, should neither be appointed nor removed without consent from St. Petersburg first obtained. A disregard of this stipulation was the pretext for the war of 1810; and the right of interference was so far confirmed and extended by the treaty of Adrianople in 1829, that these Danubian principalities may be now represented as depending rather on the protectorate of Russia than on the sovereignty of the Porte. It was among the conditions exacted by Russia, that no Turks should reside in these provinces; so that her influence over a pure Romanic population (the Wallachians being the descendants of the colonists of the old Roman empire) should be preserved entire. When, accordingly, the shock of domestic revolution, reaching even to Jassy and Bucharest, caused the overthrow of the hospodar and the proclamation of a provisional government, Russia exerted her privilege by marching troops across the Pruth to rectify the disorder. This however, as we have said, is not all. By the position thus occupied she has been enabled to aid the insurgent Sclavonians of Southern Hungary, with succours sent up the Danube; and it is reported that she is actively availing herself of these facilities for pushing her Sclavonic interests; and that her ostensible proceedings in the Principalities do but cover the ramifications of a deeper scheme.

No reader will be surprised if, within such limits as were at our command, we have failed in giving a satisfactory account of any particular European state. We have selected for illustration those which by reason of their constitution or position appeared eminently to call for notice; but it should not be forgotten in estimating our conclusions, that we have anticipated the usual season of comment, and have offered these remarks during a period of transition, when almost every day was producing some material change in the aspect of the affairs under consideration. Perhaps, however, the very character which our observations must needs derive from such a circumstance, may lend them some additional interest hereafter, as it may be instructive to refer, when the end shall have at length arrived, to these records of a state of actual progress. In any case, we hope that we may have facilitated the comprehension of the events now daily announced from all quarters of Europe, and have enabled the reader to appreciate, with greater satisfaction to himself, the incidents of the drama still in progress. Were it a less agreeable subject to dwell upon, we should hardly think it necessary to explain the absence of a mighty figure from our extempore panorama. We have said nothing of Great Britain, for the best of all reasons: nor shall we recur to any of those

proverbial illustrations of the conspicuousness which follows upon certain conditions of retirement. Our readers will gratefully recognise the blessings which enable all mention of this country to be dispensed with, in an estimate of revolutions and their results.

If, now, we take a retrospective glance at the scenes which have passed in review before us, we shall be probably inclined to conclude, that the disturbance likely to be suffered by the political system, is smaller than could have been conceived by the most sanguine anticipations some six months ago. It does not appear that any Power will acquire undue preponderance or aggrandisement, or that any strange member will be introduced into the system, excepting on conditions hardly yet probable — the development, namely, of the new-born spirit of 'nationality' into some practical and effective agency. If Germany should really become a consolidated state animated by a single will, such a Power would doubtless excite suspicions, and provoke combinations hitherto untried; though, as we have already stated, there is no great reason for supposing that its influence could be detrimentally exerted. As much, it is true, cannot be asserted of a great Sclavonic state; but this contingency is much farther from its realisation than a Germanic empire, and would be attended with obstacles infinitely more serious than those which, even in the latter case, have not yet been proved surmountable. Excepting, however, by the instrumentality of this new element of 'race,' there does not appear much likelihood of the growth of any Power into proportions inconsistent with the stability of the system. As little is it probable that any minor Power will be demolished or absorbed. The Eastern question has not been perceptibly brought nearer its solution by the recent shock; and, as to the kingdom of Denmark, that, it would seem, may be safely left to the right arm of the Danes. If any new creations appear to be in embryo, they are not of a character to justify much beyond a passing interest. The kingdom or duchy or principality of Lombardy, will import little to the system of Europe, and a place might be found even for independent Sicily without any serious disarrangement.

Beyond doubt the inconveniences arising from the internal disorganisation of states wear an unpleasant and menacing aspect; but the practical propagandism of February was cut very short in its career, and no power can be now said to give its neighbours any such apprehensions as those excited by Jacobinical France, or anarchical Poland. Neither, amidst all the medley of constitutional novelties, does it appear that the domestic organisation of any people will become fundamentally inconsistent with the character of the European fabric, or that

any dangerous discord will be introduced through the adoption of a policy or administration irreconcileable with those generally received by other governments. Still it cannot be denied that there are states which have been so rudely shaken as to be quite incapacitated for the discharge of what have hitherto been their accepted functions, and which are so altered in external circumstances, as hardly to be recognised for their former selves. But, on this point, it may be observed, that certain of those functions were such, perhaps, as to render their perpetuation by no means unconditionally desirable; not to mention that it is as yet uncertain what form or capacity they may hereafter assume. Viewed with reference to its bearings upon social and political progress, the system of Europe has been no doubt radically changed by the events which have occurred: but we are by no means prepared to allege that such change is essentially and altogether prophetic of evil.

The most satisfactory feature of the whole panorama is, perhaps, that a degree of vigorous force and virtue has been demonstrated to exist at present in the political system, which, considered in its most significant light, approaches to a guarantee of the public peace. Nothing can be more gratifying than the contrast, in this respect, of the Europe of 1848 with the Europe of 1793. Whether the political system at the earlier period, had actually, as French writers assert, become effete and useless from age and violence before the summoning of the States General, or whether, as the publicists of other nations allege, it was overthrown, while in serviceable action, by the rude shock of French aggression, it is at least certain, that when the day of trial came, it was found wanting, and that war broke out almost as abruptly as if no international ties had ever existed. At the present crisis, general war has hitherto been happily averted; and this, throughout a succession of chances unusually critical and perilous. Sixty years ago Europe would have been infallibly plunged into flames from the Arctic Ocean to the Mediterranean, under one-tenth of the temptations which sovereigns and people have now resisted. Arbitration supersedes war, if it does not prevent it; and such a community of accord and tractability of disposition have been observable among governments of all descriptions, as appears to promise well for future tranquillity. Most sincerely is it to be hoped, that the worst may now be really past, — that the political system of the civilized part of the world may survive undamaged in its usefulness and power, — and that the state of Europe may experience no more disturbances than such as have here been chronicled.

No. CLXXIX. will be published in January, 1849.

INDEX.

A

Albert, Charles, character of, 162.

Alexander, Egypt conquered by, 41. See *Egypt*.

Alexandria, rise of, 41—description of, 45—Dinocrates its architect, *ib.*—its climate, 46—its prosperity, 46-8—worship of Serapis at, 47—Museum of, 47-56—its decline, 49—literature of, 51-5—library of the Museum, 55. See *Egypt*.

Anatomy, contributions of science of, to ethnology, 433.

Anneke's Ehrengerichtlicher Prozess. See *Germanic* Empire.

Archipelago, Oriental, our comparative ignorance of the, 63—situation and description of, 64—its natural resources, *ib.*—its population and their pursuits, 65—Marco Polo first disclosed it to the people of the West, 66—the Arabs its first explorers, 66-76-8—Don Lopez de Sequiera and Portuguese, first Europeans who discovered and traded with, *ib.*—afterwards the Dutch and English, 67—piracy universal in, 68—comparison of pirates of, with Sea Kings of the North, 72-6—Mr. Brooke's account of their heroism, 72-4—death of Magindanão Illanun, *ib.*—death of pirate Budrudeen, 73—narration of Sea Kings of Norway, 74-6—the Sheriffs enemies to civilisation in, 77—numerical strength of the pirates, 78—Sulu Islands their principal rendezvous, *ib.*—their depredations and cruelty, 79—the Sulus a mixed race, *ib.*—visit of Sir E. Belcher to Sulu, 80—expedition of Spaniards against the Sulus, 81—the Illanuns, a similar race of pirates, *ib.*—Captain Belcher's account of the Bay of Illanun, their principal stronghold, 82—description of the prahus, 83-4—seasons of their attacks, 85—attack of pirates on an English man-of-war, 85—attack of Raga on Captain Gravesome at Koti, 86—his death, 87—civilising results of Mr. Brooke's labours, 88—mode of civilisation to be adopted by the British government, 89-94.

Aristotle, veneration for at Oxford University, 167.

Azeglio, Di Massimo d', review of his 'I Lutti di Lombardia,' 143-63.

B.

Ballot, subject of considered, 381—inadequate to prevent bribery and corruption, 382.

Belcher, Captain Sir E., his Narrative of Voyage in the Samarang, 63-94.

Beowulf, Anglo-Saxon poem of, christian origin of, 19—subject of the poem, *ib.*—unknown to Scandinavian Saga, *ib.*—date assigned to the poem, 20—unknown to Marie de France, *ib.*

Berry, Misses, Horace Walpole's friendship for, 358.

Bertran de Born, his memoir, 30—Dante's reference to him, *ib.*—his satires, 31.

Blumenbach, researches of, in the physical and mental history of mankind, 434.

Bowyer's Lombardy, the Pope, and Austria, review of, 143-63. See *Lombardy*, Revolt in.

British Association, report of the seventeenth meeting of the, 429. See *Ethnology*.

Brooke, Mr., extracts from his Journal, 72-94. See *Archipelago*, Oriental.

Budrudeen the pirate, tragical death of, 73.

Bunsen, Chevalier, review of his Germany Unmasked. See *Germanic* Empire. Philological researches of, 470-81. See *Ethnology*.

Burke, Mr., extract from his 'Reflections on the French Revolution,' 371.

Bushmen, description of the degraded condition of the, 462.

C

Camper, researches of, in the physical and mental history of mankind, 433—his theory of the 'facial angle,' *ib.* See *Ethnology*.

Cape of Good Hope, Herschel's astronomical discoveries at. See *Herschel*, Sir John.

Capefigue, M., review of his works on Europe and Congress of Vienna, 514. See *Europe*, State of.

Capital, Mr. Mill's definition of the word, 309-14—different senses in which it may be used, 310—what is capital? 310-2—Adam Smith's division of, into fixed and circulating, 312—remarks suggested by Mr. Mill's views, 309-19.

Caroline, Princess, Lord Hervey's love for, 492—her grief for his death, 494.

Centauri, *a*, Herschel's observations on, 107.

Chambers, Sir William, Dissertation of, on Oriental Gardening, 416.

Chesterfield, Lord Hervey's character of, 498. See *Hervey*, Lord.

China and the Chinese, exaggerated conceptions of, have disappointed anticipations of Europeans, 403—styled the Flowery Empire, *ib.*—celebrated for their cultivation of flowers, *ib.*—Horticultural Society deputes Mr. Fortune to visit, *ib.*—range of his observations confined to privileged maritime towns, 404—curiosity excited by his visit to Amoy, *ib.*—attack of natives on him at Chinchew, *ib.*—deceptions practised on him at Ningpo and Shanghai, 405—he visits gardens of mandarins at Ningpo, 406—the Fa-tee Gardens, 407—description of Soo-chow-fow, 407-8—Mr. Fortune visits Island of Lnzan, 409—obtains the Phalœnopsis amabilis, *ib.*—attack of pirates, 410—attempts of our government to destroy piracy in Chinese seas, *ib.*—opinions of various writers on their skill in gardening, 411-9—notion that the English derived their system from the Chinese, without foundation, 411—Gray's remarks on, *ib.*

—Père Benoist's narrative, 412-3—garden of Yuen-min-yuen, 413—Sir George Staunton's description of, 414—the Zhe-hol gardens, *ib.*—visit of Sir George Staunton to, *ib.*—Father Ripa's notice of these gardens, 414-6—Sir William Chambers's dissertation on their system of gardening, 416—Sir John Davis's critique on, *ib.*—lake and gardens of See-how, 417—Sir George Staunton's description of these gardens, *ib.*—remarks on their national understanding and feeling for natural gardening, 418—Humboldt's opinion, 419—opinions of Lieu-tscheu, *ib.*—their passion for landscape gardening carried to a ruinous extent, 420—receives a check, and a modest taste introduced, *ib.*—embellishments of the Tartars, 421—observations of Père Amiot, *ib.*—English and Chinese systems of gardening compared, 423-9.

Christina, Queen, originator of the Spanish marriages, 550.

D

Deffand, Madame du, her attachment for Walpole, 358.

Diez, Von Frederick, review of his 'Leben und Werke der Troubadours,' 1-32. See *Provençal* Poetry.

Dinaux, M., review of his 'Trouvères Cambresiens,' 1-32—his opinion respecting compositions of trouvères and troubadours, 32. See *Provençal* Poetry; *Scandinavia*.

E

Egypt, Sharpe's History of, 32-63—its history a great desideratum, 33—the Valley of the Nile always coveted by European powers, *ib.*—its claims to notice, *ib.*—its present prosperity and political relations, 33-4—its ruler and his policy, 34—received too little attention from historians, *ib.*—its history but little taught at schools, *ib.* recent works upon, 35—its ancient history divided into three periods, *ib.*—the native hierarchy and its priest kings, the *period of castes*, *ib.*—but little known to Abram during his residence, 36—its early civilisation, trade, &c. 36-7—causes of its wealth, 38—cities and houses of ancient Egypt, 39—population consisted of three classes, 40-57—city of Naucratis, foundation of dominion of Hellenic race, *ib.*—conquest of, by Alexander, 41—Racotis the foundation of city of Alexandria, *ib.*—Ptolemy Soter, its ruler, 42—its happiness and prosperity under his rule, *ib.*—condition of the Jews and Copts during his reign, 43—religious toleration allowed by, 44—plans of Alexander adopted by Ptolemy, *ib.*—character of Ptolemy, *ib.*—description of Alexandria, 45—built by Dinocrates, *ib.*—climate of Alexandria, 46—its prosperity, 46-8—worship of Serapis at, 47—Museum at Alexandria, 47-56—reign of Philadelphus, Augustan age of Egypt, 48—decline of Alexandria, 49—comparison between Philadelphus and Charles II. *ib.*—literary society and their meetings at the Museum, 51—the Lagidæ munificent in patronage of Learning and Arts, 53—dynasty of Lagidæ era of Alexandrian literature, 54—library of the Museum, 55—Alexandrian schools, 54-6—religion of ancient Egypt, 57—Poly-

bius's account of population of, 59—character of its inhabitants, 57-61—Miss Martineau's work on, 62—extract from, 62-3.
Emigration, a remedy for national distress, 397.
English Life, Social and Domestic, review of. See *Revolution* and *Reform.*
Ethnology, Dr. Prichard's works on: importance and interest attached to the study of, 429—nature of the science, 430—other branches of knowledge contribute to its elucidation, 431—historical information necessary for its study, 432—question of *fixity* or *identity* of races solved by comparison of present with the past, *ib.*—language of mankind originally similar, *ib.*—researches of the Anatomist and Physiologist to determine this identity, 433—Camper and his system, *ib.*—the 'facial angle,' his test for the moral elevation or degradation of a race, *ib.*—cases cited in illustration, *ib.*—Blumenbach and his researches, 434—his divisions adopted by Cuvier, *ib.*—Dr. Prichard's theory, 435—his three leading types: the oval or elliptical skull, the pyramidal, the prognathous, 435-7—difficulties attending the *cranial* theory, 437—historical evidences illustrative of, 439—the Turks of Europe and Western Asia, the Magyar, Negro, Oceanic, Irish, and other races, 439-43—resemblance of lower orders of Irish to inhabitants of Australia, 443—conformation of skulls of each race affected by want and degradation, *ib.*—theory of colour of the skin and character of the hair, 445—examination of colouring tissue of the skin, *ib.*—the Syro-Arabian race, the Jews, Indo-European branch of Caucasian race, the African and other races, all insufficient tests for determining identity of races from colour of skin, 446-53—theory of the *hair* examined, 452—little reliance to be placed on it, *ib.*—instances illustrating the subject, 454—relation between climate and colour not perfectly uniform, 455—Bishop Heber's remarks on varieties in colour of the Hindoos, 457—general propositions to be adduced from the subject, 458—researches of the *Psychologist*, 460—attributes of *humanity* dependent on development of psychical characters of races, 461—same tests applicable to all races, *ib.*—Dr. Prichard's researches, 462—case of the Bushmen, *ib.*—a degraded caste of the Hottentot race, 463—their degradation attributed to Europeans, but disproved by Dr. Smith, *ib.*—Hottentot character, 466—labours of the United Brethren have greatly tended to their moral elevation, 467—these labours have equally raised the Greenlander and Negro, 468—Dr. Channing's character of the Negro, 469—intellectual development of the Negro, *ib.*—the science of *Philology* and its contributions to Ethnology, 470—definition of the word, *ib.*—the science but little cultivated except in Germany, *ib.*—languages of Old Continent reduced to five great families, *ib.*—all derived from one primary stock, 471—instances adduced in proof, 471-81—Dr. Prichard's remarks on the Indo-European, *ib.*—Chevalier Bunsen's theory, 470-81—difficulties attending the subject, 482-7—commendatory encomium on Dr. Prichard's works, 487.
Europe, State of: introductory observations, 514—existing system a

federal system, 515—review of European *constitution*, *ib.*—treaties of Vienna the basis of this constitution, 516—dislike of the French to these treaties, *ib.*—intention of treaties to restore European system, 517—difficulties attending deliberations of the Congress, *ib.*—acts of the Congress to be considered as repartitions of territory or sanctions of principle, 517-20—repression of France their aim, 517—scheme of Napoleon, 518—Confederation of the Rhine dissolved, and Germanic States re-organised, *ib.*—other measures of precaution adopted, 519—deliberations of Congress characterised by *sincere liberality*, 521—particular illustrations of this spirit, *ib.*—errors of the Congress, *ib.*—early development of dissatisfaction, 523—formation and object of the Holy Alliance, 524—occasioned by spread of liberal opinions, 525—its effect on policy of Europe, *ib.*—accession of France, 526—produces invasion of Spain, *ib.*—England no party to the Alliance, *ib.*—defection of France, 528—nature of the *Alliance Russe*, 530—changed by Louis Philippe for *Alliance Anglaise* and the *entente cordiale*, 550-1—objects of *old federal system* of France, 531—revolution of 1830 introduced a new epoch, 532—independence of Belgium, 533—triumph of constitutional principles in Portugal and Spain, 534—the Quadrupal Alliance, *ib.*—rise of the French Republic, 535-8—its policy, *ib.* General Cavaignac, 536—the disturbances at Vienna and Berlin, 538—project of the new Germanic Empire, 539—little sympathy evinced for the movement, *ib.*—the Frankfort Assembly and its policy, 540—present condition of Austria and Prussia, 543—Russia and her isolated policy, 543-4—Switzerland and her Confederation, *ib.*—neutrality of Switzerland necessary for interests of Europe, 545—confederation threatened by Austria, 546—position of Sardinia, 546—history of the 'Two Sicilies,' 547—Italy and her destiny, 548—stability of Sweden and Norway, 549—Spain and Portugal unaffected by recent commotions, 549-50—origin of the Spanish marriages, 550—the theory of Panslavism, 553—its development and probable success, 553-6—anticipation of a bright future, 557-8. See *Republic*, the French; *Germanic* Empire; *Revolution* and *Reform*.

European Remodellings. See *Europe*, State of.

F.

Facial angle, Camper's theory of the, 433.

Fauriel, M., review of his 'Histoire de la Poesie Provençale,' 1-32—his opinions respecting priority of the troubadours, 2—his opinion respecting poem of Walter of Aquitaine, 23. See *Provençal* Poetry; *Scandinavia*.

Feldhausen, site of Herschel's observatory, 107.

Feuerbach's Religion der Zukunft. See *Germanic* Empire.

Finnlands Gegenwart und Zukunft. See *Germanic* Empire.

Forsell's 'Statistik öfver Sverrige,' review of, 237-91. See *Germanic* Empire.

Forster, John, review of his 'Life and Adventures of Oliver Goldsmith,' 193-225. See *Goldsmith*, Oliver.

Fortune, Robert, his 'Wanderings in China,' 403—deputed by Horticultural Society, *ib.*—confined range of his observations in China, 404—curiosity excited by his visit to Amoy, *ib.*—attacked by natives at Chinchew, *ib.*—deceptions practised on him, 405—visits the garden of a mandarin, 406—visit to Soo-chow-foo, 407—description of Soo-chow-foo, 408—visits the Island of Luzan and procures the Phalœnopsis amabilis, 409—attack of Chinese pirates, 410—Chinese celebrated for their horticultural pursuits, 411-7—description of Yuen-min-yuen, Zhe-hol, and See-how, 414-7—extract from Lieu-tscheu describing Chinese art of gardening, 419—their passion for gardening carried to an extreme, 420—ruinous to the state, *ib.*—reformations consequently introduced into the art, *ib.*—the Tartars introduced new embellishments, 421—observations of Père Amiot, *ib.*—English and Chinese style, 423-9.

Franchise, elective, right of, dependent on payment of taxes, 383—a theory of the British constitution, *ib.*

Frederick, Prince, son of George II., character of, 491-502.

Frederick William IV., satirical comparison of, with Julian the Apostate. See *Strauss*.

G

Gardening, Chinese. See *China*.

Garrick, epitaph of, on Goldsmith, 217—Johnson's allusion to his death, 351—Walpole's depreciation of, 349-52.

Geiger's 'Smärre Skrifter,' review of, 237-91. See *Germanic* Empire.

George II., Lord Hervey's Memoirs of the Reign of. See *Hervey*, Lord John.

Germanic Empire, project for re-constructing a, 238—two movements in Germanic system, *ib.*—reform universally demanded, *ib.*—Parisian revolution gave first impulse to popular will, 239—Confederation of 1815 did not make 'a Germany,' *ib.*—German nation virtually dismembered, *ib.*—its ancient history, 241—original divisions of the empire, *ib.*—reunited under Otho the Great, *ib.*—Italy incorporated, 241-2-59—this incorporation gave rise to titles 'King of the Romans,' and 'Holy Roman Empire,' 243—gradual division into duchies and states, 244—singular development of the elective principle, 245—similar to that of Poland, *ib.*—transmission of crown to various houses, 246—at last hereditary in house of Rudolf, 247—attempts to destroy its supremacy, *ib.*—extent of German territory depended on prowess of the Margraves, 248—Province of Schleswig claimed by, 249—equally claimed by Denmark, *ib.*—dominions of the empire co-extensive with German nationality, *ib.*—non-nationality of Bohemia, *ib.*—a separate kingdom under electors, 250—Hungary incorporated with Bohemia under House of Hapsburg, 251—Emperor of Germany held first place among sovereigns, *ib.*—the Emperors remarkable for their poverty, 253—decline of the monarchy, *ib.*—domestic revolutions destructive of the national unity, 254—rise of the House of Hapsburg, 255—formation of Austrian empire, 255-57—Austria origi-

nally a border province, *ib.*—extent of its territory, 256—Switzerland held by the old counts, *ib.*—independence of the Swiss, *ib.*—Hungary and Bohemia united to Austria, 257—accession of Italy to, 259—part of Poland absorbed, *ib.*—great increase of territorial possessions, *ib.*—formation and rise of Prussia, *ib.*—a fief of Poland, *ib.*—House of Brandenburgh, 260—description of Prussia, *ib.*—originally possessed by Teutonic knights, *ib.*—extent of Prussia, *ib.*—Frederick William the Great, its first king, 261—rival of Austria, 262—these several divisions of Germanic Empire destroyed its nationality, 263—Luther contributed greatly to this dismemberment, 264—progress of the Reformation, *ib.*—ecclesiastical states of the empire, 265—effects of the Reformation, 266-8—the diet composed of crowned heads, 269—numerical strength of forces of the kingdoms at close of seventeenth century, *ib.*—heterogeneous character of these forces, *ib.*—formation of leagues and unions, their names, 270—their objects, *ib.*—rise of Napoleon, 272—dismemberment and abasement of Austria by Napoleon, 272-6—schemes of Napoleon, *ib.*—the Confederation of the Rhine formed, 277—old Germanic Empire now entirely destroyed, *ib.*—dissolution of Napoleon's Confederation, 279—treaty of Paris occasioned new Act of Confederation, *ib.*—framed on model of old empire, *ib.*—its military force, 280—the new scheme for political re-organisation of Germany, 281—detail of the scheme, *ib.*—empire to be hereditary, *ib.*—constitution of its parliament, *ib.*—King of Prussia the proposed sovereign, 285—impracticability of the scheme, 282-91. See *Europe*, State of.

Goldsmith, Oliver, Life and Adventures of, by John Forster—his early education, 193—his character when at school, 194—sent to Dublin University, *ib.*—enters as a sizar, *ib.*—difficulties at college 195—means adopted to relieve himself, 195—anecdotes of his generosity, 196–210—tries for a scholarship and succeeds, *ib.*—his early follies and dissolute habits, 196-201—escapes from college, 197—brought back by his brother, *ib.*—takes his bachelor's degree, *ib.*—leaves college and assists his brother, *ib.*—applies for ordination, and is rejected, 198—studies the law, *ib.*—this abandoned and takes to medicine, 198-9—studies at Edinburgh, 199—his adventures in Scotland, *ib.*—arrives at Leyden, *ib.*—leaves Leyden and with his flute turns tourist, 200—'examines mankind, and sees both sides of the picture,' *ib.*—arrives in London, *ib.*—endeavours to procure a subsistence, *ib.*—turns assistant to Dr. Milner, 201—leaves Dr. Milner, *ib.*—engages with Mr. Griffiths and devotes himself to the 'Monthly Review,' *ib.*—finds out his true profession, 202—style and character of his writings, 202-4—Goldsmith the *hero* of his own works, 202—his conceptions of character masterly, 203—contrasted with Gray, 204—his aversion to epithets, *ib.*—his critiques on other poets, 204-5—deficient in imaginative power, 205—Johnson's estimate of him, 'affectuum lenis dominator,' 206—his ideas not numerous, another peculiarity, *ib.*—Le Sage, his first model in diction, 208—comparison with, *ib.*—his vanity, 209—curious letter to his brother

Maurice, instance of his extreme sensibility, 210—compared with Schiller, 211—his intimacy and friendship with Johnson, 212—anecdotes respecting, *ib.*—publication of 'The Traveller,' and other pieces, 213—Johnson's critique on the 'Good-natured Man,' *ib.*—Gray's opinion of Goldsmith, *ib.*—reception of his comedies on the stage, *ib.*—his remuneration and extravagance, *ib.*—Goldsmith at the height of his renown, *ib.*—Johnson's opinion of him as an historian, 214—his conversational powers, *ib.*—his difficulties and measures to remove them, 216-7—Garrick's epitaph on him, 217—his last poem, 'Retaliation,' *ib.*—Reynolds' friendship for him, 217—his last illness, 217—his death, 218—Mr. Forster's reflections on, *ib.*—remarks suggested by, 219.

Gray, poetry of, contrasted with that of Goldsmith, 204—his opinion of Goldsmith, 213. See *Goldsmith*, Oliver.

Gray, Mr., remarks of, on Chinese gardening, 411.

H

Heron, D. C., Review of his Constitutional History of Dublin University, 163-93—his exposure of grievances of, 187. See *Universities*, the English.

Herschel's, Sir John F. W., Survey of the Southern Heavens, 104—work on the *northern* commenced by his father, *ib.*—assisted by sister and brother, *ib.*—memoir of his sister Caroline, *ib.*—survey continued by the son from filial regard, 105—discoveries in the northern hemisphere, *ib.*—the southern hemisphere unexplored, 106—removal of his establishment to Cape of Good Hope, 107—Feldhausen the site of his observatory, *ib.*—commencement of his observations on the star α Centauri, *ib.*—results of his observations, 108-16—description of his instruments, 109—mode of ascertaining powers of a telescope, 110—his plan for remedying loss of light in reflecting telescopes, 111—hypothesis for calculating the transmission of light, 111-14—climate of the Cape suited for astronomical observations, 115—times most favourable, *ib.*—number of stars observed by, 116—the Magellanic clouds, 117—character and appearance of this cluster, 119—nebulous system of the northern hemisphere, *ib.*—hypothesis concerning the Milky Way, 120—forms of the nebulæ in southern heavens, 121—the nebular hypothesis, 125—number of double stars discovered, *ib.*—results of his observations on their angles of position, 127—division of double stars into four classes, 129—Struve's division into eight, 128—motion of double stars, 131—nature of the connexion of double stars, 132—uncertainty of such investigations, *ib.*—elements of the orbit of γ Virginis, *ib.*—observations on, 133—his system of gauging the heavens, 134—'the method of sequences' explained, 137—apparatus used by him in these experiments, 139—results of his observations on the magnitudes of various stars, 140—his observations on Saturn and his satellites, 141—high estimate of his talents and character, 142—the work undertaken at his own expense, *ib.*—munificent offer of Duke of Northumberland, 143.

Hervey, John, Lord, his Memoirs of the Reign of George II.—Lord Hervey chiefly known through Pope, 488—satirised by Pope as

Lord Fanny and Sporus, *ib.*—his lines on Pope, 489—his birth and parentage, *ib.*—sent over to Hanover, and pays his court to the sovereign, 490—marries Miss Lepell, *ib.*—Chesterfield's couplet on his marriage, *ib.*—attaches himself to Walpole, *ib.*—moves address at George II.'s first parliament, 491—his connection with Prince Frederick, *ib.*—character of Prince Frederick, 491-502 leaves prince's service, and attaches himself to the king, 492—is made vice-chamberlain, *ib.*—his friendship for the queen, and love for Princess Caroline, *ib.*—useful services rendered by him to Walpole and his government, *ib.*—after queen's death loses both his influence and power, *ib.*—succeeds Lord Godolphin as privy seal, *ib.*—retires from office on Walpole's fall, 493—his fidelity to Walpole, *ib.*—his letter to Lady Mary Wortley anticipating his own decease, 494—his death, *ib.*—grief of the Princess Caroline, *ib.*—the memoirs commence with accession of George II., *ib.*—English character and constitution illustrated by reigns of George I. and II., *ib.*—character of public men of the age, 495—political enmity between Walpole and Pulteney, 496—character of Pulteney, *ib.*—rise of Walpole, 497—anecdote of the court, *ib.*—his character of Chesterfield, 498—characters of the Queen and George II., and Lady Suffolk, 500-3—conferences of the Queen with Lords Hervey and Stair, 504-5—influence of the queen over her husband, 506—Walpole a lover of peace, 507—thwarts the king's belligerent propensities, *ib.*—friendship subsisting between Walpole and the queen, 508—immoralities of the court, 509—illness and death of the queen, 510—grossness of the age, 512—relationship between *Hervey* and *Walpole*, *ib.*—comparison of their times with the present, *ib.* See *Walpole's* Letters to Lady Ossory.

Hottentots, Labours of the United Brethren among the, 467.

I

Il ventidue Marzo, primo Giorno dell' Indipendenza Lombarda. See *Lombardy*, Revolt in.

J

Johnson, Dr., his friendship for Goldsmith, 212—anecdotes respecting, *ib.*—his critique on style and poetry of Goldsmith, 206-13—his opinion of him as an historian, 214. See *Goldsmith*, Oliver.

Julien, the Apostate, comparison of, with Frederick William IV. See *Strauss*.

L

Labour, productiveness of, causes which promote, 322—Mr. Mill's views on the subject, 321-3.

Labourers, Agricultural, Mr. Mill's remedies for distress of, 324-6.

Legacy and Probate Duty, reforms necessary in, 389.

Lepell, Miss, marriage of, with Lord Hervey, 490—couplet on her marriage, *ib.*

Lieu-tschou, his description of Chinese system of gardening, 419.

Light, transmission of, theory of, 111-14.

Lombardy, the Revolt in, 143—circumstances leading to, 144-5—

misrule of Austria chief cause, 146-50—invasion of Papal states by Austria, 147—policy of the Popes, 147-9—grievances of the Lombards, 149—their manifesto to the European nations, 150—Mr. Bowyer's account of their misgovernment, 151—first symptoms of discontent on the installation of new archbishop of Milan, 152—brutality of Austrian soldiery, 152-4—arrest of Casati, mayor of Milan, 153—assassinations committed by the soldiery, 154—remonstrances of the Milanese unheeded by the emperor, 155—letter of the emperor, *ib.*—character of the Austrian police, *ib.*—conduct of the government inexcusable, 156—persecutions of M. Cesare Cantù, 157—determination of the Lombards to shake off their yoke, *ib.*—outbreak of the revolt, *ib.*—letters of the Archduke Rainer, 158—successes of the Milanese, 158-9—withdrawal of the Austrians from Milan, 159—determination of the Lombards to have a constitutional king and government, 162—character of Charles Albert, *ib.*—his vindication, *ib.* See *Germanic* Empire; *Europe*, State of.

Luther's translation of the Bible, origin of German literature, 12.

M

M'Culloch, Mr., his definition of political economy, 297—his treatment of the subject, 297. See *Mill's* Political Economy.

Macdouall, Mr., non-admission of, to the Hebrew Chair, at Edinburgh University, 192.

Macgregor's Progress of Civilisation. See *Europe*, State of.

Magellanic clouds, description of, 117-19.

Mallet's narrative of Sea Kings of Norway, extract from, 74-6.

Marie de France, poetical translations of, 20.

Marriages, the Spanish, history of the, 550.

Marseilles originally a Grecian colony, 4.

Martineau, Miss, her 'Egypt and its Faith,' extract from, 63.

Mason, lines of, on Moor Park, 424.

Milky Way, description of the, 120.

Mill, John Stuart, on Political Economy—his Essays, 293—division of the work, *ib.*—ordinary definitions of the term 'Political Economy,' 294—objections to these definitions, *ib.*—Mr. Mill defines it a science, 294-7—Political Economy both an *Art* and a *Science*, *ib.*—these ideas confounded by the definition, *ib.*—definition of Political Economy by Sir James Stewart, *ib.*—French economists gave a different definition, 295—Physiocrats, the term by which they were known, *ib.*—Quesnay their founder, *ib.*—statement of their views, *ib.*—Turgot differed in his mode of treating the subject, *ib.*—Adam Smith, founder of modern Political Economy, 296—considered the subject as an art, *ib.*—Divisions of his work, *ib.*—statement of his views, *ib.*—views of Mr. M'Culloch, 297—other economists treat the subject as an art, *ib.*—laws of production and distribution of wealth co-extensive, or not, with whole body of sciences and arts? 298. Mr. Mill's solution of the question, 299—justice of his views, *ib.*—they lead to the conclusion, 'Political Economy is a science treating of production and

'distribution of wealth, as far as they depend on laws of human 'nature,' 300—yet this view not sufficiently accurate, *ib.*—similar views of Ricardo, 297-301—Political Economy not a hypothetical science, 302—objections to its being treated hypothetically, 302-4—publication of his 'Principles,' *ib.*—lapse of time between two publications induces a modification of his views, *ib.*—formerly treated subject as an hypothetical science—in 'Principles' it is a positive art, *ib.*—division of the work into five books, 305—divides instruments of production into three classes, *ib.*—follows classification of French and English economists, *ib.*—his nomenclature different, *ib.*—substitutes expression 'natural agents' for 'land,' *ib.*—this an improvement, *ib.*—Hermann's divisions considered, 306—definition of terms 'productive and unproductive,' 308—Adam Smith's definition of these terms, 309—definition of the term 'capital,' *ib.*—some questions arising from this definition noticed, others not, 311—distinction between 'fixed and circulating' capital, 312—views of Mr. Mill regarding, 313—objection to his nomenclature, 314—'*materials*' best definition for term 'circulating 'capital,' '*instruments*' for 'fixed capital,' *ib.*—laws which govern increase of labour, capital, and land, 315—subject of land not fairly treated by Mr. Mill, 317—the law of 'distribution,' 319—definition of the word 'wages,' 320. Defective treatment of the subject by Mr. Mill, 321—indication of some of his principal points, *ib.*—causes which promote productiveness of labour, 322—subject inconclusively treated, *ib.*—effects of taxation, 323—profits of capitalists depends on two causes, *ib.*—case of agricultural labourers considered, 324-6—remedies for insufficient wages, 326—ultimate remedy, a national education, 327—means suggested for elevating condition of the labourer, *ib.*—his remedial measures for Ireland impracticable, *ib.*—his theory of profit and rent not materially different from Ricardo's, 328—influence of society on production and distribution, *ib.*—features which characterise this influence, *ib.*—present state of society a subject for alarm, 329—the stationary state the terror of economists, 330—anticipations of Mr. Mill respecting it, *ib.*—'influence of government' considered, *ib.*—taxation, a necessary duty of government, 332—grounds and limits of the non-interference principle, *ib.*—the exemptions to government interference, 333—his objections to government interference, 333-5—evils of excessive centralisation, 335—exceptions to general rule of non-interference, 336-9—the contract of marriage considered, 337—observance of the Sabbath, 338—voyages of discovery, *ib.*—the whole work a magazine of truths and precepts for philosophers and statesmen, 339. See *Revolution* and *Reform*.

Molbech's Herzogthum Schleswig. See *Germanic* Empire.

Molbech's Lund Upsala og Stockholm. See *Germanic* Empire.

Monarchie Danoise. See *Germanic* Empire.

Moniteur Universel, Le. See *Republic*, the French.

Mundy, Captain Rodney, his narrative of events in Borneo and Celebes, 63-94. See *Archipelago*, Oriental.

N

Napoleon, Emperor, continental policy of, 272–9. See *Germanic* Empire.
National Debt, note on origin and legality of, 393—Mr. Newman's remarks on, *ib.*
Newman's, Professor F. W., his appeal to the middle classes on necessity for reform, 360. See *Revolution* and *Reform*.
Niebungens Not, antiquity of the, 13—disputed, 14—sketch of the poem, 15–17—founded in pagan story, 18.
Northumberland, Duke of, his munificent offer to Sir John Herschel, 143.

O

Oestreichs Zukunft. See *Germanic* Empire.
Ordination service, evil influence of, 181–3.
Oriental Archipelago, piracy in the, 63-94.
Ossory, Countess of, Horace Walpole's letters to. See *Walpole*, Horace.
Oxford University Statutes, Ward's translation of. See *Universities*, the English.

P

Panslavism, the theory of, 553-6.
Parliamentary Reform, Mr. Newman's scheme of, 380.
Pentarchie Europäische. See *Germanic* Empire.
Père Benoist, extract from letters of, on gardens of the Chinese, 412-13. See *China*.
Philology, use of, in study of Ethnology, 470.
Physiocrats, opinions of the, on political economy, 295—their school founded by Quesnay, *ib.*
Physiology, contributions of science of, to study of Ethnology, 445.
Piracy in the Oriental Archipelago. See *Archipelago*, Oriental.
Political Economy. See the subject fully treated in *Mill's* Political Economy.
Pope, satire of, on Lord Hervey, 488.
Prandi's Austrian assassinations in Italy, 143-63. See *Lombardy*, Revolt in.
Preussische Zustände. See *Germanic* Empire.
Prichard, Dr., review of his works on Ethnology, 429. See *Ethnology*.
Provençal Poetry, priority of, to that of Scandinavia, a subject of controversy, 1—recently revived on the Continent, *ib.*—entirely distinct from that of Greece and Rome, *ib.*—under name of Romantic School, it governs the imaginative literature of the present age, 2—the Loire the boundary between two distinct dialects, the *langue d'oc* and the *langue d'oil*, *ib.*—derivation of these terms, 2-8—the *langue d'oc*, the dialect of the troubadours, *ib.*—*langue d'oil* the language of the trouvères, now Modern French, *ib.*—Opinions of various writers respecting their claims to originality, 2–3—Latin, the almost universal language of Gaul, 2–5–12—Irruption

of the Visigoths introduced new elements into languages of Gaul, —invasion of Franks under Clovis, and final subjection of Gaul, *ib.*—general decay of Latin language, 6–7–12—troubadours and trouvères the successors of Grecian actors and singers, 8—character of their entertainments, 8–26—oaths of Louis and Charles earliest specimens of language of Gothic invaders, 11—the Neo-Latin dialect a resemblance of the *langue d'oc*, *ib.*—Marie de France, poetical translations of, 20—distinction between Provençal and Scandinavian poetry, 22–3—this distinction favours priority of Scandinavian poetry, *ib.*—poem of Walter of Aquitaine, 23–4 the *langue d'oc* and *langue d'oil* often used indifferently both by troubadours and trouvères, 25—William IX. claimed by both as their chief, *ib.*—his poetry, *ib.*—style of the poetry of troubadours, 26–8—the *troubadour* and *jougleur* originally distinct classes—afterwards blended, 26–31—their poems called *sirventes* and *chansons*—the latter most esteemed, *ib.*—both troubadours and trouvères visit other countries, 28—they form societies, and compete for distinction in their respective styles, 28–9—opinions of Dante and Petrarch, 29—mind of Petrarch congenial to their school, *ib.*—romantic passion of Jaupe Rudal, 29–30—parallel to Petrarch's love for Laura, 29.—Bertran de Born, 30—character of his poetry, *ib.*—Dante's reference to him, *ib.*—decline of influence of troubadours, 31—style of poetry of trouvères, *ib.*——*fabliaux* more cultivated by them than the canzone, *ib.*—M. Dinaux's opinion of compositions of troubadours and trouvères, 32—the style of both now discarded, *ib.*

Psychology, contributions of, to science of Ethnology, 460.

Ptolemy Soter, reign and character of, 42-8.

Pulteney, Mr., his enmity to Walpole, 496—his character, *ib.* See *Hervey*, Lord.

Q

Quesnay, his principles of political economy, 295—founder of the 'Physiocrats,' *ib.*

R

Rainer, Archduke, letters of, on the revolt in Lombardy, 158.

Reform Bill, disappointment regarding results of, 374.

Republic, the French, its present condition and prospects, 225-6—means by which it was created, not a demonstration of true national feeling, 226—weakness of the old régime, 227—favourable circumstances under which it was formed, 228—adhesions to it from all parties, *ib.*—institution of the *garde mobile*, *ib.*—composition of the National Assembly a good criterion of popular sentiment, 229—formation of a triumvirate, *ib.*—General Cavaignac the popular favourite, *ib.*—majority of the 'people' not true republicans, 230—character of the French the real cause of the revolution, 232—Lamartine and his republicanism rejected, 233—the National Assembly not 'republican,' 234—the *bourgeoisie* the predominant

party, *ib.*—uncertain state of the government, 235—gradual tendency to a limited monarchy, 236. See *Europe*, State of.

Revolution and *Reform*—Professor Newman's appeal to Middle Classes considered, 360—no class has a right to dictate reforms, 361—the *influencing* part of the nation possess this power, *ib.*—danger of delaying reform, *ib.*—expediency or inexpediency of Government preventing expression of public opinion, 362-4—evils of a revolutionary state, 364—sudden changes detrimental, 365—confirmatory opinions of various writers, *ib.*—*stability* not attained by sudden reforms, 367—the Communist and Socialist theories of France, 368—test of political arrangements should be their applicability, 369—'constitutions are not made, but grow,' *ib.*—law of continuity and influence of time essential to political solidity, 370—illustrations from ancient history, *ib.*—our own constitution the growth of ages, *ib.*—marked by the law of continuity, *ib.*—changes induced, gradual but safe, 372—duty of minister to wait the will of the nation, 373—changes in our representative system too vast for sudden experiment, *ib.*—Reform Bill a disappointment to some, 374—plea for right of universal suffrage rests on two grounds, 375—their absurdity demonstrated, *ib.*—*expediency* the limit for universal suffrage, 377—extension of suffrage will not materially affect the representation, 378—detail of Mr. Newman's scheme, 380—the Ballot, 381—its influence on bribery and corruption miscalculated, 382—division of electoral districts one of chief features of the 'Charter,' *ib.*—its inapplicability, *ib.*—elective franchise dependent on payment of taxes, a *theory of* British constitution, 383—remedial measures of the government, 385—re-adjustment of property and income-tax a desirable financial reform, 386—Mr. Mill's opinion, 387—opinion of Mr. Cobden, 388—legacy and probate duty another subject for fiscal reform, 389—people of England jealous of government interference, 390—advantages and disadvantages of this national jealousy, 390-3—the National Debt, 393—Professor Newman's opinion, it is not a legal debt, *ib.*—to meet the national difficulties, the nation must *reform itself*, 395—the lower classes should exercise provident habits, and contract prudent marriages, *ib.*—emigration a remedy for national distress, 397—duties of manufacturing and commercial classes, 397-8—duties of the upper classes, 398-9—Education and Religion the basis for our Reformation, 401—contrasted condition of France, *ib.*—hope for future well-being as a nation founded on our reverence for Law and Religion, 403. See *Mill's* Political Economy.

Ricardo, Mr., his views on political economy, 301. See *Mill's* Political Economy.

Romantiker, meaning of the term, 95.

Rosse, Earl of, account of his leviathan telescope, 143.

Rue, M. l'Abbé de la, review of his 'Essais Historiques sur les Bards, &c. Normands et Anglo-Normands,' 1-32. See *Provençal* Poetry.

Ruge's Anekdote. See *Germanic* Empire.

S

Saturn and his Satellites, observations of Herschel on, 141.

Scandinavia, poetry of, its priority to that of Provence a disputed subject, 1—recent revival of the controversy, *ib.*—reception of Christianity in, 9—a written language introduced into, *ib.*—death of Sturle Thordson, its last professional scald, *ib.*—collection of traditional literature of, by Semund and Are, 10—preservation of traditions of, 10-11—oaths of Louis and Charles, earliest specimens of language of Gothic invaders, 11—Neo-Latin dialect a resemblance of the *langue d'oc*, *ib.*—Niebelungens Not, antiquity and originality of the, 13—disputed, 14—sketch of the poem, 15-17—founded on pagan story, 18—legend of Sigurd Fafnirsbane, 18-19 poem of Beowulf, 19—evidence of its *Christian* origin, *ib.*—subject of the poem, *ib.*—unknown to the Saga, *ib.*—date assigned to the poem, 20—character of the poetry of the Scalds, *ib.*—distinction of, from that of the Troubadours, 22-23—this distinction favours priority of Scandinavian poetry, *ib.* See *Provençal* Poetry.

Schlegel, A. W. Von, review of his 'Observations sur la Litérature 'Provençale,' 1-82. See *Provençal* Poetry.

Sea Kings of Norway, a legend of, 74-6.

See-how, lake and gardens of, 417.

'*Sequences*,' method of, Herschel's doctrine of, 137.

Sharpe, Samuel, his history of Egypt, 32—qualifications of, for an historian, 33—style of his narrative, *ib.*—anathema of Southey not applicable to, *ib.*—his division of Egyptian history into three periods, 35—his opinion as to cause of Egypt's early wealth, 38—his character of Ptolemy Soter, 44—description of the museum at Alexandria, 47-56—his account of religion of ancient Egyptians, 57—his summary of their character, 61. See *Egypt*.

Sigurd Fafnirsbane, legends of, 18-19.

Simon's Annehmen oder Ablenen. See *Germanic* Empire.

Slawen, Russen, und Germanen. See *Germanic* Empire.

Smith, Adam, founder of modern political economy, 296—his opinions on the subject, *ib.* See *Mill's* Political Economy.

Smith, Hon. R. Vernon, review of his edition of Walpole's Letters, 339-60.

Staunton, Sir George, his account of Yuen-min-yuen, Zhe-hol, and See-how, 414-7. See *China*.

Strauss's Political Pamphlet, 'Julian the Apostate and Frederick 'William IV.' 94—its design, an anatomy of character of Frederick William, *ib.*—style of the work, *ib.*—its wit lies in its erudition, 95—meaning of the term *Romantiker*, *ib.*—Julian a Romanticist, 96—Julian and Frederick William synonymous, 97—the latter a pupil of Schelling, the former educated by Romanticists of Alexandria, *ib.*—resemblance of the two characters, *ib.*—similarity of their policy, both civil and religious, 98—Jews much favoured by Julian, *ib.*—divine right of kings, a dogma of both, 99—oratorical ambition of both, 100—excuses Heathen Romanticists, condemns the Christian, 101—sympathy of Strauss for Polytheism of Julian, 102—extracts in proof, 101-2—Strauss guilty of contradiction,

103—confounds spirit of Christianity with perishable forms of Middle Ages, *ib.*—prophetic close of the pamphlet a consolatory truth, *ib.* See *Europe*, State of.

Suffolk, Lady, mistress of George II., character of, 503. See *Hervey*, Lord.

Suffrage, Universal, exercise of right of, discussed, 375—will not produce any sensible effect on the representation, 378.

T

Taxation, our system of, 383–5—right of elective franchise dependent on, 383.

Telescopes, mode of ascertaining powers of, 110.

Test Articles, the Academical. See *Universities*, the English.

Thirty-nine Articles, the English standard of faith, 169—evils arising from subscription to, 170.

Triarchie Europäische. See *Germanic* Empire.

Trinity College, Dublin, Heron's Constitutional History of. See *Universities*, the English.

Troubadours, lays of, were composed of the *langue d'oc*, 2. See *Provençal* Poetry.

Trouvères, language of, consisted of the *langue d'oil*, 2—now the modern French, *ib.* See *Provençal* Poetry.

U

Uniformity, Act of, its influence on English universities, 169.

Universities, the English, antiquity of, a great advantage, 163—in this consists their power to resist change, 164—yet exposes them to great evils, *ib.*—their bigotry in religion, 165—infallibility assumed by, equally with Romish church, 166—veneration for Aristotle and his philosophy, 167—neutrality of the state with regard to religious opinion, *ib.*—apathy of the people to, 168—these, advantageous to the universities, *ib.*—universities possess no theological judgment of their own, 169—Act of Uniformity still binding, *ib.*—the Thirty-Nine Articles their standard of faith, *ib.*—evils arising from subscription to, 170—insincerity and hypocrisy the result, *ib.*—such a test no guarantee of faith, but only of profession, 172—the test never imposed on the laity, 178—absurdity of the system, 174—identification of the church and universities results from the usurpation of the clerical orders, 178—the colleges distinct lay corporations as well as the universities, 179—the Reformation left the colleges unreformed, *ib.*—changes produced by Reformation should affect the collegiate system, 180—the ordination service, 181—startling in its terms, 182—evils resulting from, 183—affects constitution of the colleges, *ib.*—remedies suggested by Blackstone, 184—existing system unfavourable to any remedy, *ib.*—theology not in a flourishing condition, 185—all other branches of knowledge flourish, 186—same evils affect Trinity College, Dublin, *ib.*—exclusion of Roman Catholics from, 187—exposure of the grievance by Mr. Heron, *ib.*—system adopted in the Scotch universities, 190—the Act of Security, 191—test applicable only

to teachers, *ib.*—cases in illustration, 192—removal of tests the only means for removing evils affecting *our* universities, 193.

V

Vienna, Treaties of, charter of European constitution, 516—opposition of French to, *ib.* See *Europe*, State of.
Virginis, γ, Herschel's observation on the star, 132.

W

Walpole, Horace, Vernon Smith's edition of his 'Letters to Countess ' of Ossory,' 339—charm and value of his writings, *ib.*—difference of opinion as to his temper and disposition, 340—his mind compared to his house at Strawberry Hill, *ib.*—affectation the essence of his character, *ib.*—letter illustrative of this, *ib.*—his depreciation of his own works, 341—this a mark of his littleness, 342—influence of reviews and newspapers on the public mind, *ib.*—discredit attached to the literary profession, 343-5—now removed, 345—speech of Mr. Smythe on present and former estimate of literary men, 346—Walpole's critique on Jephson's tragedy, 347—induced to write the epilogue, *ib.*—his opinion of Goldsmith's comedy 'She ' Stoops to Conquer,' 348—his contempt of Beaumarchais, *ib.*—distaste for the Encyclopædist School, *ib.*—his estimate of Montaigne, *ib.*—his preference of Mason to Pope, 349—depreciation of Dr. Johnson, *ib.*—his bold opinion of Chatterton, *ib.*—his criticisms on plays and players characterised by same prejudices, 350—depreciates Garrick, 349-52—anecdote of Mrs. Siddons, 352—opinion of Mrs. Siddons, *ib.*—Walpole and Lady Browne attacked by a highwayman, 353—instances of the selfishness and ignorance of the higher ranks, 354-5—curious adventure of Charles Fox, 355—death of Lord Clive, 356—Walpole's bon mots, *ib.*—his stories illustrative of the manners of his day, 357—his affection for Madame du Deffand, 358—his acquaintance with the Misses Berry, *ib.*—Lord Ossory's estimate of his social talents, 360. See *Hervey*, John, Lord.
Walter of Aquitaine, Poem of, 23-4—opinion of M. Fauriel respecting, 23—subject of the poem, 24.
William IX., chief of troubadours and trouvères, 25—memoir of, *ib.*—character of his poetry, *ib.*—William of Malmesbury's opinion of him, *ib.*

Y

Yuen-min-yuen, imperial gardens of, 414.

Z

Zhe-hol, Chinese gardens of, 414.

END OF VOL. LXXXVIII.

LONDON:
SPOTTISWOODE and SHAW,
New-street-Square.